

THE
PROSE WORKS
OF
VOLTAIRE.

VOL. X.



Charles 12th of Sweden.

J. Hall Sculpt.

14 Addi
THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE TENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII.

THE
VOLUME
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OF
THE

TENTH VOLUME
OF
THE
JOURNAL
OF
THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1910
EDITED BY
ALFRED C. HADFIELD
F.R.S.

LONDON
PUBLISHED BY THE
Royal Anthropological Institute
21, BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C.2
1911

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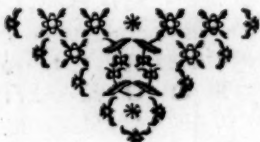
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OBSERVATIONS ON HISTORY.

WILL public authors never cease to give us false conceptions of the past, the present, and the future? In their opinion, surely, mankind must have been born to be deceived; with so much confidence do they pretend, even in this enlightened age, to obtrude upon us the fables of Herodotus; nay, and fables which even Herodotus himself would not have dared to impose upon the Greeks.

What the wiser are we for being so frequently told that Menes was the grandson of Noah? and with what appearance of justice can we affect to ridicule the genealogies of Moreri, while we ourselves compose others no less ridiculous? Noah, (it is affirmed) sent his children to travel into foreign parts; his grand-son, Menes, into Egypt; his other grand son into China; I know not what other grand-son into Sweden; and a younger descendant still into Spain. Travelling, in those days, must have improved the minds of young

gentlemen much more than it does at present. The moderns, in the course of ten or twelve centuries, have hardly been able to acquire an imperfect knowledge in geometry; but these ancient travellers were no sooner arrived in those uncultivated countries, than they began to foretel eclipses. Certain it is, the authentic history of China contains calculations of eclipses for about four thousand years. Confucius mentions thirty-six computations of the same nature, all of which, except four, the mathematical missionaries have found to be just. But these facts do not puzzle the writers who have been pleased to make Noah the grand-father of Fohi; because they are resolved that nothing shall puzzle them.

Other admirers of antiquity would make us believe, that the Egyptians were the wisest people in the universe; because, forsooth, they paid an extreme deference to their priests; and yet it is well known, that the wise priests and legislators of these wise people worshipped monkeys, cats, and onions. We may extol the works of the ancient Egyptians as much as ever we please: such of them, however, as still remains, are at best but shapeless blocks; the finest of their statues not being comparable to the most indifferent of our ordinary artists. The Egyptians must certainly have learned the art of sculpture from the Greeks; there never having been a masterly performance produced in Egypt, that did not proceed from the hand of a Greek. The Egyptians, 'tis said, were profoundly skilled in astronomy: the four sides of a great pyramid are opposed to the four quarters of the world; is not that a convincing proof of the truth of the assertion? But were the Egyptians equal to our Cassini's, our Halley's, our Kepler's, or Tycho-Brahe's?

Brahe's ? these good people told Herodotus, with great gravity, that in eleven thousand years, the sun had set twice in the same place where it rises. Such was their astronomy*!

It cost, according to Mr. Rollin, fifty thousand crowns to open and shut the sluices of the lake Mœris. This author is very dear with his sluices; and, besides, his calculations are false. There is no sluice, (unless it be a very bad one indeed,) that may not be opened and shut for a crown: but it cost, he says, fifty talents to open and shut these sluices. It must be observed, that in the time of Colbert, a talent was equal to three thousand French livres. Rollin, however, is not aware, that since that period, the current value of our specie is nearly doubled; and that therefore, the expences of opening the sluices of the lake Mœris must have been, according to his computation, about three hundred thousand livres, which is almost two hundred and ninety-seven thousand livres more than enough. All the other calculations in his thirteen volumes seem to be equally inaccurate. The same author affirms, after Herodotus, that in Egypt, a country not near so extensive as France, there was a standing army of four hundred thousand men, every one of whom had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, and two

* If their knowledge in astronomy did not extend farther than the instances here given, they surely had no great reason to boast of their knowledge. But if we may believe Diodorus Siculus, and other historians besides Herodotus, the Egyptians excelled all the world in the arts of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and medicine; and it is generally allowed that Egypt was the source from whence Greece derived the first principles of the arts and sciences, both for pleasure and utility.

pounds of flesh. This last article makes eight hundred thousand pounds of flesh a-day for the soldiers alone, in a country where they hardly eat any flesh at all. Besides, to whom belonged these four hundred thousand soldiers, while Egypt was divided into several petty principalities? But this is not all; we are further told, that every soldier had six acres of land free from taxes. Two millions four hundred thousand acres of ground that paid nothing to the state! and yet this poor and petty state maintain a greater army than is now-a-days maintained by the grand signor, who is master of Egypt, and other territories, ten times more extensive than it. Lewis XIV. it is true, had four hundred thousand men in arms for some years; but that was an extraordinary and unnatural effort, and that effort hath ruined France.

Would people but take the pains to consult their reason, instead of their memory, and to examine rather than transcribe, we should not see books and errors multiplied without end: nothing would then be committed to writing that had not the recommendation at once of novelty and of truth. The qualification in which historians are commonly defective is a true philosophical spirit; most of them, as they now are, instead of discussing matters of fact with men, content themselves with telling tales to children. Should the fable of Smerdis' ears, or that of Darius*, who gained a king-

* We see nothing at all improbable in this story of Darius, who agreed with the other competitors, that next day they should meet at a certain place, and the crown be conferred on him whose horse should first neigh. This circumstance being known to Oenebarus, an officer of Darius, he

kingdom by the neighing of his horse, or that of Sanacharib, or Sennakerib, or Sannacabon, whose army was miraculously destroyed by rats; should such fables as these, I say, be reprinted in the present age? If men will still repeat such improbable stories, let them at least represent them as no better than they really are.

Is it allowable for a man of sense, born in the eighteenth century, to entertain us with a serious discourse concerning the oracles of Delphos? one while to tell us that this oracle prophesied that Cræsus would boil a sheep and a tortoise in a tortoise-shell? at another, to inform us that battles were won agreeable to the prediction of Apollo? and to assign as the cause of these events the great power of the devil? Mr. Rollin, in his ancient history, undertakes the defence of oracles against Van Dale, Fontenelle, and Basnage. "With regard to Mr. Fontenelle, says he, his book against oracles, drawn from Van Dale, is to be considered merely as a youthful performance." This decree, I am afraid, of Rollin's old age against Fontenelle's youth, will be reversed at the bar of reason, where it seldom happens that rhetoricians gain their cause, when they enter the lists with philosophers. To be convinced of this, we need only attend to what Rollin hath said in his tenth

he caused a mare to be brought to his master's horse on the very spot assigned as the scene of determination, and next day the steed no sooner approached the place than he began to neigh. That such an agreement should be made, and such a stratagem practised among a barbarous people, is not at all unlikely; as an analogous instance, we might quote from scripture the device of Jacob's peeled sticks when he fed the flocks of Laban.

6 OBSERVATIONS ON

volume, where he means to speak of physics. He there alledges, that Archimedes, in order to demonstrate the surprising effects of the mechanical powers, to his good friend the king of Syracuse, ordered a galley, doubly loaded, to be placed on the solid earth, and then pushed it gently into the stream with one finger, without so much as coming out of his chariot. This, 'tis plain, is the language of a rhetorician; had he had the least smattering of philosophy, he would at once have perceived the absurdity of what he asserts*.

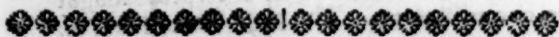
Would we improve the present time to the best advantage, we ought not, methinks, to squander away our lives in brooding over ancient fables. I would advise a young man to acquire a slight knowledge of these remote ages; but I would have him to begin the serious study of history at that period where it becomes truly interesting to us, which, in my opinion, is towards the end of the fifteenth century. From that æra history is rendered more authentic, chiefly by means of the art of printing, which was then concealed. The general face of Europe was invented: the Turks, who overspread it, banished polite literature from Constantinople; but it flourished in Italy: it was established in France; and it went to polish the rude manners of the Germans, the English, and other northern nations. A new religion delivered one half of Europe from papal subjection. A new system of politicks took place: by the help of the

* That Archimedes carried the mechanical powers to a surprising pitch of exertion is certainly true; and whether from a complication of these powers it might not be possible to do something like what is here mentioned, we shall leave philosophers to determine.

mariner's compass, the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and the trade between Europe and China was rendered more easy than that between Paris and Madrid. America was discovered; a new world was conquered, and our own was almost totally changed: the christian nations of Europe became a kind of immense republic, in which the balance of power was established upon a more sure and solid foundation than it had ever been in ancient Greece. A perpetual intercourse unites all the parts of this vast body together, in spite of the wars excited by the ambition of kings, and even in spite of religious wars, which are still more destructive. The arts, which are the glory of every kingdom, were carried to a degree of perfection which they never attained in Greece and Rome. This is the history which every man ought to know: in this you will find no chimerical prediction, no lying oracles, no false miracles, no stupid fables; in this every thing is true, almost to the most minute circumstances, about which, however, none but little souls will give them great concern. To us every thing relates, every thing contributes to our advantage. The plate from which we eat, our furniture, our wants, our new pleasures, all conspire to remind us that America, the East Indies, and, of consequence, the whole world has, within these two centuries and a half, been reunited by the industry of our forefathers. We cannot take a single step that does not recal to our memory the great change which hath lately been brought about in the world. Here are a hundred cities which were formerly subject to the pope, but which are now free. There have been established, at least for a time, the privileges of the Germanic body: here is formed the most perfect

8 NEW REFLECTIONS

republic in a country, which is every moment in danger of being swallowed up by the sea: England hath united true liberty with royalty: Sweden copies the glorious example; but her sister Denmark has not the prudence to follow the same course. If I travel into Germany, France, or Spain, I every where find the traces of that inveterate quarrel, which hath subsisted so long between the houses of Austria and Bourbon; houses united by so many treaties, all which have been productive of the most cruel and bloody wars. There is not a single man in Europe, whose fortune has not, in some measure, been influenced by those great revolutions. And does it become us after this to trifle away our time with Salmanazar, and Mardokempad, and with curious, but useless enquiries concerning the anecdotes of Cayamarrat the Persian, and of Sabaco Metophis. No man sure, when arrived at the age of maturity, and engaged in the management of weighty and important affairs, will sit down to relate the tales of his nurse.



NEW REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY.

I Doubt not but the same change which hath lately happened in physics may soon take place in the manner of writing history. New discoveries have banished the old systems. One would wish too to study the characters of mankind with all that interesting particularity of circumstance, which now constitutes the foundation of natural philosophy.

We now begin to give little credit to the adventure of Curtius, who shut up a gulph, by
throw-

throwing himself and his horse into the opening; the shields which came down from heaven, and all the pretty talismans which the Gods were wont, with so much liberality, to present to mankind; the Vestals, who set a ship afloat by the charm of their girdle: in a word, the whole group of those famous fooleries, with which ancient histories are stuffed, are now become the objects of ridicule and derision. In the same light we consider what Mr. Rollin has related, with so much gravity, in his ancient history, of king Nabis, who complimented all those who gave him money with the enjoyment of his wife, and placed such as refused to contribute in the arms of a handsome doll, resembling the queen exactly in outward appearance, but armed, under her petticoats, with sharp iron points. Who, when he hears so many authors repeating, one after another, that the famous Otho, archbishop of Mayence, was besieged and devoured by an army of rats, in 698; that Gascony was deluged with showers of blood in 1017; and that two armies of serpents fought a battle near Tournay, in 1059: who, I say, on hearing such improbable stories as these, can refrain from laughing? prodigies, predictions, and fiery trials, &c. are now held in the same degree of credit and estimation with the fables of Herodotus.

I here mean to treat of modern history; in which you will find no dolls embracing courtiers, no bishops devoured by rats.

Some people take great pains, (and not without reason,) to mark the precise day on which a battle was fought. They relate every article of a treaty; they describe the pomp and solemnity of a coronation, the ceremony of receiving a cap, and even the entry of an ambassador, without for-

getting either his Swift or lackeys. It is very proper that public records should be kept of every thing, that so we may be able to consult them on occasion; and indeed I consider all our large books at present as so many dictionaries. But after having read the descriptions of three or four thousand battles, and the substance of some hundreds of treaties, I do not find myself one jot wiser than when I began; because from them I learn nothing but events. The battle of Charles Martel gives me no more insight into the characters of the French and Saracens, than does the victory which Tamerlane gained over Bajazet, into those of the Turks and Tartars. I own indeed, that when I read the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, and of madame de Motteville, I know every word of what the queen-mother said to Mr. de Jersey; I see how the coadjutor assisted in raising and strengthening the barricadoes; and I could almost make an abstract of the long conversations which he had with madame de Bouillon. This serves very well to gratify my curiosity; but contributes little to my instruction. There are some books that contain the true or false anecdotes of a court. Whoever hath seen courts, or is desirous of seeing them, is as fond of these illustrious trifles, as a country lady is of hearing the news of the paltry village from which she came.

At bottom both are guided by the same principle; and the motive that actuates the one is as noble as that which influences the other. Under the reign of Henry IV. the anecdotes of Charles IX. were the subject of conversation; and during the first years of Lewis XIV. the duke de Bellegarde was the favourite topic of discourse. All these trifles are preserved for an age or two, and then sink into eternal oblivion.

But the misfortune is, that in order to attain this superficial kind of knowledge, we neglect studies infinitely more useful and important. I want to know what was the strength of a nation before a war, and whether that war contributed to increase or diminish its strength. Was Spain richer before the conquest of the new world than it is at present? how much more populous was it in the time of Charles V. than in that of Philip IV? Why was it that Amsterdam, about two centuries ago, hardly contained twenty thousand souls? Why, at present, does it contain two hundred and forty thousand? and what is the most accurate method of determining the difference? How much more populous is England now than it was under Henry VIII? Is it true (as is alledged in the Persian Letters,) that the earth wants inhabitants; and that it is depopulated in comparison of what it was some two thousand years ago? Rome, it is true, contained at that time many more citizens than it does at present. I acknowledge too, that Alexandria and Carthage were great cities; but Paris, London, Constantinople, Grand Cairo, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh, were not then in being. There were three hundred nations in ancient Gaul; but these three hundred nations were not equal to ours, either in number of men, or in the knowledge and practice of the arts of peace. Germany was formerly a forest, now it is covered with a hundred opulent cities. One would be almost tempted to think that the spirit of invective, wearied with persecuting individuals, had attacked the whole human kind. The constant and general complaint is, that the world daily becomes at once more vicious and less populous. What then? have we any reason to regret our not having

lived in those times, when there was no high-way from Bourdeaux to Orleans, and when Paris was a small village, the inhabitants of which were perpetually cutting each other's throats? People may say what they will, but Europe certainly contains more men than it did formerly, and these men are more active and industrious. One may easily know how much Europe hath increased in people during the course of any number of years; for in almost all your great cities, a list of the births is published at the end of the year; and according to the sure and accurate method lately laid down by a Dutch gentleman, equally ingenious and indefatigable, one may calculate the number of people from that of the births.

This then will be a principal object of attention to every one that would read history like a citizen and philosopher. But he will take care not to confine his attention to this particular alone; he will enquire what hath been the prevailing virtue and vice of a nation; why it hath been powerful or weak by sea; and how and in what degree it has been enriched during the course of a century; these two last articles may be fully ascertained from the list of exportations. He will endeavour to learn how the arts and manufactures have been established, and will trace them through all their windings and turnings, in their progress from one country to another. In a word, the revolutions in the manners of the people, and in the laws of the land, will be the great object of his most serious study and attention. Thus, instead of obtaining a partial knowledge of the history of kings and courts, he will acquire a thorough insight into the characters of mankind.

In vain do I read the annals of France; all our histories are silent with regard to these interesting particulars. None of them have chosen for their motto, *Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto*. We ought then, in my opinion, artfully to interweave these useful enquiries with the general contexture of events. This appears to me to be the only method of writing modern history like a true politician and a true philosopher. To write ancient history is, in effect, to mix a few truths with a thousand falsehoods. Perhaps the use of this history is much the same with that of ancient fables; the great events which it contains are the constant subjects of our paintings, our poems, our conversation; and from thence too we derive the grand outlines of morality. We should read the adventures of Alexander, as we do the labours of Hercules. In fine, ancient history seems to have the same relation to modern, that old medals have to the current coin; the former are repositied in the cabinets of the curious, the latter circulates through the world for the use and convenience of mankind.

But to undertake and execute such a work, the author must be possessed of several kinds of knowledge besides that of books; he must be encouraged by the government, as much, at least, for what he may perform, as were the Boileau's, the Racine's, and the Valincourt's, for what they never performed; so that what a witty clerk of the treasury said of these gentlemen may never be applicable to him. "We never saw any thing belonging to them but their seal."

ANECDOTES relating to PETER the GREAT,
Emperor of RUSSIA.

THE many important and difficult enterprises undertaken and executed by Peter I. none of which had ever entered into the thoughts of any of his predecessors, justly procured him the surname of Great. Before his time, the knowledge of the Russians was wholly confined to those simple arts which are the result of mere necessity. So powerful is the influence of habit over the generality of mankind, and so little desirous are they of what they don't understand; the genius unfolds itself with so much difficulty, and is so easily suppressed by the slightest obstacles, that there is great reason to believe, that all nations continued, for thousands of ages, in a state of the most profound ignorance, till, at last, such men as Peter the Great arose, at that precise period when it was proper they should arise.

A young gentleman of Geneva, called Le Fort, happened to be at Moscow, with the Danish ambassador, about the year 1695. He had learned the Russian tongue in a very short time, and spoke almost all the European languages. Peter the Great, who was then nineteen years of age, saw Le Fort, conceived a liking for him, took him at first into his service, and afterwards admitted him into the most intimate familiarity. From him he learned, that there was another manner of living and of reigning, than that, which, from time immemorial, had been unhappily established throughout his vast empire; and, had it not been for this young gentleman, Russia had still remained in its original state of rudeness and barbarity.

Peter

Peter must have been born with a soul truly great, otherwise he never would have listened so readily to the instructions of a stranger, nor been able to divest himself of all the prejudices of the prince and of the Russian. He soon perceived that he had a nation and an empire to form anew; but he was possessed of no means equal to the accomplishment of such an arduous and noble enterprise. From that time he took a resolution of leaving his dominions, and of going, like Prometheus, to borrow the heavenly fire to animate his compatriots. This celestial spark he went to search for among the Dutch, who, about three centuries before, were as destitute of it as the Russians themselves. He could not, however, carry his scheme into execution so soon as he could have wished. He was obliged to support a war against the Turks, or rather against the Tartars, in 1696; and it was not till after he had conquered his enemies, that he left his own dominions, and went to learn all the arts which were utterly unknown in Russia. The master of the largest empire in the universe lived almost two years at Amsterdam, and in the village of Sardam, under the name of Peter Michaeloff; though his common appellation was Mr. Peter Bas. He ordered his name to be enrolled among the carpenters of that famous village, which furnished ships to almost all Europe. He handled the adz and the compass; and, after having laboured in his shop at ship-building, he studied geography, geometry, and history. The mob at first crowded about him; but he soon checked their curiosity, by repelling his impertinent visitors with a good deal of rudeness and severity, which, however, those people, so remarkable for pride and resentment, bore with great patience:

patience. The first language he learned was the Dutch: he then applied himself to the German, which appeared to him a very smooth and harmonious tongue, and which he ordered to be spoke at his own court.

He acquired likewise a smattering of the English, in his voyage to London; but he never understood the French, which hath since become the language of Petersburg, under the empress Elizabeth, in proportion as the nation has been civilized and polished.

His stature was tall; his countenance was noble and majestic, but sometimes disfigured by convulsions, which even altered the features of his face. This defect in his organs was commonly attributed to the effects of poison, which was said to have been given him by his sister Sophia. But the true poison was the wine and brandy, in which, trusting too much to the strength of his constitution, he frequently indulged to excess.

He conversed as frankly with a common mechanic as with the general of an army. In this he acted, not like a barbarian, who makes no distinction between men of different ranks, nor like a popular prince, who wants to ingratiate himself with all the world; he acted like a man who was desirous of acquiring knowledge. He loved the women as much as his rival, the king of Sweden, dreaded them; and, as in eating, so in matters of gallantry, every thing was equally good. He valued himself much more on being able to drink a great quantity, than on possessing a nice and exquisite taste, capable of distinguishing your fine and delicious wines.

It is a common observation, that kings and legislators should not allow themselves to be hurried

ried away by the violence of passion; but no man was ever more passionate, or less merciful, than Peter the Great. This is one of those defects in the character of a king, which it is impossible to excuse by a frank confession; at last, however, he became sensible of his failing, and, in his second journey to Holland, he said to a magistrate of that country, "I have reformed my subjects, but have not been able to reform myself." It must be owned, however, that the cruelties with which he is reproached were as customary at the court of Moscow, as at that of Morocco. Nothing was more common, than to see a czar inflicting an hundred lashes with a bull's pizzle upon the naked shoulders of one of the first officers of the crown, or of a maid of honour, for having neglected their duty thro' drunkenness; or trying the goodness of his sabre, by cutting off the head of a criminal. Peter had performed some of these Russian ceremonies. Le Fort, indeed, had gained such an ascendant over him, as to be able, sometimes, to stop his hand when he was just upon the point of striking; but, unhappily, Le Fort was not always in his company.

His journey to Holland, and especially his taste for the arts, which now began to unfold itself, softened his manners a little; for it is the natural tendency of all the arts to render men more humane and sociable. He often breakfasted with a geographer, with whom he made sea-charts. He passed whole days with the famous Ruisch, who first invented the art of making those curious injections, which have carried medicine to so high a degree of perfection, and have freed it from its former nauseousness. Peter gave himself, to the age of twenty-two, such an education, as a Dutch mechanic

mechanic would have given a son, in whom he perceived some sparks of genius; and this education was much superior to what any emperor of Russia before him had ever received. At the same time, he sent the young Muscovites to travel and improve themselves in all the countries of Europe. But his first attempts of this nature were attended with little success. His new disciples did not imitate the example of their master; there was even one of them that had been sent to Venice, who never came out of his chamber, that so he might have no cause to reproach himself with having seen any other country than Russia. This strong aversion to foreign countries was infused into them by their priests, who alledged that travelling was an unpardonable crime in a Christian, for the same reason that the Jews, in the Old Testament, had been forbid to assume the manners of their neighbours, more rich and more industrious than themselves.

In 1698 he left Amsterdam, and went to England, not in the character of a ship-wright, nor in that of a sovereign, but under the name of a Russian gentleman who travelled for his instruction*. He saw and examined every thing: he even went to the representation of an English comedy,

* Peter expressed a desire to see the manner in which British criminals were punished with death; but, it proving what is called a maiden session at the Old Bailey, he grew impatient and complained to king William, who told him he could not help his being disappointed, as no person had been condemned, and he had no right to take away the life of any subject until he should receive the sentence of the law. "If that be the case, (said Peter) you may take any of my retinue, and cause them to be executed in the English manner." But this offer his Britannick majesty thought proper to decline.

though

though he did not understand a word of it; but he found in the play-house an actress, called Miss Crofts, from whom he received some favours, without having the generosity to make her fortune.

King William caused a convenient house to be fitted up for his accommodation, which in London is a very great compliment. Palaces are not common in that immense city: there you hardly see any thing but low houses, with paultry gates, like those of our shops, without court or garden. Indifferent as the house was, the czar found it too handsome; and, that he might have the better opportunity of improving himself in sea-affairs, he took up his lodging in Wapping. He frequently dressed himself in the habit of a sailor, and made use of this disguise to engage several seamen in his service.

It was at London that he formed the design of drawing the Volga and the Tanais into the same channel. He even intended to join the Dwina to these two rivers by a canal; and thus to re-unite the Ocean and the Black and Caspian Seas. The English, whom he carried along with him, served him but poorly in this great project; and the Turks, who took Asoph from him in 1712, opposed the execution of such a vast undertaking*.

As he happened to want money at London, the merchants of that city offered him an hundred thousand crowns, provided he would grant them a liberty of transporting tobacco into Russia. This was not only a great novelty in Muscovy, but was even inconsistent with the established religion. The

* If we may believe Capt. Perry, whom Peter engaged as chief engineer in this great work, the English were treated with equal ingratitude and brutality.

patriarch had excommunicated every one that smoked tobacco, because their enemies, the Turks, smoked; and the clergy considered it as one of the greatest privileges of their order, to hinder the Russians from smoking. The czar, however, accepted the hundred thousand crowns, and undertook to introduce the practice of smoking even among the clergy themselves. He likewise resolved to make several other innovations in the religious system.

Kings are commonly wont to make presents to such illustrious travellers; and the present which William made to Peter was a genteel compliment, worthy of them both; he gave him a yacht of twenty-five guns, an excellent sailer, gilt like a Roman altar, and stored with all kinds of provisions; and the whole ship's crew cheerfully consented that they should be included in the present. In this yacht, of which himself was the chief pilot, Peter returned to Holland to re-visit his carpenters. From thence, about the middle of the year 1698, he went to Vienna, where there was no necessity for his tarrying so long as at London, because, at the court of the grave Leopold, there was much more ceremony to be performed, and far less instruction to be gained. After having seen Vienna, he intended to have gone to Venice, and thence to Rome; but a civil war, occasioned by his absence, and by the permission of smoking, obliged him immediately to return to Moscow. The strelits, the ancient troops of the czars, somewhat akin to the janissaries, as turbulent, as undisciplined, less brave, but not less barbarous, were instigated to revolt by some monks and abbots, half Greeks and half Russians, who persuaded them that God was highly provoked at the
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introduction of tobacco into Muscovy; and thus threw the whole nation into a flame about this important quarrel. Peter, who was fully apprized of the great power of the monks and strelits, had taken his measures accordingly. He had a numerous body of forces, composed almost entirely of foreigners, well disciplined, well paid, and well armed, and who smoked under the command of general Gordon, a man thoroughly versed in the art of war, and no friend to the monks. This was the very point in which the sultan Osman had failed, when endeavouring, like Peter, to reform his janissaries, and having no power to oppose to their refractory spirit, he was so far from being able to reform them, that he lost his life in the attempt.

Peter's armies were now put upon the same footing with those of the other European princes. He employed his English and Dutch carpenters in building ships at Veronitz, upon the Tanais, four hundred leagues from Moscow. He embellished the towns, provided for their safety, made highways five hundred leagues in length, established manufactures of every kind; and, what clearly shews the profound ignorance in which the Russians had formerly lived, their first manufacture was that of pins. They now make flowered velvets and gold and silver stuffs at Moscow. Such mighty things may be performed by one man, when he is an absolute sovereign, and knows how to exert his authority!

The war he waged against Charles XII. in order to recover the provinces which the Swedes had formerly taken from the Russians, notwithstanding the bad success with which it was at first attended, did not hinder him from continuing his reformation,

tions, both in church and state; and accordingly, at the end of 1699, he ordered that the ensuing year should commence in the month of January, and not in the month of September. The Russians, who thought that God had created the world in September, were surprised to hear that their czar had power to alter what God had established. This alteration began with the eighteenth century, and was ushered in by a grand jubilee, which the czar appointed by his own authority; for having suppressed the dignity of the patriarch, he exercised all the functions of that office himself. It is not true, as is commonly reported, that he put the patriarch into the mad-house of Moscow. Whenever he had a mind, at once to divert himself and inflict punishment, he was wont to say to the delinquent, "I make you a fool;" and the person to whom he gave this pretty appellation, were he even the first nobleman of the kingdom, was forced to carry a bauble, jacket, and bells, and to divert the court in quality of his czarish majesty's fool. This task, however, he did not impose upon the patriarch; he contented himself with simply suppressing an employment, which those, who had enjoyed it, had abused to such a degree, that they obliged the emperors to walk before them once a year, holding the bridle of the patriarchal horse; a ceremony which Peter the Great immediately abolished.

In order to have more subjects, he resolved to have fewer monks; and accordingly ordained, that, for the future, no person under fifty years of age should be allowed to take the habit of that order; the consequence of which was, that in his time, of all the countries that contained monks, Russia contained the fewest; but after his death,

this weed, which he had so happily extirpated, regerminated afresh, owing partly to that natural foible of all monks, the desire of enlarging their numbers, and partly to the foolish indulgence of some governments, in tolerating such a pernicious practice.

He likewise made some prudent regulations relating to the clergy, and tending to the reformation of their lives, although his own, in all conscience, was licentious enough; but he wisely judged, that many things are allowable in a sovereign, that would be extremely indecent in a curate. Before his time, the women lived perpetually secluded from the men. In Russia it was a thing unheard of, that a husband should ever see the lady he was to marry. The first acquaintance he contracted with her was at church; and one of the nuptial presents was a large handful of twigs, which the bridegroom sent to the bride, as a kind of warning, that, on the first transgression, she had reason to expect a little matrimonial correction. Husbands had even a power of killing their wives with impunity; but such wives as usurped the same right over their husbands, were buried alive.

Peter abolished the bundles of twigs; prohibited the husbands from killing their wives; and, in order to match the two sexes with greater prudence and equality, and by that means to render the married state more happy, he introduced the custom of making the men and women eat together, and of presenting the suitors to their mistresses before the celebration of the marriage. In a word, he prosecuted his salutary schemes with such vigour and resolution, that he at last established the social state throughout all his dominions.

Every

Every one knows the regulation he made for obliging his noblemen and their ladies to hold assemblies, where all transgressions against the Russian politeness were punished by obliging the delinquent to drink a large glass of brandy, so that the honourable company frequently went home much intoxicated, and little corrected. But it was a work of no small merit to introduce even a kind of imperfect society among a people, who had hitherto lived in a state of the grossest barbarity. He even ventured to exhibit some dramatic performances. The princess Natalia, one of his sisters, wrote some tragedies in the Russian tongue, not unlike to those of Shakespear, in which tyrants and harlequins form the principal characters. The band of music was composed of Russian fiddles, upon which they played with bulls pizzles. They have now French comedies and Italian operas at Petersburg; in every thing, grandeur and taste hath succeeded to barbarity. One of the most difficult attempts of this great founder of the Russian empire was to shorten the coats of his subjects, and to make them shave their beards. This was the subject of great murmuring, and of many complaints. How was it possible to teach a whole nation to make their cloaths after the German fashion, and to handle the razor? arduous, however, as was the undertaking, it was at last accomplished, by placing at the gates of every town a sufficient number of tailors and barbers; the former clipped the coats, and the latter shaved the beards, of all those who entered; and such as refused to submit to these regulations, were obliged to pay a fine equal to forty pence of our coin. But, in a short time, the people chused much rather to part with their beards than their money.

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The women, who greatly preferred a smooth to a rough chin, assisted the czar in this reformation: to him they were obliged for being exempted from the discipline of the whip, for being indulged with the company of the men, and for having smoother and more decent faces to kiss.

While Peter amused himself in making these reformations, and while he was engaged in a bloody war against Charles XII. he laid, in 1704, the foundations of the large city and harbour of Petersburg, in a morass, where there was not before so much as a single cottage. He laboured with his own hands in building the first house: no difficulties were sufficient to abate his ardour: workmen were compelled to come from the frontiers of Astracan, and from the coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas, to the coast of the Baltic. Upwards of an hundred thousand men perished in the undertaking, partly by the severe labour they were obliged to undergo, and partly by the want and hardships to which they were exposed; but, notwithstanding these obstructions, the city was at last raised. The harbours of Archangel, of Astracan, and of Veronick, were likewise built.

To defray the expences of executing so many mighty projects, of supporting fleets in the Baltic Sea, and of maintaining an hundred thousand regular troops, the public revenue, at that time, was only about twenty millions of livres. I have seen an exact account of it, in the possession of a gentleman who had been an ambassador at Petersburg. But the wages of the workmen were proportioned to the wealth of the kingdom. It ought to be remembered, that the construction of the pyramids cost the kings of Egypt nothing but
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onions. I repeat it again ; we have only to exert our utmost endeavours ; we can never exert them enough.

After having, as it were, created his nation, Peter thought he might take the liberty of gratifying his own humour, by espousing his mistress, a mistress who well deserved to be his wife ; and accordingly the marriage was solemnized in public, in the year 1712. This lady was the famous Catharine, originally an orphan, born in the village of Ringen, in Estonia, brought up by a vicar out of mere charity, married to a Livonian soldier, and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy two days after her marriage. She was first a servant in the family of general Bauer, and afterwards in that of Menzikoff, who, from a pastry-cook's boy, became a prince of the empire, and the first subject in the nation. At last she was married to Peter the Great ; and, after his death, became empress of Russia, a dignity to which her great virtues and abilities gave her a just claim. She softened the ferocity of her husband's manners to a very considerable degree ; and saved many more backs from the knout, and many more heads from the ax, than ever general Le Fort had been able to do. The people loved her, they revered her. A German baron, a master of horse to an abbé de Fulde, would have disdained to have married Catharine ; but Peter thought, that with him merit did not need to be set off by a genealogy of thirty-two descents. Princes are apt to believe, that there is no grandeur but what they confer ; and that with them all men are equal. Certain it is, birth makes no more difference between one man and another than between an ass whose fire carried dung, and an ass whose father carried

carried relicks. Education makes a great difference, talents make a greater, and fortune the greatest of all. Catharine had received, from her curate of Estonia, an education as good, at least, as any lady of Moscow, or of Archangel; and she was born with greater abilities, and with a more exalted soul. She had managed the family of general Bauer, and that of prince Menzikoff, without being able either to read or write. Whoever is capable to rule a large family is likewise capable to rule a kingdom. This perhaps may seem to be a paradox; but undoubtedly it requires the same oeconomy, the same wisdom and resolution, to command a hundred persons, as to command several thousand.

The czarowitz Alexis, son to the czar, who, like him, had married a slave, and, like him, had privately quitted Muscovy, had not the same success in his two undertakings. He even lost his life in an ill-judged attempt to copy the example of his father. This was one of the most shocking acts of severity that ever sovereign exercised: but what reflects great honour upon the memory of the empress Catharine, she had no hand in the untimely fate of this prince, who was sprung from another bed, and who hated every thing that his father loved; Catharine was never accused of having acted the cruel step-mother. The great crime of the unhappy Alexis was, that he was too much a Russian, and that he disapproved of all the noble and illustrious things which his father had done for the glory and emolument of the nation. One day, as he heard some Muscovites complain of the hard labour they were obliged to endure in building Petersburg, "Take comfort, said he, this city shall not stand long." When he ought

to have been attending his father, in those journeys of five or six hundred leagues which the czar frequently undertook, he pretended to be sick: the physicians purged him severely for a disease with which he was not troubled; and so many medicines, joined to great quantities of brandy, at once impaired his health and altered his temper. He discovered at first an inclination to learning; he understood geometry and history, and had learned the German language; but he neither loved war, nor would he study the art of it; and this was the fault with which his father chiefly reproached him. He had been married in 1711, to the princess of Wolfenbuttle, sister to the empress, the wife of Charles IV. This marriage proved very unhappy; the company of the princess was often abandoned for a debauch of brandy, and for the caresses of one Afrosina, a Finland girl, tall, handsome, and agreeable. Some people pretend that the princess died of grief, if, indeed, grief can ever be the occasion of death; and that afterwards the czarowitz named Afrosina privately, in 1716, just at the time when the empress Catharine brought him a brother; a present with which he could willingly have dispensed.

The disgust between the father and son became every day more inveterate, till at last, in 1716, Peter threatened to disinherit the prince, and the latter declared his intention of taking the monkish habit.

In 1717, the czar resumed his travels, as well from political views, as from the motive of curiosity; and accordingly he now repaired to France. Had his son been inclined to revolt, had he in reality secured a party in his interest, this was the time to carry his scheme into execution; but, instead

instead of continuing in Russia and gaining partisans, he went to travel like his father; after having, with great difficulty, collected a few thousand ducats, which he privately borrowed. He now threw himself into the arms of the emperor Charles VI. the brother-in-law of his deceased wife. For some time he lived *incognito* at Vienna; from thence he went to Naples, where he remained almost a year, without either the czar, or any one in Russia, knowing where he was.

While the son lay thus concealed, the father was at Paris, where he was treated with all the respect and deference which he had met with in other countries, and with a politeness which he could find no where but in France. If he went to see a manufacture, and was charmed with any particular piece of work, he was sure, next day, to receive it in a present. He went to dine with the duke d'Antin, at Petitbourg, where the first thing presented to his view was his own picture at full length, with the same dress which he wore. When he went to see the royal collection of medals, the minters struck several medals of every kind before him, and presented them to him with great politeness; at last they struck one, which they purposely let fall at his feet, and left him to pick it up; on this he saw himself engraved in a very elegant manner, with these words, PETER THE GREAT. The reverse was a Fame, with this inscription, *Vires acquirit eundo*; an allegory equally just and flattering to a prince, who really encreased his knowledge by his travels.

Upon seeing the tomb of cardinal de Richelieu, and the statue of that great minister, worthy of the personage whom it represents, Peter discovered one of those violent transports, and expressed

pressed one of those noble sentiments, which none but great souls are capable of feeling. He mounted the tomb, and embracing the statue, "Great statesman, said he, why was you not born in my time; I would have given you one half of my empire, to teach me to govern the other." A gentleman, possessed of less enthusiasm than the czar, upon hearing the explanation of these words, which were originally pronounced in the Russian language, observed, "That if he had given him one half of it, he would not have been long able to preserve the other."

The czar, after having traversed France, where every thing disposes the mind to gentleness and clemency, returned to his own country, and there resumed all his former severity. Having prevailed upon his son to leave Naples and repair to Petersburg, the young prince was conducted from thence to Moscow, and brought into the presence of his father, who immediately deprived him of his right of succession, and made him sign a solemn deed of renunciation, about the latter end of January 1713, in consideration of which he promised to grant him his life.

It was not however improbable, that such an act might one day be reversed; in order, therefore, to strengthen it the more, Peter forgetting his paternal character, and considering himself only as the founder of an empire, which his son perhaps might replunge into barbarity, he caused a process to be openly commenced against this unhappy prince, touching some reservations he was supposed to have made in the act of renunciation, which had been extorted from him.

An assembly of bishops, abbots, and professors, was convoked; these reverend judges found, that,
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in the Old Testament, those who cursed their father and mother were worthy of death : that, indeed, David had pardoned his son Absalom, who had revolted against him ; but that God had never pardoned him. Such was their opinion, without coming to any conclusion ; and yet, it was the same in fact as if they had signed a warrant for his execution. Alexis had never cursed his father ; he had never revolted like Absalom ; he had never lain publicly with the king's concubines ; he had travelled indeed without the king's permission, and he had writ some letters to his friends, in which he had only expressed his hopes that they would, one day, remember him in Russia. But, notwithstanding those favourable circumstances, of the hundred and twenty-four secular judges who sat on his trial, there was not one that did not vote for his death ; and such of them as could not write caused their names to be signed by others. A report has been spread abroad in Europe, and it has been often committed to writing, that the czar caused to be translated, from the Spanish into the Russian language, the criminal process against Don Carlos, that unfortunate prince and heir of a great kingdom, whom his father Philip II. threw into prison, where he miserably ended his days : but the truth is, there never was any process commenced against Don Carlos ; nor was the manner of his death, whether natural or violent, ever fully known. Besides, Peter, of all princes the most despotic, needed not any precedents. What is certain is, that the son died in his bed the day after the trial, and Peter had then at Moscow one of the best furnished apothecaries shops in Europe. It is probable, however,

that the death of prince Alexis, the heir of the most extensive empire in the universe, and unanimously condemned by those who were now his father's subjects, and who, had he lived, would have one day become his, might be owing to the terrible shock which a sentence so fatal and unprecedented must have given to his constitution. The father went to see his son when just upon the point of expiring, and is said to have shed some tears. *Infelix, utcumque ferent ea fata nepotes.* But notwithstanding his tears, the wheels were covered with the broken limbs of his son's friends. He even beheaded his own brother-in-law, the count Lapuchin, brother to his wife Ottokesa Lapuchin, whom he had divorced, and uncle to prince Alexis, whose confessor likewise lost his head. If the Russians have been civilized, it must be confessed they have paid dearly for their politeness.

The remaining part of the czar's life was spent in the prosecution of those great designs, and of those noble schemes and projects, which seemed to efface the memory of his cruelties, which, after all, perhaps, were absolutely necessary. He frequently made speeches to his court and council; in one of these he told them, that he had sacrificed his son to the safety and welfare of his dominions.

After the glorious peace which he at last concluded with Sweden, in 1721, by which he obtained the whole of Livonia, Estonia, and Ingermania, and the half of Carelia and Vibourg, the states of Russia bestowed upon him the name of Great, of Father of his Country, and of Emperor. The states were represented by the senate, who solemnly conferred these titles upon him in presence of the count de Kinski, minister of the
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emperor ; of Mr. de Campredon, envoy of France, and the ambassadors of Prussia and Holland. The European princes have been gradually accustomed to give this title of emperor to the Russian sovereign ; but this dignity does not hinder the French ambassador from taking the right-hand of those of Russia upon all occasions.

The Russians ought undoubtedly to regard Peter as the greatest of men. From the coasts of the Baltick Sea to the frontiers of China, he is a hero : but ought he to be considered in the same light among us ? Is he comparable to our Condés, or our Villars, in valour, or to an infinite number of our cotemporaries, in knowledge, in genius, and in morals ? No : but he was a king, and a king badly educated ; and he performed what, perhaps, a thousand sovereigns in his situation would never have accomplished. He was possessed of that strength of mind, which raises a man above all kinds of prejudice, as well with regard to the past as the present. He was an architect who built with brick, and who, in any other country, would have built with marble. Had he reigned in France, he would have carried the arts, from the condition in which they now are, to the highest degree of perfection. His having five and twenty large ships on the Baltick Sea was an object of admiration : in our ports he would have had two hundred.

From a view of what he has done at Petersburg, one may easily judge what he would have done at Paris. What surprises me the most, is, the little reason there was to hope that such a man as Peter the Great should ever have arisen at Moscow. It was as all the men who have ever inhabited Russia is

to one, that a genius, so different from the general character of their nation, would never be bestowed upon any Russian; and it was still farther, as sixteen million, the number of the Russians at present, is to one, that this genius would not fall to the lot of the czar in particular. But, notwithstanding these improbabilities, the thing has actually happened. A prodigious number of favourable circumstances must have concurred; an infinite series of ages must have elapsed before nature produced the man who invented the plough, or him to whom we are indebted for the art of weaving. The Russians now-a-days are not surprised at their rapid progress; in less than fifty years they have become so familiarly acquainted with all the arts, that one would imagine they had been in possession of them for a much greater length of time. There are still vast tracts of land in Africa that require the reforming hand of a Peter the Great: such a one may happen to come in some millions of years; for every thing is too late in coming.

PIECES

PIECES relating to the HISTORY of
CHARLES XII. King of SWEDEN.

LETTER to Mareſchal SCHULLEMBURG, Ge-
neral of the VENETIANS *.

S I R,

I Received, by a courier of the French ambaf-
ſador, the journal of your campaign in 1703
and 1704, with which your excellency has
been pleaſed to honour me. Allow me, Sir, to
apply to you what an ancient writer ſaid of Cæ-
ſar; *Eodem animo ſcripſit quo bellavit*. You muſt
expect, Sir, that ſo great a favour will make me
extremely ſelfiſh, and will expoſe you to freſh re-
queſts. I beg you would communicate to me
whatever can give me any light into the particu-
lars of the war of Charles XII. I have the honour
to ſend you a journal of that king's campaigns;
a king worthy of having fought with you. This
journal reaches to the battle of Pultowa incluſive.
It is the work of a Swediſh officer, called Mr.
Alderfeld, who appears to be extremely well in-
formed, and as accurate as it is poſſible to be on
a ſubject of this nature. It is not a hiſtory; far
from it; but it contains excellent materials for
the compoſition of a hiſtory; and I flatter myſelf
I ſhall be able to correct mine in many particulars
by the memoirs of this officer.

* Dated at the Hague, Sept. 15, 1740.

Besides, Sir, I must own to you, it was with particular pleasure I found in these memoirs a variety of circumstances that tally exactly with the informations from which I compiled my history. I, who doubt of every thing, and especially of anecdotes, began to condemn myself touching a number of facts which I had advanced. For instance, I could no longer believe that Mr. de Guiscard, the French ambassador, was on board the ship of Charles XII. in the expedition to Copenhagen. I began to repent of having said, that the cardinal primate, who had so great a hand in dethroning king Augustus, secretly opposed the election of king Stanislaus. I was almost ashamed of having affirmed that the duke of Marlborough, when he went to have a conference with Charles XII. addressed himself to baron de Gorts before he saw count Piper. Mr. de la Motraye had censured me for all these facts, with a confidence which, I imagined, could proceed from nothing but better information; notwithstanding which, they are all confirmed by the memoirs of Mr. Alderfeld.

In these memoirs I find that the king of Sweden, agreeable to what I had said, sometimes eat with king Augustus, whom he had dethroned, and that he always gave him the right hand. In them I find, that the kings Augustus and Stanislaus met at the court of the latter, and saluted each other without exchanging a word: there, likewise, mention is made of the extraordinary visit which Charles paid to Augustus at Dresden, upon leaving his dominions. There, even, the witticism of baron Stralheim is quoted word for word, in the same manner as I have related it.

In the preface to Mr. Alderfeld's book, the editor talks in the following strain :

“ With regard to Mr. de la Motraye, who hath officiously taken upon him to criticize Mr. de Voltaire, the perusal of these memoirs will only serve to confound him, and make him sensible of his own errors, which are much more numerous than those he imputes to his adversary.”

True it is, Sir, and I plainly perceive it by this journal, I have been mistaken with regard to the minute circumstances of several military transactions. I have, indeed, ascertained the exact number of the Swedish and Muscovite troops at the famous battle of Narva ; but on many other occasions I have fallen into mistakes. Time, you know, is the parent of truth ; which, after all, I am afraid we have but little reason to hope that ever we shall be able fully to discover. You will see, Sir, that Mr. Alderfeld does not agree with you concerning some points relating to your admirable passage over the Oder ; but I will believe the German general, who must necessarily have known all the particulars of this passage, much rather than the Swedish officer, who could not possibly know any more than a few of them.

By the memoirs of your excellency, and by those of this officer, I intend to correct my history. I likewise expect an extract of a history of Charles XII. written in Swedish by Mr. Norberg, chaplain to that monarch.

Indeed, I am much afraid that the chaplain has sometimes viewed matters with other eyes than the ministers, who have furnished me with materials. I shall esteem him, to be sure, for his zeal in defending the honour of his master : but I, who never was chaplain to the king, nor to the
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czar ; I, whose sole ambition is to speak the truth, will always acknowledge, that the inflexible obstinacy of Charles XII. at Bender, his resolution of lying six months in bed, and many of his measures after the unhappy battle of Pultowa, appear to me more extraordinary than heroic.

If there is any possibility of rendering history useful, it is only, in my opinion, by pointing out the good and ill which kings have done to mankind. I think, for instance, that if Charles XII. after having subdued Denmark, beat the Russians, deposed his enemy Augustus, and established the new king on the throne of Poland, had granted peace to the czar, who begged it of him ; had he returned home the conqueror and peace-maker of the North, and employed his attention in encouraging the arts and commerce in his country, he would then indeed have been truly a great man, instead of being but a great warrior, vanquished at last by a prince whom he despised. It were to be wished, for the happiness of the world, that Peter the Great had been sometimes less cruel, and Charles XII. less wedded to his own opinion.

I greatly prefer to both these sovereigns, a prince who regards humanity as the chief virtue, who never has recourse to war but through absolute necessity, who loves peace because he loves mankind, who encourages all the arts, and who, in one word, though a king, endeavours to act like a philosopher. Such, Sir, is my hero ; nor think that it is only a creature of the imagination. This hero actually exists in the person of a young king, whose fame will soon reach even to your parts ; you will then see whether or not I am deceived : he deserves such generals as you. To write the

history of such kings is a pleasing task ; for then we write the history of human happiness.

But if you carefully examine this journal of Mr. Alderfeld, you will find in it little else, but that, on Monday the third of April, there were so many thousand men butchered in such a field : that, on Tuesday, whole villages were reduced to ashes, and the women, clasping their little babes in their arms, were consumed with them in the same flames : that, on Thursday, a thousand bombs levelled the houses of a free and innocent city with the ground, for not having paid immediately a hundred thousand crowns to a foreign conqueror who happened to pass by its walls : and that, on Friday, fifteen or sixteen hundred prisoners perished with cold and hunger. These, or such as these, are the materials which compose the subject of his four volumes.

Have you not frequently thought, M. Mareschal, that your illustrious trade is more shocking than necessary ? I see Mr. Alderfeld sometimes disguises cruelties, which ought, in effect, to be forgotten, in order to prevent their ever becoming the object of imitation. For example, I have been credibly informed, that, at the battle of Frauenstad, marshal Renschild caused twelve or fifteen hundred Muscovites to be put to death in cold blood, six hours after the action, tho' they begged their lives on their knees. He alledges there were only six hundred, and that they were put to death immediately after the battle. This is a circumstance, Sir, of which you cannot be ignorant : you made the admirable disposition of the Swedish troops even in this unhappy engagement ; be so good, then, as to tell me the truth,
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for which I have as great a regard as I have for your glory.

I expect, with extreme impatience, the other instructions with which you shall be pleased to honour me. Allow me to ask your opinion of the march of Charles XII. into the Ukraine, of his retreat into Turkey, and of the death of Patkul: you can easily dictate many things to a secretary, which will serve to throw light upon several truths; a favour for which the public will acknowledge themselves greatly obliged to you. You are bound in duty, Sir, to communicate knowledge to mankind, in return for the admiration which they so justly entertain of your merit. I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, and with the most sincere wishes for the preservation of a life, of which you have frequently been so prodigal,

Sir, your Excellency's most humble
and most obedient Servant, V.

P. S. Just as I had finished my letter, I was informed, that a French translation of the history of Charles XII. written in Swedish by Mr. Norberg, has been printed at the Hague. This will be a new pallet*, in which I shall dip the pencils with which I must retouch my picture.

* This pallet could not answer the purpose. It is well known that the history of Charles XII. by Mr. Norberg, is no more, to the year 1709, than a confused collection of facts ill related; and from 1709, than a copy of the history composed by Mr. de Voltaire,

LETTER to Mr. NORBERG, Chaplain to
CHARLES XII. king of SWEDEN, and Author
of a history of that Monarch.

PERMIT me, Sir, after having taken the trouble to read that part of your history of Charles XII. which is already published, to address to you some just complaints, both with regard to your manner of treating that history, and the freedom which, in your preface, you presume to use with those who have treated it before you.

I love the truth; but the old proverb, "All truths ought not to be told," relates chiefly to insignificant truths. Be pleased to recollect that passage in the preface to the history of Mr. de Voltaire. "The history of a prince, says he, is not all that he ever did, but only what he did worthy of being transmitted to posterity."

There are some readers, perhaps, who will be glad to see the catechism which Charles XII. was taught, and will take great pleasure * in being informed, that in 1693, doctor Peter Rudbekius conferred the degree of doctor upon the masters of arts Aquinus, Samuel Virenius, Ennegius, Herlandus, Stukius, and upon other personages, extremely respectable, no doubt, but who had very little concern in the battles, the triumphs, and defeats of your hero.

Perhaps it is a matter of great importance to Europe, to know that the chapel of the castle of Stockholm, which was burnt about fifty years

* History of Charles XII. by Norberg, page 9. Hufson's edition.

ago, stood in the new aisle, on the north side; and that there were in it two pictures of the intendant Kloker, which are now in the church of St. Nicholas; that the seats were covered with blue on days of public service; that some of them were of oak, and others of walnut-tree*; and that, instead of large lustres, there were small flat candle-flicks, which did not fail to produce a very happy effect; that there were there to be seen four figures of plaister of Paris, and that the pavement was black and white.

We will further believe*, that it is a thing of great consequence to be well informed, that there was no base gold in the canopy which served at the coronation of Charles XII. to know what were the dimensions of it; whether the church was hung with red or blue cloth; and what was the height of the benches. All this may have its weight with those who want to acquire a thorough knowledge of every the most minute concern of princes.

After the tedious detail of these mighty matters, you tell us at what hour Charles XII. was crowned; but you do not tell us why he was crowned before the age prescribed by law; why the queen-mother was deprived of the regency; how the famous Piper gained the confidence of the king; what was the strength of Sweden at that time, what the number of its people, who were its allies, and what its government, its wants, and resources.

You have given us a part of the military journal of Mr. Alderfeld; but a journal, Sir, is no more a history than materials are a house. Allow me to tell

* Page 21.

† Page 31, 32.

you, a history does not consist in particularizing petty facts, in producing manifestos, replies, and rejoinders. This is not the manner in which Quintus Curtius composed the history of Alexander, or in which Livy and Tacitus wrote the Roman history. There are a thousand journalists; but hardly have we two or three modern historians. We could wish that those who prepare the colours would give them to some painter in order to form a picture.

You cannot be ignorant, Sir, that Mr. de Voltaire had published this declaration which your translator repeats.

“* I love the truth and have no other aim nor interest than to know it. Those passages in my history of Charles XII. in which I shall find myself to have been mistaken, shall be altered. It is natural to think that Mr. Norberg, a Swede, and an eye-witness, should be better informed than me, who am a stranger. I shall correct my history by his memoirs, and will do it with pleasure.”

You see, Sir, with what politeness Mr. de Voltaire mentioned your name, and with what deference he expected your performance, though he had received memoirs for the compilation of his own from the hands of several ambassadors, with whom it would appear you had little connection, and even from the hands of more than one sovereign.

To this French politeness, Sir, you reply in a manner that savours something of a Gothic taste.

* Hutton's edition, 4to. page 13.

You say, in your preface*, that the history published by Mr. de Voltaire is not worth the pains of translating; though, in fact, it hath been translated into almost all the European languages, and hath undergone eight editions at London, in an English dress. You there add very politely, that a Puffendorf would have treated him as he did Varillas, as an arch liar.

In order to prove this charitable supposition, you take care to mark on the margin of your book all the capital errors into which he has fallen.

You particularly observe, that major-general Stuart did not receive a slight wound in the shoulder, as the French author, after a German writer, rashly affirms, but only a pretty severe contusion. You cannot deny that Mr. de Voltaire has faithfully related the battle of Narva, which in his book at least forms an interesting description. You must certainly know, that he is the only writer who has dared to affirm that Charles XII. fought the battle of Narva with no more than eight thousand men. All the other historians give him twenty thousand: they say what is probable; but Mr. de Voltaire is the first that has told the truth in this important article. Nevertheless, you call him an arch liar, because he said that a suit of red laced cloaths was brought to general Liewen, at the siege of Thorn; and you magnify this enormous error, by positively asserting that the lace was not upon a red ground.

But what name will suit you, Sir, you who so lavishly bestow, about matters of such mighty con-

* Page 13.

sequence, the genteel appellation of arch liar, not only upon a man who is extremely fond of the truth, but likewise upon all the other historians who have writ the history of Charles XII. what name, Sir, will suit you, after the copy you give of the grand signor's letter to that monarch? Here follows the beginning of the letter.

"We * Sultan Basha, to king Charles XII. by the grace of God king of Sweden and of the Goths, health, &c."

How could you, Sir, who have been among the Turks, and who seem to have learned from them not to be very nice in the choice of your words, how could you be ignorant of their stile? What Turkish emperor ever designed himself "Sultan Basha?" What letter of the divan ever began in this manner? What prince ever wrote that he would send plenipotentiaries, the first opportunity, in order to learn the particulars of a battle? what letter of the grand signor ever concluded with this expression, "To the protection of God?" In fine, when did you ever see an express from Constantinople dated in the year of the creation, and not in that of the Hegira? The iman of the august sultan, who shall write the history of that great emperor and his sublime viziers, may well give you many opprobrious appellations, if the Turkish politeness admits of such rufficity.

Does it then become you, Sir, after the production of such a piece as this, which would offend that same Mr. Baron Puffendorf, to exclaim against a lie about a red coat?

* Page 137,

Besides,

Besides, are you a zealous advocate for the truth, when you conceal the cruelties exercised by the chamber of liquidations under Charles XI. when, in speaking of Patkul, you pretend to forget that he defended the rights of the Livonians, who had committed them to his charge; of those same Livonians who now live happily under the mild government of the illustrious Semiramis of the North? This, Sir, is not barely to betray the truth; it is to betray the cause of mankind; it is to fail in your duty to your illustrious country, which is an enemy to oppression.

Cease then in your compilation, to bestow your Vandalic and Gothic epithets upon those who write history: cease to assume to yourself a right of employing that same barbarous pedantry which you impute to Puffendorf.

Do you know, Sir, that Puffendorf is an author sometimes as incorrect as he is fashionable? do you know that he is read, because he is only one of the kind that was tolerable in his time? do you know that those whom you call arch liars, would blush if they did not understand the history of the world better than your Puffendorf? do you know that Mr. de la Martiniere corrected more than a thousand errors in the last edition of that book?

Let us open this book at a venture, which is so universally known. I light upon the article of the popes. He says, in speaking of Julius II. "That he left behind him, as well as Alexander "VI. a bad name." Nevertheless the Italians revere the memory of Julius II. They consider him as a great man, who, after having presided in four conclaves, and commanded armies, pursued, even to his grave, the glorious scheme he had formed of chasing the barbarians from Italy. He

was

was a lover of the arts; he laid the foundation of that church, which is the wonder of the universe; he encouraged painting, sculpture, and architecture, and, at the same time, he rekindled the extinguished valour of the Romans. The Italians despise, and with good reason too, the ridiculous manner in which the greatest part of foreigners write the history of the popes. We ought to be capable to distinguish the pontiff from the sovereign: we ought to be capable, though born at Stockholm, to entertain a high opinion of the popes: we ought to remember the saying of the great count de Medicis, viz. "That kingdoms are not governed with pater-nosters." In a word, a historian should be a man of no country, and of no party.

If we again open baron Puffendorf's book, we shall find it asserted, in the article of Mary queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. "That she could not be recognized as his legitimate daughter without the authority of the pope." What a croud of errors in these few words! she had been recognized by the parliament: and besides, what need had she of the assistance of Rome, in order to confirm her legitimation, since it never had been either the interest or the intention of the Romish church to annul the marriage of her mother?

In reading the article of Charles V. I find that, before the year 1516, Charles had always in his eye his famous maxim, *ne plus ultra*: but he was then but fifteen years of age; and that motto was not composed till a long time after.

Shall we, on account of these errors, pronounce Puffendorf to be an arch-liar? no: we will rather acknowledge that, in such an extensive work, a few mistakes are excusable; and we would entreat
you,

you, Sir, to be more accurate than he is; more thoroughly acquainted than you yet seem to be with the stile of the Turks, more polite with the French; in a word, to be more just and judicious in the choice of the facts you relate.

Among the many advantages with which the art of printing hath been attended, this is one inconvenience, that crouds of scandalous pamphlets are published, to the disgrace of genius and of good manners. Wherever there are many writers there are many libels: these wretched performances, frequently produced in France, pass current in the North, in the same manner as our bad wines are sold there for Burgundy and Champagne. The former are read, and the latter are drank, often with the same want of taste; but men of real knowledge will always despise what France rejects.

You quote, Sir, some pieces which are altogether unworthy the notice of the chaplain of Charles XII. Your translator, Mr. Walmoth, hath honestly informed us, in his notes, that some of these are such wretched and obscure satires, that any gentleman would be ashamed to cite them.

The duties of an historian are many and various. Allow me to remind you of two of them, which are of some consequence; these are, never to rail, and never to be tedious. For the first I can easily excuse you, because your book will be the less read; but for the last I cannot possibly forgive you, because I have been obliged to read it. In other respects, Sir, I am with all possible regard, your most humble, and most obedient servant.

THE

The SCEPTICISM of HISTORY.

Incredulity, let us remember, according to Aristotle, is the foundation of all knowledge. This maxim ought to be attended to by all those who read history, and especially ancient history. What an infinite number of absurd facts ! what a confused heap of incoherent fables that shock the common sense of mankind ! of these do not believe a single syllable. There were kings, consuls, and decemvirs at Rome ; the Romans destroyed Carthage ; Cæsar vanquished Pompey ; all this is true. But when you are told that Castor and Pollux fought for that people ; that a vestal set a loaded ship a float by the touch of her girdle ; that a gulph was shut up by Curtius throwing himself into it ; do not believe one word of it. You every where read of prodigies, of predictions accomplished, of miraculous cures performed in the temple of Æsculapius ; do not believe a word of them. But a hundred witnesses have signed the verbal process of these miracles engraved on tables of brass ; and the temples were filled with votaries who attested these cures. That there have been knaves and fools who have attested what they never saw ; that there have been devotees who have made presents to the priests of Æsculapius when their children have been cured of a rheumatism ; this you may believe : but with regard to the miracles of Æsculapius, do not believe a word of them.

But the Egyptian priests were all sorcerers, and Herodotus admires their profound skill in witchcraft : do not believe one word of what Herodotus tells you.

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With

With me every thing that is prodigious is incredible. But ought I to extend my incredulity to those matters, which, though within the ordinary course of human affairs, are nevertheless destitute of moral probability?

For instance, Plutarch assures us that Cæsar, completely armed, threw himself into the sea of Alexandria, holding some papers which he was unwilling to wet, in one hand, and swimming with the other.

Do not believe a word of this story which Plutarch tells you. Rather believe Cæsar himself, who does not speak a word of it in his Commentaries; and be assured that when a man throws himself into the sea with some papers in his hand, he must necessarily wet them*.

You will find in Quintus Curtius, that Alexander and his generals were surprised when they beheld the ebbing and flowing of the sea, a thing which to them was equally new and unexpected; do not believe a word of it.

It is probable enough that Alexander killed Clitus in a fit of drunkenness, and that he loved Ephestion as Socrates loved Alcibiades; but it is extremely improbable that the disciple of Aristotle should be ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the sea. There were philosophers in his army; it was sufficient to have been on the Eu-

* This, we apprehend, is meer cavilling. If the Commentaries were written on rolls of the papyrus, one dip in the sea, at the first plunge, would do very little damage to the writing: but if the contents were written with a stylus on wax tablets, according to the custom of the Romans, the water would have no effect at all; and in that case, Cæsar must have held up his arm, that the tablets might not oppose or retard his motion in swimming.

phrates, at the mouth of which there were tides, in order to be acquainted with this phenomenon*. Alexander had travelled into Africa, the coasts of which are washed by the ocean. Is it possible that his admiral Nearchus could be ignorant of that which was known to every boy on the banks of the river Indus? Such stupid improbabilities, repeated in so many authors, have too much discredited the veracity of historians.

Father Maimbourg relates, after a hundred others, that two Jews promised the empire to Leo the Isaurian, provided [that when he should be emperor, he would destroy images. What interest, pray, had these two Jews in hindering the Christians from having paintings? how could these two wretched creatures promise the empire? is it not offering an insult to the understanding of the reader, to entertain him with such fables as these?

It must be confessed, that Mezerai, in his stiff, low, and unequal style, intermixes with the ill-digested facts which he relates, many absurdities of the same nature. At one time it is Henry V. of England, who was crowned king of France at Paris, who died of the hemorrhoids for having presumed, says he, to seat himself on the throne of our kings: at another, it is St. Michael who appeared to Joan of Arc.

* Whether or not Nearchus was acquainted with the flux and reflux of the sea, which by the bye, he could not have learned in the seas of Italy and Greece; he might have been astonished at the great extent of the shore that was left dry by the ebb of the ocean, in such a remote country as the East Indies.

I do not believe even eye-witnesses, when they report things inconsistent with common sense. The *sieur de Joinville*, or rather he, who has translated his Gaulic history into ancient French, may assure me, if they will, that the emirs of Egypt, after having assassinated their sultan, offered the crown to St. Lewis, their prisoner: they might as well tell me that we had offered the crown of France to a Turk. What likelihood that the Mahometans should ever think of chusing for their sovereign a man whom they could regard in no other light than as a leader of barbarians, whom they had taken in battle, who neither understood their laws nor their language, and who was the capital enemy of their religion?

I give no more credit to the *sieur de Joinville*, when he tells me this tale, than when he informs me that the Nile overflowed at St. Remy, in the beginning of October. I will likewise venture to call in question the story of the old man of the mountain, who, upon the report of a crusade undertaken by St. Lewis, dispatched two assassins to kill him at Paris; and, upon a fresh report of his extraordinary virtue, sent off next day two couriers to countermand his first orders. This account hath too much the air of an Arabian fable.

I will boldly tell Mezerai, father Daniel, and all the historians, that I do not believe a storm of rain and hail made Edward III. return to his right senses, and procured peace to Philip de Valois. Conquerors are not so devote, nor do they make peace on account of rain*.

No-

* The greatest minds are often actuated by the most capricious motives. If we suppose that the soul of Edward III. was influenced either by the terrors of superstition,

Nothing, to be sure, is more probable than crimes; yet ought they at least to be well attested. Mezerai makes mention of more than sixty princes who have been poisoned; but this he affirms without any proof; and a common report should be given as no better than a common report.

I will not even believe Titus Livius, when he tells me that the physician of Pyrrhus offered to poison his master, provided the Romans would pay him a certain sum of money. Hardly at that time had the Romans any money at all; and

sition, or the sentiments of humanity, we shall see no reason to withhold our credit from this incident, which is recorded by all the historians. In the year 1360, Edward having invaded France, and filled that country with horror and devastation, while he was advancing at the head of his army, within two leagues of Chartres, he was overtaken by a terrible tempest, which he considered as a dreadful visitation from heaven. The peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, intermingled with deluges of rain, smote the hearts of his best warriors with dismay: but, what made the strongest impression upon Edward's own mind, was the havock occasioned by a terrible shower of hail, which in a moment laid a thousand of his best troops, and six times that number of horses, dead upon the spot. Deeply affected by the scene, he threw himself from his horse, upon the ground, and stretching his hands towards the church at Chartres, solemnly vowed to God, that he would seriously incline his mind to peace, if it could be obtained on equitable terms. Now we should be glad to know what circumstance of this transaction is incredible, or even improbable? We would ask Mr. de Voltaire, whether he would not have had much more reason to doubt the abdication of Charles V. if the truth of the fact was to be determined by its credibility. We may once for all observe, that nothing can be more absurd than the attempt to deduce from general canons, the motives of particular actions, which depend upon such a variety of weakness, peculiarity, and caprice.

Pyrrius had wherewithal to purchase the republic, had it been exposed to sale. The place of first physician to Pyrrhus was probably more lucrative than that of consul. I will not believe such a story as this, until I find it indisputably proved, that a first physician of one of our kings engaged to poison his patient, upon receiving a reward from a Swiss canton.

Let us likewise suspect whatever appears to be exaggerated. An innumerable army of Persians checked, at the Straits of Thermopylæ, by three hundred Spartans, does not stagger my faith; the situation of the ground renders the adventure probable. Charles XII. with eight thousand hardy veterans, defeated at Narva about eighty thousand half armed Russians; I admire, I believe the action. But when I read, that Simon de Montfort, with nine hundred soldiers*, divided into three bodies, beat a hundred thousand men, I then repeat, "That I do not believe a word of it." I am told indeed that it was a miracle; but is it so very certain that God performed a miracle in favour of Simon de Montfort?

I would call in question the battle of Charles XII. at Bender, were it not sufficiently attested by many eye-witnesses, and did not the character of that prince render such a romantic instance of heroism extremely probable. That scepticism

* Such exploits as these were often achieved by Europeans, both in the East and West Indies: nor are they at all surprising, if we consider that the few were trained up to arms and discipline, and their antagonists a rude multitude without order and regulation, unarmed, unsupplied with necessaries, unprovided with subordinate command, rash, obstinate, fanatic, and encumbered even by the greatness of their own number.

which

which we ought to entertain with regard to particular facts, we should likewise extend to the manners of foreign nations ; let us refuse our belief to every historian, ancient and modern, who relates things contrary to nature, and to the general character of the human mind.

All the first accounts of America talk of nothing but anthropophagi, or man-eaters ; and to read them, one would imagine that the Americans eat human flesh as commonly as we eat mutton. The truth, when fully known, amounts only to this, that a small number of Persians were eat by their conquerors, instead of being eat by the worms*.

The new Puffendorf, as incorrect as the old one, says, that in 1589, an Englishman and four women, having escaped from a shipwreck which they had suffered in a voyage to Madagascar, landed on a desert island ; and that the Englishman laboured with so much success, that in 1667, there were found on this island, which was called Pines, no less than twelve thousand handsome English protestants.

The ancients, and their numerous credulous compilers among the moderns, are perpetually telling us, that at Babylon, the best regulated city in the universe, all the maids and married women prostituted themselves once a year in the temple of Venus. I can easily believe, that in

* If we may believe the most creditable historians who have written of America and Africa, the Caribbee Indians feasted on human flesh, and were even so daint in this particular, that the prisoners destined for the market were fattened and even castrated, to render them the more plump and delicious. All the caciques in South America, and Motezuma in particular, had dishes of human flesh served every day at their tables ; and in the kingdom of Congo in Africa, human flesh used to be sold publicly in shambles.

Babylon, as in other places, a man might have a little pleasure for his money; but I can never allow myself to think, that in a city, the best governed of any that were then in the world, all the fathers and husbands sent their daughters and wives to a market of public prostitution, and that this decent traffic * was carried on by the express orders of the legislature. We every day see published a hundred stupid stories of the same kind, concerning the customs of the Orientals; and where we have one traveller like Chardin, we have many thousands like Paul Lucas.

Such, however, is not the history of Charles XII. On the contrary, I can assure the reader, that if ever history deserved credit, this in a particular manner is intitled to that distinction. I composed it, as is well known, from the memoirs of Mr. Fabricius, of the Messrs. de Villelongue, and de Fierville, and from the accounts of several eye-witnesses. But as these witnesses did not see every thing, and sometimes saw things in a false light, I have been led, by their means, into more than one error; not indeed concerning the essential facts, but only with regard to some private anecdotes, which, however indifferent in themselves, serve as matter of triumph to the little critics.

I afterwards corrected this history by the military journal of Mr. Alderfeld, which is very accurate, and which assisted me greatly in rectifying some facts and dates.

* Is there any thing more surprising in this circumstance, than in the practice of the Romans, (another polite people,) who lent their wives to one another occasionally? is this prostitution more repugnant to the laws of decorum, than were the mysteries of the Bona Dea, or the orges of the Bacchanalians among the Greeks, who were undoubtedly the most civilized nation in the known world?

I like-

I likewise perused the history written by Mr. Norberg, chaplain and confessor of Charles XII. This is a work very ill digested, and very ill wrote; it is crowded with a variety of trifling incidents foreign to the subject; and even the grand events are rendered trifling, by the insipid manner of relating them. It is a collection of such rescripts, declarations, and manifestos, as are usually published in the name of kings, when they are at war. These neither serve to point out the causes of events, nor to give us more distinct ideas of military and political transactions; and besides, they are intolerably irksome to the reader. A writer can, at best, but consult them occasionally, in order to derive from them a little information; in the same manner as an architect makes use of rubbish in raising an edifice.

Among the public pieces, with which Norberg hath interlarded his wretched history, there are some which are even false and absurd; such as the letter of Achmet, the Turkish emperor, whom this historian calls sultan basha, by the grace of God*.

This same Norberg makes the king of Sweden say what that monarch never did, nor ever could say, in the affair of Stanislaus. He pretends that Charles XII. told the primate, by way of answer to his objections, that Stanislaus had gained a great many friends in his journey to Italy. Certain, however, it is, that Stanislaus never was in Italy, as that monarch hath himself assured me. After all, what matters it, whether a Pole, in the sixteenth century, travelled into Italy or not for his amusement? What an infinite number of useless facts ought to be retrenched from history!

* See Mr. de Voltaire's letter to Mr. Norberg.

and how do I felicitate myself in having abridged the history of Charles XII!

Norberg had neither judgment nor genius, nor a sufficient knowledge of the world; and it was for that reason, perhaps, that Charles XII. thought proper to chuse him for his confessor. Whether he made that prince a good Christian or not, I will not take upon me to determine, but most undoubtedly he has not made him a hero; and the memory of Charles XII. would be buried in oblivion, were it not transmitted to posterity by abler historians than Mr. Norberg.

It may not here be improper to inform the reader, that there appeared, some years ago, a small pamphlet, entitled, "Historical and Critical Remarks on the History of Charles XII. by Mr. de Voltaire." This little performance was composed from some anecdotes of count Poniatowski. These contained his answers to some fresh questions which I had proposed to him in his last journey to Paris. But his secretary having taken a double copy of them, they fell into the hands of a Dutch bookseller, who did not fail to publish them; and the corrector of the press gave them the title of "Critical," in order to procure them a better sale. This is one of those petty larcenies, which are sometimes practised in the bookselling trade.

La Motraye, a domestic of Mr. Fabricius, has likewise published some remarks on this history. Among the errors and trifles with which this critique of la Motraye is filled, there are some things that are true and useful, and of these I have taken care to avail myself in the latter editions of my history, especially in that of 1739. An historian should neglect nothing: he ought, if possible, to consult both kings and valets de chambre.

A Dis-

A DISCOURSE ON the HISTORY of CHARLES XII.
Prefixed to the first Edition.

FEW are the princes whose lives merit a particular history. In vain have most of them been the objects of slander, or of flattery. Small is the number of those whose memory is preserved; and that number would be still more inconsiderable, were none but the good remembered.

The princes who have the best claim to immortality are such as have benefited mankind. Thus, while France endures, the affection of Lewis XII for his people will ever be had in grateful remembrance. The great failings of Francis I. will be excused, for the sake of the arts and sciences of which he was the father. Blessed will be the memory of Henry IV. who conquered his kingdom as much by his clemency as by his valour. And the munificence of Lewis XIV. in protecting the arts which owed their birth to Francis I. will be ever extolled.

It is for a very different reason, that the memory of bad princes is preserved; like fires, plagues, and inundations, they are remembered only for the mischief they have done.

Conquerors hold a middle rank between good kings and tyrants, but are most akin to the latter. As they have a glaring reputation, we are desirous of knowing the most minute circumstances of their lives; for such is the weakness of mankind, that they admire those who have rendered themselves remarkable for wickedness, and talk with greater pleasure of the destroyer than of the founder of an empire.

As for those princes who have neither distinguished themselves in peace nor in war; who have neither been remarkable for great virtues nor great vices; their lives furnish so little matter, either for imitation or instruction, that they are not worthy of being committed to writing. Of so many emperors of Rome, Greece, Germany, and Muscovy; of so many sultans, caliphs, popes, and kings; how few are there, whose names deserve to be recorded any where but in chronological tables, where they only serve to mark the different epochs.

There is a vulgar among princes, as well as among the rest of mankind; yet such is the itch of writing, that no sooner is a prince dead, than the world is filled with volumes under the title of memoirs and histories of his life, and anecdotes of his court. By these means books have been multiplied in such a manner, that were a man to live an hundred years, and to employ them all in reading, he would not have time to run over what hath been published relating to the history of Europe alone, for the two last centuries.

This eager and unreasonable desire of transmitting useless stories to posterity, and of fixing the attention of future ages upon common events, proceeds from a weakness extremely incident to those who have lived in courts, and have unhappily been engaged in the management of public affairs. They consider the court in which they have lived as the most magnificent in the world; their king as the greatest monarch; and the affairs in which they have been concerned as the most important that ever were transacted: and they vainly imagine, that posterity will view them in the same light.

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If a prince undertakes a war, or his court is embroiled in cabals and intrigues; if he buys the friendship of one of his neighbours, or sells his own to another; if, after some victories and defeats, he at last makes peace with his enemies; his subjects are so warm and interested by the part which they themselves have acted in these scenes, that they regard their own age as the most glorious that hath existed since the creation. But what is the consequence? Why, this prince dies; new measures are adopted; the intrigues of his court, his mistresses, his ministers, his generals, his wars, and even himself, is forgotten.

Ever since the time that Christian princes have been endeavouring to cheat one another, and have alternately been making war and peace, they have signed an immense number of treaties, and fought as many battles; they have performed many glorious, and many infamous actions. Nevertheless, should all this heap of transactions be transmitted to posterity, they would most of them destroy and annihilate each other; and the memory of those only would remain which have produced great revolutions, or which, being related by able writers, are preserved from oblivion, like the pictures of obscure persons, drawn by a masterly hand.

Sensible then, as we are, of the truth of these observations, we should not have added a particular history of Charles XII. king of Sweden, to the infinite number of books with which the world is already crowded, were it not that he and his rival, Peter Alexiowitz, by far the greater man of the two, are universally allowed to be the most illustrious persons that have appeared for upwards of
twenty

twenty centuries. The trifling pleasure, however, of relating extraordinary events was not our only motive for engaging in this work; we flattered ourselves that it might be of some little use to princes, should it ever happen to fall into their hands. No king, surely, can be so incorrigible as, when he reads the history of Charles XII. not to be cured of the vain ambition of making conquests. Where is the prince that can say, I have more courage, more virtues, more resolution, greater strength of body, greater skill in war, or better troops, than Charles XII? And yet, if, with all these advantages, and after so many victories, Charles was so unfortunate, what fate may other princes expect, who, with less capacity and fewer resources, shall entertain the same ambitious views?

This history is composed from the relations of some persons of distinction, who lived several years with Charles XII. and with Peter the Great, emperor of Muscovy; and who having retired, long after the death of these princes, into a country of liberty, can have no interest in concealing the truth. Mr. Fabricius, who lived in the most intimate familiarity with Charles XII. Mr. de Fierville, the French ambassador; Mr. de Villelongue, a colonel in the Swedish service, and even Mr. Poniatowski, have all of them contributed their share in furnishing me with materials.

In this work we have not ventured to advance a single fact, without consulting eye-witnesses of undoubted veracity; a circumstance that renders this history very different from those gazettes, which have already been published under the title of lives of Charles XII. If we have omitted some little skirmishes between the Swedish and Muscovite

vite officers, the reason is, that we mean to write the history, not of these officers, but only of the king of Sweden, and even of his life none but the most important events. The history of a prince, in our opinion, is not to relate every thing he did, but only what he did worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

Here it may not be improper to remark, that many things, which were true at the time of writing this history in 1728, are not so at present. Commerce, for instance, begins to be more encouraged in Sweden. The Polish infantry are better disciplined, and are provided with regimental clothes, a convenience which they then wanted. In reading history, one ought always to remember the time in which the author wrote. To peruse the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, one would take the French for a set of enthusiasts, breathing nothing but faction, madness, and civil discord. To read the history of the happy years of Lewis XIV. one would think they were born to obey, to conquer, and to cultivate the polite arts. And, should any one consult the memoirs of the first years of Lewis XV. he will find them devoted to luxury and avarice, and too regardless of every thing else. The Spaniards at present are not the Spaniards of Charles V. and yet they may be so in a few years. The English of this age bear no more resemblance to the fanatics in Cromwell's time, than the monks and monsignori, that crowd the streets of Rome, do to the ancient Scipios. I doubt much whether the Swedish troops could be rendered, all of a sudden, so hardy and warlike as were those of Charles XII. We say of a man, that he was brave at such a time;

time ; in like manner we should say in speaking of a nation, they were of this or that character in such a year, and under such a government.

Should any prince or minister meet with disagreeable truths in this book, let them remember, that, as they act in a public station, they ought to give the public an account of their conduct. Such is the price they must pay for their greatness. The business of an historian is to record, not to flatter ; and the only way to oblige mankind to speak well of us, is to contribute all that lies in our power to their happiness and welfare.



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T H E C O N T E N T S .

An Abridgment of the History of SWEDEN, to the Reign of CHARLES XII. The Education of that Prince, and an Account of his Enemies. Character of the Czar PETER ALEXIOWITZ. Curious Anecdotes relative to that Prince and the RUSSIAN Nation. MUSCOVY, POLAND, and DENMARK, unite against CHARLES XII.

SWEDEN and Finland make up a kingdom two hundred leagues broad, and three hundred long. This country reaches from the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, or thereabouts, to the seventieth. It lies under a very severe climate, which is hardly ever softened either by the
return

return of spring or of autumn. The winter prevails there nine months in the year. The scorching heats of the summer succeed immediately to the excessive cold of the winter. The frost begins in the month of October, without any of those imperceptible gradations, which in other countries usher in the seasons, and render the alteration more agreeable. Nature, in return, hath given to this cold climate a clear sky and a pure air. The almost constant heat of the summer produces flowers and fruits in a very short time. The long nights of the winter are tempered by the evening and morning twilights, which last for a greater or a less time, in proportion as the sun is nearer to, or farther removed from Sweden; and the light of the moon, unobscured by clouds, and increased by the reflection of the snow that covers the ground, and frequently by the Aurora Borealis, makes it as convenient to travel in Sweden by night as by day. For want of pasture, the cattle there are smaller than in the more southern parts of Europe; but the men are of a large stature, healthful from the purity of the air, and strong from the severity of the climate; they live to a great age, unless enfeebled by the immoderate use of wines and strong liquors, of which the northern nations seem to be the more fond, the less nature hath indulged them with these commodities.

The Swedes are well made, strong, and active, and capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, want, and hunger. Born with a military genius, and high spirit, they are more brave than industrious, having long neglected, and even at present but little cultivating the arts of commerce, which alone can supply them with those productions in
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which their country is deficient. It was chiefly from Sweden*, they say, (one part of which is still called Gothland) that those swarms of Goths issued forth, who like a deluge over-ran Europe, and wrested it from the Romans, who had usurped the dominion of that vast country, which they continued for the space of five hundred years to harass by their tyranny, and to civilize by their laws.

The northern countries were much more populous at that time than they are at present. Religion, by allowing the men a plurality of wives, gave them an opportunity of furnishing the state with more subjects. The women themselves knew no reproach but that of sterility or idleness; and being as strong and as laborious as the men, they bore children faster and for a longer time. Sweden, however, with that part of Finland which it still retains, does not contain above four millions of inhabitants. The soil is poor and barren; Schonen is the only province that bears wheat. The current coin of the kingdom does not exceed nine millions of livres. The public bank, which is the oldest in Europe, was at first established from mere necessity; the copper and iron, in which their payments were formerly made, being too heavy to be transported.

* If our author had reflected with his usual precision, he would have perceived that a cold, barren country, of the extent of Sweden, could not possibly furnish one hundredth part of those multitudes that deluged all Europe; and a little inquiry would have given him to understand, that the Goths themselves came from Scythia or Tartary, which was called the *Officina Gentium*. It is now generally allowed that the Celtæ, the Goths, the Heruli, Vandals, and Huns, were all originally Tartars.

Sweden preserved its freedom without interruption to the middle of the fourteenth century. During that long period, the form of government was more than once altered; but all these alterations were in favour of liberty. The first magistrate was invested with the name of king, a title which, in different countries, is attended with very different degrees of power. In France and Spain it signifies an absolute monarch: in Poland, Sweden, and England, it means the first man of the republic. This king could do nothing without the senate; and the senate depended upon the states-general, which were frequently assembled. The representatives of the nation, in these grand assemblies, were the gentry, the bishops, and the deputies of the towns; and in process of time, the very peasants, a class of people unjustly despised in other places, and subject to slavery in almost all the northern countries, were admitted to a share in the administration.

About the year 1492, this nation, so jealous of its liberty, and which still piques itself on having conquered Rome about thirteen hundred years ago, was subjected to the yoke by a woman, and by a people less powerful than the Swedes.

Margaret of Valdemar, the Semiramis of the North, and queen of Denmark and Norway, subdued Sweden by force and stratagem, and united these three extensive kingdoms into one mighty monarchy. After her death, Sweden was rent by civil wars; it alternately threw off and submitted to the Danish yoke; was sometimes governed by kings, and sometimes by administrators. About the year 1520, this unhappy kingdom was horribly harassed by two tyrants: the one was Christian II. king of Denmark, a monster
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whose character was entirely composed of vices, without the least ingredient of virtue; the other an archbishop of Upsal, and primate of the kingdom, as barbarous as the former. These two, by mutual agreement, caused the consuls and the magistrates of Stockholm, together with ninety-four senators, to be seized in one day, and to be executed by the hand of the common hangman, under the frivolous pretence that they were excommunicated by the pope, for having dared to defend the rights of the state against the encroachments of the archbishop.

While these two men, unanimous in their oppressive measures, and disagreeing only about the division of the spoil, domineered over Sweden with all the tyranny of the most absolute despotism, and all the cruelty of the most implacable revenge, a new and unexpected event gave a sudden turn to the state of affairs in the North.

Gustavus Vasa, a young man, sprung from the ancient kings of Sweden, arose from the forests of Dalecarlia, where he had long lain concealed, and came to deliver his country from bondage. He was one of those great souls whom nature so seldom produces, and who are born with all the qualifications necessary to form the accomplished monarch. His handsome and stately person, and his noble and majestic air, gained him followers at first sight. His eloquence, recommended by an engaging manner, was the more persuasive, the less it was artful. His enterprising genius formed those projects which, though to the vulgar they may appear rash, are considered only as bold in the eyes of great men, and which his courage and perseverance enabled him to accomplish. Brave with circumspection, and mild and gentle in a
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fierce and cruel age, he was as virtuous as it is possible for the leader of a party to be.

Gustavus Vasa had been the hostage of Christian, and had been detained a prisoner contrary to the law of nations. Having found means to escape from prison, he had dressed himself in the habit of a peasant, and in that disguise had wandered about in the mountains and woods of Dalecarlia, where he was reduced to the necessity of working in the copper-mines, at once to procure a livelihood, and to conceal himself from his enemies. Buried, as he was, in these subterraneous caverns, he had the boldness to form the design of dethroning the tyrant. With this view he discovered himself to the peasants, who regarded him as one of those superior beings to whom the common herd of mankind are naturally inclined to submit. These savage boors he soon improved into hardy and warlike soldiers. He attacked Christian and the archbishop, beat them in several encounters, banished them both from Sweden, and, at last, was justly chosen by the states king of that country, of which he had been the deliverer.

Hardly was he established on the throne, when he undertook an enterprize still more difficult than his conquests. The real tyrants of the state were the bishops, who having engrossed into their own hands almost all the riches of Sweden, employed their ill-got wealth in oppressing the subjects, and in making war upon the king. This power was the more formidable, as, in the opinion of the ignorant populace, it was held to be sacred. Gustavus punished the catholic religion for the crimes of its ministers; and, in less than two years, introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, rather by the arts of policy, than by the influence
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of authority. Having thus conquered the kingdom, as himself was wont to say, from the Danes and the clergy, he reigned a happy and an absolute monarch to the age of seventy, and then died full of glory, leaving his family and religion in quiet possession of the throne.

One of his descendants was that Gustavus Adolphus, who is commonly called the great Gustavus. He conquered Ingria, Livonia, Bremen, Verden, Wismar, and Pomerania, not to mention above an hundred places in Germany, which, after his death, were yielded up by the Swedes. He shook the throne of Ferdinand II. and protected the Lutherans in Germany, an attempt in which he was secretly assisted by the pope himself, who dreaded the power of the emperor much more than the prevalence of heresy. He it was that by his victories effectually contributed to humble the house of Austria; though the glory of that enterprise is usually ascribed to cardinal de Richelieu, who well knew how to procure himself the reputation of those great actions, which Gustavus was contented with simply performing. He was just upon the point of extending the war beyond the Danube, and perhaps of dethroning the emperor, when he was killed, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, at the battle of Lutzen, which he gained over Walstein, carrying along with him to his grave the name of Great, the lamentations of the North, and the esteem of his enemies.

His daughter Christina, a lady of an extraordinary genius, was much fonder of conversing with men of learning, than of reigning over a people, whose knowledge was entirely confined to the art of war. She became as famous for quitting the throne as her ancestors had been
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for obtaining or securing it. The protestants have loaded her memory with many injurious aspersions, as if it were impossible for a person to be possessed of great virtues without adhering to Luther; and the papists have piqued themselves too much on the conversion of a woman who had nothing to recommend her but her taste for philosophy. She retired to Rome, where she passed the rest of her days in the midst of those arts of which she was so passionately fond, and for the sake of which she had renounced a crown at twenty-seven years of age.

Before her abdication, she prevailed upon the states of Sweden to elect her cousin, Charles Gustavus X. son to the count palatine, and duke of Deux-Ponts, as her successor. This prince added new conquests to those of Gustavus Adolphus. He presently carried his arms into Poland, where he gained the famous battle of Warsaw, which lasted for three days. He waged a long and a successful war with the Danes; besieged them in their capital; re-united Schonen to Sweden; and confirmed the duke of Holstein in the possession of Sleswick, at least for a time. At last, having met with a reverse of fortune, and concluded a peace with his enemies, he turned his ambition against his subjects, and formed the design of establishing a despotic government in Sweden. But, like the great Gustavus, he died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, without being able to finish his project, the full accomplishment of which was reserved for his son, Charles XI.

Charles XI. was a warrior, like all his ancestors, and more despotic than any of them. He abolished the authority of the senate, which was declared to be the senate of the king, and

not of the kingdom. He was prudent, vigilant, indefatigable; qualities that must certainly have secured him the love of his subjects, had not his despotic measures been more apt to excite their fear than to gain their affections.

In 1680 he married Ulrica Eleonora, daughter to Frederic III. king of Denmark, a princess eminent for her virtue, and worthy of greater confidence than her husband was pleased to repose in her. Of this marriage, on the 27th of June 1682, was born king Charles XII. the most extraordinary man, perhaps, that ever appeared in the world. In him were united all the great qualities of his ancestors; nor had he any other fault or failing, but that he possessed all these virtues in too high a degree. This is the prince whose history we now purpose to write, and concerning whose person and actions we shall relate nothing but what is vouched by the best authority.

The first book which was put into his hands was Puffendorff's introduction to the history of Europe, that from thence he might acquire an early knowledge of his own dominions, and of those of his neighbours. He next learned the German language, which he continued to speak for the future, with the same fluency as his mother-tongue. At seven years of age he could manage a horse; and the violent exercises in which he delighted, and which discovered his martial disposition, soon procured him a vigorous constitution, capable to support the incredible fatigues which his natural inclination always prompted him to undergo.

Though gentle in his infancy, he betrayed an inflexible obstinacy. The only way to influence him was to awaken his sense of honour; by mention-

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ing the word glory, you might have obtained any thing from him. He had a great aversion to the Latin tongue; but as soon as he heard that the kings of Poland and Denmark understood it, he learned it with great expedition, and retained so much of it, as to be able to speak it all the rest of his life. The same means were employed to engage him to learn the French; but he could never be persuaded to make use of that tongue, not even with the French ambassadors themselves, who understood no other.

As soon as he had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the Latin, his teacher made him translate Quintus Curtius; a book for which he conceived a great liking, rather on account of the subject than the style. The person who explained this author to him having asked him what he thought of Alexander: "I think (said the prince) I could wish to be like him." "But (resumed the preceptor) he only lived two and thirty years." "Ah! (replied he) and is not that enough, when one has conquered kingdoms?" The courtiers did not fail to carry these answers to the king his father, who would often cry out; "This child will excel me, and will even go beyond the great Gustavus." One day he happened to be diverting himself in the royal apartment, in viewing two plans; the one of a town in Hungary, which the Turks had taken from the emperor; the other of Riga the capital of Livonia, a province conquered by the Swedes about a century before. Under the plan of the town in Hungary were written these words, taken from the book of Job: "The Lord hath given it to me, and the Lord hath taken it from me; blessed be the name of the Lord." The young prince having read this inscription,
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immediately took a pencil, and wrote under the plan of Riga; "The Lord hath given it to me, and the devil shall not take it from me *." Thus, in the most indifferent actions of his childhood, his unconquerable spirit would frequently discover some traces of those heroic qualities which characterize great souls, and which plainly indicated what sort of a man he would one day prove.

He was but eleven years of age when he lost his mother, who expired on the fifth of August 1693. The disease of which she died was supposed to be owing to the bad usage she had received from her husband, and to her own endeavours to conceal her vexation. Charles XI. had, by means of a certain court of justice, which was called the Chamber of Liquidations, and erected by his sole authority, deprived a great number of his subjects of their wealth. Crowds of citizens ruined by this chamber, nobility, merchants, farmers, widows, and orphans, filled the streets of Stockholm, and daily repaired to the gate of the palace to pour forth their unavailing complaints. The queen succoured these unhappy people as much as lay in her power; she gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her cloaths; and when she had no more to give them, with tears in her eyes she threw herself at her husband's feet, beseeching him to have pity on his wretched subjects. The king gravely answered her, "Madam, we took you to bring us children, not to give us advice." And from that time he treated

* This anecdote I give from the information of two French ambassadors, who resided at the court of Sweden.

her with a severity that is said to have shortened her days.

He died four years after her, on the fifteenth of April 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, at a time when the empire, Spain, and Holland, on the one side, and France on the other, had referred the decision of their quarrels to his arbitration, and when he had already concerted the terms of accommodation between these different powers.

He left to his son, who was then fifteen years of age, a throne well established and respected abroad; subjects poor, but valiant and loyal; together with a treasury in good order, and managed by able ministers.

Charles XII. at his accession to the throne, found himself the absolute and undisturbed master, not only of Sweden and Finland, but also of Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, Wismar, Vibourg, the islands of Rugen and Oesel, and the finest part of Pomerania, together with the dutchy of Bremen and Verden, all of them the conquests of his ancestors, secured to the crown by long possession, and by the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva, and supported by the terror of the Swedish arms. The peace of Ryfwick, which was begun under the auspices of the father, being fully concluded under those of the son, he found himself the mediator of Europe, from the first moment of his reign.

The laws of Sweden fix the majority of their kings at the age of fifteen; but Charles XI. who was entirely absolute, put off, by his last-will, the majority of his son to the age of eighteen. In this he favoured the ambitious views of his mother Eduiga-Eleonora of Holstein, dowager of Charles

Charles X. who was appointed by the king her son, guardian to the young king her grandson, and regent of the kingdom, in conjunction with a council of five persons.

The regent had had a share in the management of public affairs during the reign of her son. She was now advanced in years; but her ambition, which was greater than her abilities, prompted her to entertain the pleasing hopes of possessing authority for a long time, under the king her grandson. She kept him at as great a distance as possible from all concern with the affairs of state. The young prince passed his time either in hunting or in reviewing his troops, and would even sometimes exercise with them; which amusement seemed only to be the natural effect of his youthful vivacity. He never betrayed any dissatisfaction sufficient to alarm the regent, who flattered herself that the dissipation of mind occasioned by these diversions would render him incapable of application, and leave her in possession of the supreme power for a considerable time.

One day in the month of November, and in the same year in which his father died, when he had been taking a review of several regiments, and Piper the counsellor was standing by him, he seemed to be absorbed in a profound reverie. "May I take the liberty (said Piper to him) of asking your majesty what you are thinking of so seriously?" "I am thinking (replied the prince) that I am capable of commanding those brave fellows; and I don't chuse that either they or I should receive orders from a woman." Piper immediately seized this opportunity of making his fortune; but conscious that his own interest was not sufficient for the execution of such a dangerous

ous enterprize, as the removal of the queen from the regency, and the hastening of the king's majority, he proposed the affair to count Axel Sparre, a man of a daring spirit, and fond of popularity. Him he cajoled with the hopes of being the king's confident. The count readily swallowed the bait, and undertook the management of the whole matter, while all his labours only tended to promote the interest of Piper. The counsellors of the regency were soon drawn into the scheme, and forthwith proceeded to the execution of it, in order to recommend themselves the more effectually to the king.

They went in a body to propose it to the queen, who little expected such a declaration. The counsellors of the regency laid the matter before the states-general, who were then assembled, and who were all unanimous in approving the proposal. The point was carried with a rapidity that nothing could withstand; so that Charles XII. had only to signify his desire of reigning, and, in three days, the states bestowed the government upon him. The queen's power and credit fell in an instant. She afterwards led a private life, which was more suitable to her age, though less agreeable to her humour. The king was crowned on the twenty-fourth of December following. He made his entry into Stockholm on a sorrel horse shod with silver, having a scepter in his hand and a crown upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a whole people, passionately fond of every novelty, and always conceiving great hopes from the reign of a young prince.

The ceremony of the consecration and coronation belongs to the archbishop of Upsal. This is almost the only privilege that remains to him of
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the great number that were claimed by his predecessors. After having anointed the prince, according to custom, he held the crown in his hand, in order to put it upon his head: Charles snatched it from him and crowned himself, regarding the poor prelate all the while with a stern look. The people, who are always dazzled by every thing that has an air of grandeur and magnificence, applauded this action of the king. Even those who had groaned most severely under the tyranny of the father, were foolish enough to commend the son for this instance of arrogance, which was a sure pledge of their future slavery.

As soon as Charles was master of the kingdom, he made Piper his chief confident, entrusting him at the same time with the management of public affairs, and giving him all the power of a prime minister, without the odium of the name. A few days after he created him a count, which is a dignity of great eminence in Sweden, and not an empty title that may be assumed without any manner of importance, as with us in France.

The beginning of the king's reign gave no very favourable idea of his character. It was imagined that he had been more ambitious of obtaining the supreme power, than worthy of possessing it. True it is, he had no dangerous passion; but his conduct discovered nothing but the follies of youth, and the freaks of obstinacy. He seemed to be equally proud and lazy. The ambassadors who resided at his court, took him even for a person of mean capacity, and represented him as such to their respective masters*. The Swedes entertained the same opinion of him: nobody knew

* This is confirmed by original letters.

his real character : he did not even know it himself, until the storm that suddenly arose in the North gave him an opportunity of displaying his great talents, which had hitherto lain concealed.

Three powerful princes, taking the advantage of his youth, conspired his ruin almost at the same time. The first was his own cousin, Frederick IV. king of Denmark : the second Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland : Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was the third, and the most dangerous. It will be necessary to unfold the origin of these wars, which produced such great events : and to begin with Denmark.

Of the two sisters of Charles XII. the eldest was married to the duke of Holstein, a young prince of an undaunted spirit and of a gentle disposition. The duke, oppressed by the king of Denmark, repaired to Stockholm with his spouse, and throwing himself into the arms of the king, earnestly implored his assistance. This he hoped to obtain, as Charles was not only his brother-in-law, but was likewise the sovereign of a people who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Danes.

The ancient house of Holstein, sunk into that of Oldenburg, had been advanced by election to the throne of Denmark in 1449. All the kingdoms of the North were at that time elective ; but the kingdom of Denmark soon after became hereditary. One of its kings, called Christiern III. had such a tender affection for his brother Adolphus, or, at least, such a regard for his interest, as is seldom to be met with among princes. He was desirous of investing him with sovereign power, and yet he could not dismember his own dominions. He therefore divided with him the dutchies of Holstein-Gottorp and Sleswick, by an odd kind
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of agreement, the substance of which was, that the descendants of Adolphus should ever after govern Holstein in conjunction with the kings of Denmark; that those two dutchies should belong to both in common; and that the king of Denmark should be able to do nothing in Holstein without the duke, nor the duke without the king. So strange an union, of which, however, we have had within these few years a similar instance in the same family, was, for near the space of eighty years, the source of perpetual disputes between the crown of Denmark and the house of Holstein-Gottorp; the kings always endeavouring to oppress the dukes, and the dukes to render themselves independent. A struggle of this nature had cost the last duke his liberty and sovereignty, both which, however, he recovered at the conferences of Altena in 1689, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, who became guarantees for the execution of the treaty. But as a treaty between princes is frequently no more than a giving way to necessity, till such time as the stronger shall be able to crush the weaker, the contest was revived with greater virulence than ever between the new king of Denmark and the young duke. And while the duke was at Stockholm, the Danes had already committed some acts of hostility in the country of Holstein, and had entered into a secret agreement with the king of Poland, to attack the king of Sweden himself.

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence nor negotiations of the abbé de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the prince of Conti, his competitor for the throne, had been able to prevent from being chosen king of Poland about two years before, was a prince

still less remarkable for his incredible strength of body than for his bravery and gallantry of soul. His court, next to that of Lewis XIV. was the most splendid of any in Europe. Never was prince more generous or munificent, or bestowed his favours with a better grace. He had purchased the votes of one half of the Polish nobility, and overawed the other by the approach of a Saxon army. As he thought he should have need of his troops in order to establish himself the more firmly on the throne, he wanted a pretext for retaining them in Poland; and he therefore resolved to employ them in attacking the king of Sweden, which he did on the following occasion.

Livonia, the most beautiful and the most fruitful province of the North, belonged formerly to the knights of the Teutonic order. The Russians, the Poles, and the Swedes, had severally disputed the possession of it. The Swedes had carried it from all the rest about an hundred years ago; and it had been formally ceded to them by the peace of Oliva.

The late king Charles XI. amidst his severities to his subjects in general, had not spared the Livonians. He had stripped them of their privileges, and of part of their estates. Patkul, who unhappily hath since become famous for his tragical death, was deputed by the nobility of Livonia to carry to the throne the complaints of the province. He addressed his master in a speech, respectful indeed, but bold, and full of that manly eloquence, which calamity, when joined to courage, never fail to inspire. But kings too frequently consider these public addresses as no more than vain ceremonies, which it is customary to suffer, without paying them any regard. Charles XI.
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however, who could play the hypocrite extremely well, when he was not hurried away by the violence of his passion, gently struck Patkul on the shoulder: "You have spoke for your country, (said he) like a brave man, and I esteem you for it; go on." Notwithstanding, in a few days after, he caused him to be declared guilty of high treason, and as such to be condemned to death. Patkul, who had hid himself, made his escape, and carried his resentment with him to Poland, where he was afterwards admitted into the presence of king Augustus. Charles XI. was now dead; but Patkul's sentence was still in force, and his indignation still unabated. He represented to his Polish majesty the facility of conquering Livonia, the people of which were mad with despair, and ready to throw off the Swedish yoke; while the king was a child, and unable to make any resistance. These representations were well received by a prince, who already flattered himself with the agreeable hopes of this important conquest. Augustus had engaged at his coronation to exert his most vigorous efforts, in order to recover the provinces which Poland had lost; and he imagined, that, by making an irruption into Livonia, he should at once please the people and establish his own power; in both which particulars, however promising of success, he at last found himself fatally disappointed. Every thing was soon got ready for a sudden invasion, which he resolved to make without having recourse to the vain formalities of declarations of war and manifestoes. The storm thickened at the same time on the side of Muscovy. The monarch who governed that kingdom merits the attention of posterity.

Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Russia, had already made himself formidable by the battle he had gained over the Turks in 1697, and by the reduction of Afoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. But it was by actions still more glorious than even his victories, that he aspired to the name of Great. Muscovy, or Russia, comprehends the northern parts of Asia and of Europe, and from the frontiers of China extends, for the space of fifteen hundred leagues, to the borders of Poland and Sweden. This immense country, however, was hardly known to Europe, before the time of the czar Peter. The Muscovites were less civilized than the Mexicans, when discovered by Cortez: born the slaves of masters as barbarous as themselves, they were sunk into a state of the most profound ignorance, into a total want of all the arts and sciences, and into such an insensibility of that want, as effectually suppressed every exertion of industry. An ancient law, which they held to be sacred, forbade them, under pain of death, to leave their native country without permission of their patriarch. This law, made with a view to preclude them from all opportunities of becoming sensible of their slavery, was very acceptable to a people, who, in the depth of their misery and ignorance, disdained all commerce with foreign nations.

The æra of the Muscovites began at the creation of the world: they reckoned up 7207 years to the beginning of the last century, without being able to assign any reason for this computation. The first day of their year answered to the thirteenth of our month of November. The reason they alledge for this regulation is, that it is probable

bable that God created the world in autumn, the season when the fruits of the earth are in their full maturity. Thus, the only appearances of knowledge which they had were founded upon gross errors; not one of them ever dreamed that the autumn of Muscovy might possibly be the spring of another country, situated in an opposite climate. Nor is it long since the people at Moscow were going to burn the secretary of a Persian ambassador, who had foretold an eclipse of the sun. They did not so much as know the use of figures; but in all their computations made use of little beads strung upon brass-wires. They had no other manner of reckoning in their computing-houses, not even in the treasury of the czar.

Their religion was, and still is, that of the Greek church, intermixed with many superstitious rites, to which they are the more strongly attached, in proportion as they are the more ridiculous, and their burden the more intolerable. Few Muscovites would venture to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the form of a dove. They regularly observed four lents in the year; and during those times of abstinence, they never presumed to eat either eggs or milk. God and St. Nicholas were the objects of their worship, and next to them the czar and the patriarch. The authority of the last was as unbounded as the people's ignorance. He pronounced sentences of death, and inflicted the most cruel punishments, without any possibility of an appeal from his tribunal. Twice a-year he made a solemn procession on horse-back, attended by all his clergy in order. The czar on foot held the bridle of his horse, and the people prostrated themselves before him in the streets, as the Tartars do before their
grand

grand lama. Confession was in use among them; but it was only in cases of the greatest crimes. In these absolution was necessary, but not repentance. They thought themselves pure in the sight of God, as soon as they received the benediction of their papas. Thus they passed, without remorse, from confession to theft and murder; and what among other Christians is a restraint from vice, with them was an encouragement to wickedness. On a fast-day, they would not even venture to drink milk; but on a festival, masters of families, priests, married women and maids, would make no scruple to intoxicate themselves with brandy. However, there were religious disputes among them as well as in other countries; but their greatest controversy was, whether laymen should make the sign of the cross with two fingers or with three. One Jacob Nurhoff, in the preceding reign, had raised a sedition in Altracan about this very quarrel. There were even some fanatics among them, as there are in those civilized nations where every one is a theologian; and Peter, who always carried justice to the extreme of cruelty, caused some of these wretched creatures, who were called Vosko-jesuits, to be committed to the flames.

The czar, in his vast dominions, had many other subjects who were not Christians. The Tartars, inhabiting the western coasts of the Caspian Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were Mahometans; the Siberians, the Ostiacks, and the Samoides, who lie towards the Frozen Sea, were savages, some of whom were idolaters, and others had not the least knowledge of a God; and yet the Swedes who were sent prisoners among them, were better pleased

pleased with their manners than with those of the ancient Muscovites.

Peter Alexiowitz had received an education that tended still more to encrease the barbarity of this part of the world. His natural disposition led him to caress strangers, before he knew what advantages he might derive from their acquaintance. Le Fort, as hath been already observed, was the first instrument he employed to change the face of affairs in Muscovy. His mighty genius, which a barbarous education had hitherto checked but not destroyed, broke forth all of a sudden. He resolved to be a man, to command men, and to create a new nation. Many princes before him had renounced crowns, wearied out with the intolerable load of public affairs; but no man had ever divested himself of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: this was a stretch of heroism which was reserved for Peter the Great alone.

He left Muscovy in 1698, having reigned as yet but two years, and went to Holland, disguised under a common name, as if he had been a menial servant of that same Mr. le Fort, whom he sent in quality of ambassador-extraordinary to the states-general. As soon as he arrived at Amsterdam, he enrolled his name among the shipwrights of the admiralty of the Indies, and wrought in the yard like the other mechanics. At his leisure hours he learned such parts of the mathematics as are useful to a prince, fortification, navigation, and the art of drawing plans. He went into the workmen's shops, and examined all their manufactures: nothing could escape his observation. From thence he passed over into England, where having perfected himself in the art

art of ship-building, he returned to Holland, carefully observing every thing that might turn to the advantage of his country. At last, after two years of travel and labour, to which no man but himself would have willingly submitted, he again made his appearance in Muscovy, with all the arts of Europe in his train. Artists of every kind followed him in abundance. Then were seen, for the first time, large Russian ships in the Baltick, and on the Black Sea and the Ocean. Stately buildings, of a regular architecture, were raised among the Russian huts. He founded colleges, academies, printing-houses, and libraries. The cities were brought under a regular police. The cloaths and customs of the people were gradually changed, though not without some difficulty; and the Muscovites learned by degrees the true nature of a social state. Even their superstitious rites were abolished; the dignity of the patriarch was suppressed; and the czar declared himself the head of the church. This last enterprize, which would have cost a prince less absolute than Peter both his throne and his life, succeeded almost without opposition, and insured to him the success of all his other innovations.

After having humbled an ignorant and a barbarous clergy, he ventured to make a trial of instructing them, though by that means he ran the risque of rendering them formidable; but he was too conscious of his own power to entertain any apprehension from that quarter. He caused philosophy and theology to be taught in the few monasteries that still remained. True it is, this theology still favours of that barbarous period in which Peter civilized his people. A gentleman of undoubted veracity assured me, that he was
present

present at a public disputation, where the point of controversy was, whether the practice of smoking tobacco was a sin? The respondent alledged, that it was lawful to get drunk with brandy, but not to smoke, because the holy scripture saith, "That that which proceedeth out of the mouth defileth a man, and that which entereth into it doth not defile him."

The monks were not satisfied with this reformation. Hardly had the czar erected his printing-houses, when these pious drones made use of them to publish declamations against their sovereign. One of them affirmed in print that Peter was Antichrist; and his arguments were, that he deprived the living of their beards, and allowed the dead to be dissected in his academy. But another monk, who had a-mind to make his fortune, refuted this book, and proved that Peter could not be Antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name. The libeller was broke upon the wheel, and the author of the refutation was made bishop of Rezan.

The reformer of Muscovy enacted a very wholesome law, the want of which reflects disgrace upon many civilized nations. By this law, no man engaged in the service of the state, no citizen established in trade, and especially no minor, was allowed to retire into a convent.

Peter knew of what infinite consequence it was to prevent useful subjects from consecrating themselves to idleness, and to hinder young people from disposing of their liberty, at an age when they are incapable of disposing of the least part of their patrimony. This law, however, so plainly calculated for the general interest of mankind, is daily eluded

cluded by the industry of the monks; as if they, forsooth, were gainers by peopling their convents at the expence of their country.

The czar not only subjected the church to the state, after the example of the Turkish emperors, but, what was a more masterly stroke of policy, he dissolved a militia of much the same nature with that of the janissaries: and what the sultans had attempted in vain, he accomplished in a short time: he disbanded the Russian janissaries, who were called Strelits, and who kept the czars in subjection. These troops, more formidable to their masters than to their neighbours, consisted of about thirty thousand foot, one half of which remained at Moscow, while the other was stationed upon the frontiers. The pay of a strelits was no more than four roubles a-year; but this deficiency was amply compensated by privileges and extortions. Peter at first formed a company of foreigners, among whom he enrolled his own name, and did not think it below him to begin the service in the character of a drummer, and to perform the duties of that mean office; so much did the nation stand in need of examples! By degrees he became an officer. He gradually raised new regiments; and, at last, finding himself master of a well-disciplined army, he broke the strelits, who durst not disobey.

The cavalry were nearly the same with that of Poland, or France, when this last kingdom was no more than an assemblage of fiefs. The Russian gentlemen mounted horse at their own expence, and fought without discipline, and sometimes without any other arms than a sabre or a bow, incapable of obeying, and consequently of conquering.

Peter

Peter the Great taught them to obey, both by the example he set them, and by the punishments he inflicted; for he served in the quality of a soldier and subaltern officer, and as czar he severely punished the boyards, that is, the gentlemen, who pretended that it was the privilege of their order not to serve but by their own consent. He established a regular body to serve the artillery, and took five hundred bells from the churches to found cannon. In the year 1714, he had thirteen thousand brass cannon. He likewise formed some troops of dragoons, a kind of militia very suitable to the genius of the Muscovites, and to the size of their horses, which are small. In 1738 the Russians had thirty regiments of dragoons, consisting of a thousand men each, and well accoutred.

He likewise established the Russian hussars; and had even a school of engineers, in a country where, before his time, no one understood the elements of geometry.

He was himself a good engineer; but his chief excellence lay in his knowledge of naval affairs: he was an able sea-captain, a skilful pilot, a good sailor, an expert ship-wright, and his knowledge of these arts was the more meritorious, as he was born with a great dread of the water. In his youth he could not pass over a bridge without trembling: on all these occasions he caused the wooden windows of his coach to be shut; but of this constitutional weakness he soon got the better by his courage and resolution.

He caused a beautiful harbour to be built at the mouth of the Tanais, near Asoph, in which he proposed to keep a number of gallies; and some time after, thinking that these vessels, so long,
light,

light, and flat, would probably succeed in the Baltick, he had upwards of three hundred of them built at his favourite city of Petersburg. He shewed his subjects the method of building ships with fir only, and taught them the art of navigation. He had even learned surgery, and, in a case of necessity, has been known to tap a dropsical person. He was well versed in mechanics, and instructed the artists.

Indeed the revenue of the czar, when compared to the immense extent of his dominions, was very inconsiderable. It never amounted to four and twenty millions of our money, reckoning the mark at about fifty livres, as we do to-day, though perhaps we may do otherwise to-morrow. But a man may always be accounted rich, who has it in his power to accomplish great undertakings. It is not the scarcity of money that weakens a state; it is the want of hands, and of men of abilities.

Russia, notwithstanding the women are fruitful and the men robust, is far from being populous. Peter himself, in civilizing his dominions, unhappily contributed to their depopulation. Frequent levies in his wars, which were long unsuccessful; nations transported from the coasts of the Caspian Sea to those of the Baltick, destroyed by fatigue, or cut off by diseases; three fourths of the Muscovite children dying of the small-pox, which is more dangerous in those climates than in any other; in a word, the melancholy effects of a government savage for a long time, and even barbarous in its policy; to all these causes it is owing, that in this country, comprehending so great a part of the continent, there are still vast deserts. Russia, at present, is supposed to contain five hundred thousand families of gentlemen; two hundred

dred thousand lawyers; something more than five millions of citizens and peasants, who pay a sort of tax; six hundred thousand men who live in the provinces conquered from the Swedes; the Cossacks in the Ukraine, and the Tartars that are subject to Muscovy, do not exceed two millions; in fine, it appears that in this immense country, there are not above fourteen millions of men, that is, a little more than two thirds of the inhabitants of France.

While Peter was employed in changing the laws, the manners, the militia, and the very face of his country, he likewise resolved to encrease his greatness by encouraging commerce, which at once constitutes the riches of a particular state, and contributes to the interest of the world in general. He resolved to make Russia the center of trade between Asia and Europe. He determined to join the Duna, the Volga, and the Tanais, by canals, of which he drew the plans; and thus to open a new passage from the Baltick to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean.

The port of Archangel, frozen up for nine months in the year, and which could not be entered without making a long and dangerous circuit, he did not think sufficiently commodious. From the year 1700, he had formed a design of building a port upon the Baltic sea, that should become the magazine of the North, and of raising a city that should prove the capital of his empire.

He was already attempting to find out a north-east passage to China; and the manufactures of Pekin and Paris were designed to embellish his new city.

A road 754 versts long, running through marshes that were to be drained, led from Moscow to his new city. Most of these projects were executed by his own hands; and the two empresses, who have successively followed him, have even improved upon his schemes, when they were practicable, and abandoned none but such as it was impossible to accomplish.

He was always travelling up and down his dominions, as much as his wars would allow him; but he travelled like a legislator and natural philosopher, examining nature every where, endeavouring to correct or perfect her; sounding with his own hands the depth of seas and rivers; repairing sluices, visiting docks, causing mines to be searched for, assaying metals, ordering accurate plans to be drawn, in the execution of which he himself assisted.

He built upon a very wild and uncultivated spot, the imperial city of Petersburg, which now contains sixty thousand houses, and is the residence of a splendid court, where all the refined pleasures are known and enjoyed. He built the harbour of Cronstad, on the Neva, and St. Croix, on the frontiers of Persia; erected forts on the Ukraine, and in Siberia; established offices of admiralty at Archangel, Petersburg, Astracan, and Azoph; founded arsenals, and built and endowed hospitals. All his own houses were mean, and executed in a bad taste; but he spared no expences in rendering the public buildings grand and magnificent.

The sciences, which in other countries have been the slow product of so many ages, were, by his care and industry, imported into Russia in full perfection. He established an academy on the

the plan of the famous societies of Paris and London. The Delisles, the Bulfingers, the Hermannus's, the Bernouilles, and the celebrated Wolf, a man who excelled in every branch of philosophy, were all invited and brought to Petersburg at a great expence. This academy still subsists; and the Muscovites, at length, have philosophers of their own nation.

He obliged the young nobility to travel for improvement, and to bring back into Russia the politeness of foreign countries; and I have seen some young Russians who were men of genius and of knowledge. Thus it was that a single man changed the face of the greatest empire in the universe. It is however a shocking reflection, that this reformer of mankind should have been deficient in that first of all virtues, the virtue of humanity. Brutality in his pleasures, ferocity in his manners, and cruelty in his punishments, sullied the lustre of so many virtues. He civilized his subjects, and yet himself remained a barbarian. He would sometimes, with his own hands, execute sentences of death upon the unhappy criminals; and, in the midst of a revel, would shew his dexterity in cutting off heads. There are princes in Africa, who, with their own hands, shed the blood of their subjects; but these kings are always detested as barbarians. The death of a son, whom he ought to have corrected, or at most disinherited, would render the memory of Peter the object of universal hatred, were it not that the great and many blessings he bestowed upon his subjects, were almost sufficient to excuse his cruelty to his own offspring.

Such was the czar Peter; and his great projects were little more than in embryo when he joined the kings of Poland and Denmark against a child whom they all despised. The founder of the Russian empire was ambitious of being a conqueror; and such he thought he might easily become by the prosecution of a war, which, being entered into with so much prudence, could not fail, he imagined, of proving advantageous to his subjects: the art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people.

Besides, he wanted a port on the east side of the Baltic, to facilitate the execution of all his schemes. He wanted the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia. The Swedes were in possession of it, and from them he resolved to take it by force. His predecessors had had claims upon Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia; and the present seemed a favourable opportunity for reviving these claims, which had lain buried for a hundred years, and had been cancelled by the sanction of treaties. He therefore made a league with the king of Poland, to wrest from young Charles XII. all the territories that are bounded by the gulph of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland, and Muscovy.

HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII.
KING of SWEDEN.

BOOK II.

THE CONTENTS.

A sudden and surprising Change in the Character of CHARLES XII. at eighteen Years of Age: he undertakes a War against DENMARK, POLAND, and MUSCOVY: finishes the DANISH War in six Weeks: with eight thousand SWEDES defeats eighty thousand RUSSIANS; and then penetrates into POLAND. A Description of POLAND, and its form of Government. CHARLES gains several Battles; becomes master of POLAND, where he prepares to nominate a King.

IN this manner did three powerful sovereigns menace the infancy of Charles XII. The news of these preparations struck the Swedes with consternation, and alarmed the council. All the great generals were now dead; and every thing was to be feared under the reign of a young king, who had hitherto given no very favourable impressions of his character. He hardly ever af-

sisted at the council; and when he did, it was only to sit cross-legged on the table, absent, inattentive, and seemingly regardless of every thing that passed.

The council happened to hold a deliberation in his presence concerning the dangerous situation of affairs; some of the members proposed to avert the storm by negotiations, when all on a sudden Charles rose with an air of gravity and assurance, like a man of superior consequence who has chosen his side: "Gentlemen, said he, I am resolved never to begin an unjust war, nor ever to finish a just one but by the destruction of my enemies. My resolution is fixed. I will attack the first that shall declare against me; and, after having conquered him, I hope I shall be able to strike terror into the rest." All the old counsellors were astonished at this declaration, and looked at one another without daring to reply. Agreeably surprised to find their king possessed of such noble sentiments, and ashamed to be less sanguine in their expectations than him, they received his orders for the war with admiration.

They were still more surprised when they saw him at once bid adieu to the most innocent amusements of youth. The moment he began to make preparations for the war, he entered on a new course of life, from which he never afterwards deviated in one single instance. Full of the idea of Alexander and Cæsar, he proposed to imitate those two conquerors in every thing but their vices. No longer did he indulge himself in magnificence, sports, and recreations: he reduced his table to the most rigid frugality. He had formerly been fond of gaiety and dress; but from

that time he was never clad otherwise than a common soldier. He was supposed to have entertained a passion for a lady of his court: whether there was any foundation for this supposition does not appear; certain it is, he ever after renounced all commerce with women, not only for fear of being governed by them, but likewise to set an example of continence to his soldiers, whom he resolved to confine within the strictest discipline; perhaps too from the vanity of being thought the only king that could conquer a passion so difficult to be overcome. He likewise determined to abstain from wine during the rest of his life. Some people have told me, that his only reason for taking this resolution was to subdue his vicious inclinations in every thing, and to add one virtue more to his former stock; but the greater number have assured me, that it was to punish himself for a riot he had committed, and an affront he had offered to a lady at table, even in presence of the queen-mother. If that be true, this condemnation of his own conduct, and this abstinence which he imposed upon himself during the remainder of his life, is a species of heroism no less worthy of admiration*.

He began by assuring the duke of Holstein, his brother-in-law, of a speedy assistance. Eight thousand men were immediately sent into Pomerania, a province bordering upon Holstein, in order to enable the duke to make head against the Danes. The duke indeed had need of them. His dominions were already laid waste, the castle of Gottorp taken, and the city of Tonningen

* If we may judge from the whole tenour of his life and character, he had in fact no tenderness in his nature.

pressed by an obstinate siege, to which the king of Denmark was come in person, in order to enjoy a conquest, which he held to be certain. This spark began to throw the empire into a flame. On the one side the Saxon troops of the king of Poland, those of Brandenburg, Wolfenbuttle, and Hesse Cassel, advanced to join the Danes. On the other, the king of Sweden's eight thousand men, the troops of Hanover and Zell, and three Dutch regiments, came to the assistance of the duke. While the little country of Holstein was thus the theatre of war, two squadrons, the one from England, and the other from Holland, appeared in the Baltic. These two states were guarantees of the treaty of Altena, which the Danes had broke, and were eager to assist the duke of Holstein, because it was for the interest of their trade to check the growing power of the king of Denmark. They knew, that should he once become master of the Sound, he would impose the most rigorous laws upon the commercial nations, as soon as he should be able to do it with impunity. This consideration has long induced the English and the Dutch to maintain, as much as they can, a balance of power between the princes of the North. They joined the young king of Sweden, who seemed to be in danger of being crushed by such a powerful combination of enemies, and assisted him for the very same reason that the others attacked him; namely, because they thought him incapable of defending himself.

He was taking the diversion of boar-hunting when he received the news of the Saxons having invaded Livonia. This pastime he enjoyed in a manner equally new and dangerous. No other weapons

weapons were used but sharp-pointed sticks, with which the hunters defended themselves behind a cord stretched between two trees. A boar of a huge size came straight against the king, who, after a long struggle, by the help of the cord and stick, levelled him with the ground. It must be acknowledged, that in reading of such adventures as these, in considering the surprising strength of king Augustus, and reviewing the travels of the czar, we are almost tempted to think that we live in the times of Hercules and Theseus.

Charles set out for his first campaign on the eighth day of May, new stile, in the year 1700, and left Stockholm, whither he never returned. An innumerable company of people attended him to the port of Carelscoon, offering up their prayers for his safety, bedewing the ground with their tears, and expressing their admiration of his virtue. Before he left Sweden, he established at Stockholm a council of defence, composed of several senators, who were to take care of whatever concerned the navy, the army, and the fortifications of the country. The body of the senate were provisionally to regulate every thing besides, in the interior government of the kingdom. Having thus settled the administration of public affairs, and freed his mind from every other care, he devoted himself intirely to war. His fleet consisted of three and forty vessels: that in which he sailed, named the King Charles, and the largest that had ever been seen, was a ship of an hundred and twenty guns. Count Piper, his first minister, general Renschild, and the count de Guiscard, the French ambassador in Sweden, embarked along with him. He joined the squadrons of the

allies. The Danish fleet declined the combat, and gave the three combined fleets an opportunity of approaching so near to Copenhagen, as to throw some bombs into it.

Certain it is, it was the king himself that first proposed to general Renschild to make a descent, and to besiege Copenhagen by land, while it should be blocked up by sea. Renschild was surprised to receive a proposal that discovered as much prudence as courage, from such a young and unexperienced prince. Every thing was soon got ready for the descent. Orders were given for the embarkation of five thousand men, who lay upon the coast of Sweden, and who were joined to the troops they had on board. The king quitted his large ship and went into a frigate, and they then began to dispatch towards the shore three hundred grenadiers in small shallops. Among the shallops were some flat-bottomed boats that carried the fascines, the chevaux de frize, and the instruments of the pioneers. Five hundred chosen men followed in other shallops. Last of all came the king's men of war, with two English and two Dutch frigates, which were to favour the landing of the troops under cover of their cannon.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the isle of Zealand, in the midst of a beautiful plain, having the Sound on the north-east, and on the east the Baltic, where the king of Sweden then lay. At the unexpected movement of the vessels, which threatened a descent, the inhabitants were struck with consternation. Alarmed at the inactivity of their own fleet, and the motion of the Swedish ships, they looked round with terror, to observe where the storm would fall. Charles's fleet stopped over against Humblebeck, within
seven

seven miles of Copenhagen. In that place the Danes immediately drew up their cavalry. Their foot were posted behind thick entrenchments; and what artillery they could bring thither, was pointed against the Swedes.

The king then quitted his frigate, to throw himself into the first shallop, at the head of his guards. The French ambassador being always at his side, "Sir, said the king to him, in Latin, (for he would never speak French,) you have no quarrel with the Danes, you need go no farther, if you please." "Sir, answered the count de Guiscard, in French, the king my master hath ordered me to attend your majesty. I hope you will not this day banish me from your court, which never before appeared so splendid." So saying, he gave his hand to the king, who leaped into the shallop, whither he was followed by count Piper and the ambassador. They advanced under shelter of the cannon of the ships that favoured the landing. The small boats were still about three hundred paces from the shore. Charles, impatient to land, jumped into the sea, sword in hand, the water reaching above his waist. His ministers, the French ambassador, the officers and soldiers, immediately followed his example, and marched up to the shore, amidst a shower of musket-shot from the enemy. The king, who had never in his life before heard a discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked major Stuart, who stood next him, what meant that whistling which he heard. "It is the noise of the musket balls, which they fire upon you," replied the major. "Very well, says the king, henceforward that shall be my music." At that instant the major

received a shot in his shoulder, and a lieutenant on the other side of him fell dead at his feet.

It is usual for troops that are attacked in their trenches to be beat; because the assailants have always an impetuosity of courage, which the defenders cannot have; and besides, to wait for the enemy in our lines is frequently a confession of our own weakness, and of their superiority. The Danish horse and foot took to their heels, after a feeble resistance. The king having become master of their intrenchments, fell upon his knees to return thanks to God for the first success of his arms. He forthwith caused redoubts to be raised towards the town, and himself marked out the place for the encampment. Mean while he sent back his vessels to Schonen, a port of Sweden bordering upon Copenhagen, for a reinforcement of nine thousand men. Every thing conspired to favour the ardour of Charles's courage. The nine thousand men were upon the shore ready to embark, and next day a favourable wind brought them safe to the place of their destination.

All this passed within sight of the Danish fleet, who durst not venture to advance. Copenhagen, struck with terror, immediately sent deputies to the king, beseeching him not to bombard the city. He received them on horseback, at the head of his regiment of guards; and the deputies fell upon their knees before him. He exacted from the citizens four hundred thousand rix-dollars, commanding them, at the same time, to supply his camp with all kind of provisions, for which he assured them they should be honestly paid. They brought the provisions, because they durst not disobey; but they little expected that conquerors would condescend to pay for them; and

and those who brought them were surprised to find that they were generously and instantly paid, even by the meanest soldier in the army. There had long prevailed among the Swedish troops a strict discipline, which had greatly contributed to the success of their arms; and the king rendered it still more rigid. No soldier durst refuse to pay for what he had bought, still less to go a-plundering, nor even so much as to go out of the camp. What is more, he would not allow his troops, after a victory, to strip the bodies of the dead, until they had obtained his permission; and he easily brought them to the observance of this injunction. Prayers were regularly said in his camp twice a day; at seven in the morning and four in the afternoon; and he never failed to attend them himself, in order to give his soldiers an example of piety as well as of valour. His camp, which was better regulated than Copenhagen, had every thing in abundance; the peasants chusing much rather to sell their provisions to their enemies the Swedes, than to the Danes, who did not pay them so well. Even the citizens were more than once obliged to come to the Swedish camp to purchase those provisions which they could not find in their own markets.

The king of Denmark was then in Holstein, whither he seemed to have gone for no other purpose than to raise the siege of Tonningen. He saw the Baltic covered with the enemies ships, and a young conqueror already master of Zealand, and just upon the point of taking possession of his capital. He caused an edict to be published throughout all his dominions, promising liberty to every one that should take up arms against the Swedes. This declaration was of great

weight in a country which was formerly free, but where all the peasants, and even many of the citizens, are now-a-days slaves. Charles sent word to the king of Denmark, that his only intention in making war was to oblige him to come to a peace; and that he must either resolve to do justice to the duke of Holstein, or see Copenhagen levelled with the ground, and his dominions laid waste with fire and sword. The Dane was too happy in having to do with a conqueror who valued himself on his regard to justice. A congress was held in the town of Travendal, which lies on the frontiers of Holstein. The king of Sweden would not allow the negotiations to be protracted by the arts of ministers; but determined to have the treaty finished with the same rapidity with which he had made his descent upon Zealand. In effect, a peace was concluded, on the fifth of August, to the advantage of the duke of Holstein, who was indemnified for all the expences of the war, and delivered from oppression. The king of Sweden, fully satisfied with having succoured his ally, and humbled his enemy, would accept of nothing for himself. Thus Charles XII. at eighteen years of age, began and finished this war in less than six weeks.

Exactly at the same time, the king of Poland invested Riga, the capital of Livonia; and the czar was advancing on the east, at the head of near an hundred thousand men. Riga was defended by the old count d'Alberg, a Swedish general, who, at the age of eighty, joined all the fire of youth to the experience of sixty campaigns. Count Flemming, afterwards minister of Poland, a man of distinguished abilities as well in the field as the cabinet, and Patkul the Livonian, pushed

pushed the siege with great vigour, under the direction of the king; but notwithstanding several advantages which the besiegers had gained, the experience of old count d'Alberg baffled all their efforts, and the king of Poland began to despair of being able to take the town. At last he laid hold of an honourable pretext for raising the siege. Riga was full of merchants goods belonging to the Dutch. The states-general ordered their ambassador at the court of Augustus, to represent the matter to his majesty. The king of Poland did not long resist their importunities, and agreed to raise the siege, rather than occasion the least damage to his allies, who were not greatly surpris'd at this stretch of complaisance, to the real cause of which they were no strangers.

The only thing that Charles had now to do, towards the finishing of his first campaign, was to march against his rival in glory, Peter Alexowitz. He was the more exasperated against him, as there were still at Stockholm three Muscovite ambassadors, who had lately sworn to the renewal of an inviolable peace. Possessed, as he was himself of the most incorruptible integrity, he could not conceive how a legislator, like the czar, should make a jest of what ought to be held so sacred. The young prince, whose sense of honour was extremely refined, never imagined that there could be one system of morality for kings, and another for private persons. The emperor of Muscovy had just published a manifesto, which he had much better have suppressed. He there alledged, as the reason of the war, the little respect that had been shewn him when he went incognito to Riga, and the extravagant prices

his ambassadors had been obliged to pay for provisions. Such were the mighty injuries for which he ravaged Ingria, with eighty thousand men!

At the head of this great army he appeared before Narva, on the first of October, a season more severe in that climate than the month of January is at Paris. The czar, who in such weather would sometimes ride post for four hundred leagues, to see a mine or a canal, was not more sparing of his troops than of himself. He knew, moreover, that the Swedes, ever since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, could make war in the depth of winter as well as in summer; and he wanted to accustom the Russians likewise to forget all distinction of seasons, and to render them, one day, equal to the Swedes. Thus, in a time when frost and snow compel other nations in more temperate climates to agree to a suspension of arms, the czar Peter besieged Narva, within thirty degrees of the pole, and Charles XII. advanced to its relief. The czar was no sooner arrived before the place, than he immediately put in practice what he had learned in his travels. He marked out his camp, fortified it on all sides, raised redoubts at certain distances, and opened the trenches himself. He had given the command of his troops to the duke de Croix, a German, and an able general, but who at that time was little assisted by the Russian officers. As for himself, he had no other rank in the army than that of a private lieutenant. He thereby gave an example of military obedience to his nobility, hitherto unacquainted with discipline, and accustomed to march at the head of ill-armed slaves, without experience and without order. There was

was nothing strange in seeing him who had turned carpenter at Amsterdam, in order to procure himself fleets, serve as lieutenant at Narva, to teach his subjects the art of war.

The Muscovites are strong and indefatigable, and perhaps as courageous as the Swedes; but it requires time and discipline to render troops warlike and invincible. The only regiments that could be depended upon were commanded by some German officers; but their number was very inconsiderable. The rest were barbarians forced from their forests, and covered with the skins of wild beasts; some armed with arrows, and others with clubs. Few of them had fuses; none of them had ever seen a regular siege; and there was not one good cannoneer in the whole army. An hundred and fifty cannon, which one would have thought must have soon reduced the little town of Narva to ashes, were hardly able to make a breach, while the artillery of the city mowed down at every discharge whole ranks of the enemy in their trenches. Narva was almost without fortifications: the baron de Hoorn, who commanded there, had not a thousand regular troops; and yet this immense army could not reduce it in ten weeks.

It was now the fifth of November, when the czar learned that the king of Sweden had crossed the sea with two hundred transports, and was advancing to the relief of Narva. The Swedes were not above twenty thousand strong. The czar had no advantage but that of numbers. Far therefore from despising his enemy, he employed every art in order to crush him. Not content with eighty thousand men, he resolved to oppose to him another army still, and to check

his progress at every step. He had already given orders for the march of about thirty thousand men, who were advancing from Pleskow with great expedition. He then took a step that would have rendered him contemptible, could a legislator who had performed such great and glorious actions incur that imputation. He left his camp, where his presence was necessary, to go in quest of this new army, which might have arrived well enough without him, and seemed by this conduct to betray his fear of engaging in his entrenchments a young and unexperienced prince who might come to attack him.

Be that as it will, he resolved to shut up Charles XII. between two armies. Nor was this all: a detachment of thirty thousand men from the camp before Narva were posted at a league's distance from the city, directly in the king of Sweden's road: twenty thousand strelits were placed farther off, upon the same road; and five thousand others composed an advanced guard; and he must necessarily force his way through all these troops before he could reach the camp, which was fortified with a rampart and double fosse. The king of Sweden had landed at Pernaw, in the gulph of Riga, with about sixteen thousand foot, and little more than four thousand horse. From Pernaw he made a flying march to Revel, followed by all his cavalry, and only by four thousand foot. He always marched in the van of his army, without waiting for the rear. He soon found himself, with his eight thousand men only, before the first posts of the enemy. He immediately resolved, without the least hesitation, to attack them, one after another, before they could possibly learn with what a small number they had

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to engage. The Muscovites seeing the Swedes come upon them, imagined they had a whole army to encounter. The advanced guard of five thousand men, posted among rocks, a station where one hundred resolute men might have stopped the march of a large army, fled at their first approach. The twenty thousand men that lay behind them, perceiving the flight of their fellow soldiers, took the alarm, and carried their terror and confusion with them into the camp. All the posts were carried in two days; and what upon other occasions would have been reckoned three distinct victories, did not retard the king's march for the space of one hour. He appeared then at last with his eight thousand men, exhausted by the fatigues of so long a march, before a camp of eighty thousand Muscovites, defended by a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and, scarce allowing his troops any time for rest, he instantly gave orders for the attack.

The signal was two fuses, and the word in German, "With the aid of God." A general officer having represented to him the greatness of the danger, "What, says he, do not you think, that with my eight thousand brave Swedes, I may easily beat eighty thousand Russians?" But soon after, fearing that what he had said might savour too much of gasconade, he ran after the officer, "And are not you (says he) of the same opinion? havenot I a double advantage over the enemy? one, that their cavalry can be of no service to them; the other, that the place being narrow, their number will only incommode them; and thus in reality I shall be stronger than they." The officer did not care to differ from him; and thus they

they marched against the Muscovites about mid-day, on the 30th of November 1700.

As soon as their cannon had made a breach in their intrenchments, the Swedes advanced with screwed bayonets, having a furious shower of snow on their backs, which drove full in the face of the enemy. The Russians stood the shock for half an hour, without flinching. The king made his attack upon the right of the camp, where the czar's quarters lay, hoping to come to a rencounter with him, as he did not know that he had gone in quest of the forty thousand men, who were daily expected to arrive. At the first discharge of the enemy's muskets, he received a shot in his neck; but as it was a spent ball, it lodged in the folds of his black neckcloth, and did him no harm. His horse was killed under him. Mr. de Spar told me, that the king mounted another horse with great agility, saying, "These fellows make me go thorough my exercise;" and continued to fight and give orders with the same presence of mind. After an engagement of three hours, the entrenchments were forced on all sides. The king pursued the right of the enemy as far as the river Narva, with his left wing; if we may be allowed to call by that name about four thousand men, who were in pursuit of near forty thousand. The bridge broke under the fugitives, and the river was immediately filled with dead carcases. The rest returned to their camp, without knowing whither they went; and finding some barracks, they took post behind them. There they defended themselves for a while, as they were not able to make their escape; but at last their generals Dolgorouky, Gollofkin, and Federowitz, surrendered themselves to the king, and laid their
arms

arms at his feet; and while they were presenting them to him, the duke de Croi came up and surrendered himself with thirty officers.

Charles received all these prisoners of distinction with as much civility and politeness as if he had been paying them the honours of an entertainment in his own court. He detained none but the general officers. All the subalterns and common soldiers were disarmed and conducted to the river Narva, where they were supplied with boats for passing over, and allowed to return to their own country. In the mean time night came on, and the right wing of the Muscovites still continued the fight. The Swedes had not lost above six hundred men. Eight thousand Muscovites had been killed in their intrenchments; many were drowned; many had crossed the river; and yet there still remained in the camp a sufficient number to cut off the Swedes to the last man. But the loss of battles is not so much owing to the number of the killed, as to the timidity of those who survive. The king employed the small remains of the day in seizing upon the enemy's artillery. He took possession of an advantageous post between the camp and the city, where he slept a few hours upon the ground, wrapt up in his cloak, intending, at day-break, to fall upon the left wing of the enemy, which was not yet intirely routed. But at two o'clock in the morning, general Wade, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the king had given to the other generals, and of his having dismissed all the subaltern officers and soldiers, sent a messenger to him, begging he would grant him the same favour. The conqueror replied, that he should have it, provided he would come

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at the head of his troops, and make them lay their arms and colours at his feet. Soon after the general appeared with his Muscovites, to the number of about thirty thousand. They marched, both soldiers and officers, with their heads uncovered, through less than seven thousand Swedes. The soldiers, as they passed the king, threw their guns and swords upon the ground, and the officers presented him with their ensigns and colours. He caused the whole of this multitude to be conducted over the river, without detaining a single soldier. Had he kept them, the number of prisoners would at least have been five times greater than that of the conquerors.

After this, he entered victorious into Narva, accompanied by the duke de Croi, and other general officers of the Muscovites. He ordered their swords to be restored to them all; and knowing that they wanted money, and that the merchants of Narva would not lend them any, he sent a thousand ducats to the duke de Croi, and five hundred to every Muscovite officer, who could not sufficiently admire the civility of this treatment, of which they were incapable of forming the least conception. An account of the victory was immediately drawn up at Narva, in order to be sent to Stockholm, and to the allies of Sweden; but the king expunged with his own hand every circumstance in the relation that tended too much to his own honour, or seemed to reflect upon the czar. His modesty however could not hinder them from striking at Stockholm several medals to perpetuate the memory of these events. Among others they struck one which represented the king on one side, standing on a pedestal, to which were chained a Muscovite,
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a Dane, and a Polander; and on the reverse a Hercules, holding his club, and treading upon a Cerberus, with this inscription: *Tres uno contudit istu.*

Among the prisoners taken at the battle of Narva, there was one whose fate exhibited a remarkable instance of the great inconstancy of fortune. He was the eldest son and heir of the king of Georgia; his name the czarasis Artschelou. This title of czarasis, among the Tartars, as well as in Muscovy, signifies prince, or son of the czar; for the word czar, or tsar, signified king among the ancient Scythians, from whom all these people are descended, and is not derived from the Cæsars of Rome, so long unknown to these barbarians. His father Mittelleski, czar, and master of the most beautiful part of the country, lying between the mountains of Ararat and the eastern coasts of the Black Sea, having been expelled from his kingdom by his own subjects, in 1688, had rather chosen to throw himself into the arms of the emperor of Muscovy, than to apply to the Turks for assistance. His son, a youth of nineteen years of age, followed Peter the Great in his expedition against the Swedes, and was taken fighting by some Finland soldiers, who had already stripped him, and were upon the point of killing him. Count Renschild rescued him from their hands, supplied him with cloaths, and presented him to his master. Charles sent him to Stockholm, where the unfortunate prince died in a few years after. The king, upon seeing him depart, could not help making, in the hearing of his officers, a very natural reflection on the strange fate of an Asiatick prince, born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, and going to live a prisoner among
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the snows of Sweden. "It is just, says he, as if I were one day to be a prisoner among the Crim Tartars." These words made no impression at that time; but, in the sequel, there was but too much occasion to remember them, when the event had proved them to be a prediction.

The czar was advancing, by long marches, with a body of forty thousand Russians, in full hopes of surrounding his enemy on all sides; but before he had proceeded half way, he received intelligence of the battle of Narva, and of the dispersion of his whole army. He was not so foolish as to think of attacking with his forty thousand raw and undisciplined troops, a conqueror, who had lately defeated eighty thousand men in their entrenchments. He returned home, with a determined resolution of disciplining his troops, at the same time that he civilized his subjects. "I know, says he, that the Swedes will beat us for a long time; but, at last, they will teach us to beat them." Moscow, his capital, was in the utmost terror and consternation at the news of this defeat. Such was the pride and ignorance of the people, that they actually imagined they had been conquered by a power more than human, and that the Swedes were so many magicians. This opinion was so general, that public prayers were ordered to be put up to St. Nicholas, the patron of Muscovy, on the occasion. The form of these prayers is too singular to be omitted. It runs thus:

"O thou, who art our perpetual comforter in all our adversities, great St. Nicholas, infinitely powerful, by what sin have we offended thee, in our sacrifices, kneelings, bowings, and thanksgivings, that thou hast thus abandoned us? We implored

plored thy assistance against these terrible, insolent, enraged, dreadful, unconquerable destroyers, when, like lions and bears robbed of their young, they fell upon, terrified, wounded, and slew by thousands, us who are thy people. As it is impossible that this should have happened without forcery and witchcraft, we beseech thee, O great St. Nicholas, to be our champion and standard-bearer, to deliver us from this troop of forcerers, and to drive them far from our frontiers, with the recompense they deserve."

While the Muscovites were thus complaining of their defeat to St. Nicholas, Charles XII. returned thanks to God, and prepared himself for new victories.

The king of Poland had reason to fear, that his enemy, already victorious over the Danes and the Muscovites, would soon turn his arms against him. He entered into a closer alliance with the czar than ever he had done before. These two princes agreed upon an interview, in order to concert their measures. They met at Birsén, a small town in Lithuania, without any of those formalities which serve only to retard business, and neither suited their situation nor their humour. The princes of the North visit one another with a familiarity that has not yet taken place in the more southern parts of Europe. Peter and Augustus spent fifteen days together, in the enjoyment of pleasures, which were even somewhat extravagant; for the czar, amidst his cares for the reformation of his subjects, could never correct his dangerous propensity to debauchery.

The king of Poland engaged to furnish the czar with fifty thousand German troops, which were to be hired from several princes, and for which
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the czar was to pay. Peter, on the other hand, was to send fifty thousand Russians into Poland, to learn the art of war, and promised to pay to Augustus three millions of rix dollars in two years. This treaty, had it been carried into execution, might have proved fatal to the king of Sweden: it was a sure and ready method of rendering the Muscovites good soldiers: perhaps it was forging chains for a part of Europe.

Charles XII. exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the king of Poland from reaping any benefit from this league. After having passed the winter at Narva, he appeared in Livonia in the neighbourhood of Riga, the very town which Augustus had in vain besieged. The Saxon troops were posted along the river Duna, which is very broad in that place; and Charles, who lay on the other side of the river, was obliged to dispute the passage. The Saxons were not commanded by their own prince, who was then sick, but were headed by Marshal Stenau, who acted as general, under whom commanded prince Ferdinand duke of Courland, and that same Patkul, who had formerly, at the hazard of his life, vindicated the privileges of his country, against Charles XI. by his pen, and now defended the same cause against Charles XII. by his arms. The king of Sweden had caused some large boats to be built of a new construction, whose sides were much higher than ordinary, and could be raised or let down, like a draw-bridge. When raised they covered the troops on board, and when let down they served as a bridge to land them. He likewise made use of another artifice. Having observed that the wind blew from the north, where he lay, to the south, where the enemy were encamped, he set
fire

fire to a large heap of wet straw, which diffusing a thick smoak over the river, prevented the Saxons from seeing his troops, or observing what he was going to do. Under cover of this cloud, he dispatched some barks filled with more of the same smoaking straw; so that the cloud always encreasing, and being driven by the wind directly to the face of the enemy, rendered it impossible for them to know whether the king was passing or not. Mean while, he alone conducted the execution of his stratagem; and when he had reached the middle of the river, "Well, says he to general Renschild, the Duna will be as favourable to us as the sea of Copenhagen; take my word for it, general, we shall beat them." He arrived at the other side in a quarter of an hour, and was sorry to find that he was only the fourth person that leapt on shore. He forthwith landed his cannon, and drew up his troops in order of battle, while the enemy, blinded with smoke, could make no opposition, except by a few random shot. At last the mist being dispersed by the wind, the Saxons saw the king of Sweden already advancing against them.

Mareschal Stenau lost not a moment. As soon as he observed the Swedes, he rushed upon them with the flower of his cavalry. The violent shock of this body falling upon the Swedes just as they were forming, threw them into confusion. They gave way, were broken, and pursued even into the river. The king of Sweden rallied them in a moment, in the midst of the water, with as much composure as if he had been making a review; then the Swedes, marching more compact than before, repulsed mareschal Stenau, and advanced into the plain. Stenau, finding his troops
begin

begin to stagger, acted like an able general. He made them retire into a dry place, flanked with a morass and a wood, where his artillery lay. The advantage of the ground, and the time which the Saxons had thus obtained, of recovering from their first surprize, restored to them their former courage. Charles immediately began the attack. He had fifteen thousand men: Stenau and the duke of Courland about twelve thousand, with no other artillery than one dismounted cannon. The battle was obstinate and bloody. The duke had two horses killed under him: he penetrated thrice into the heart of the king's guards; but at length being unhorsed by a blow with the but-end of a musket, his army was thrown into confusion, and no longer disputed the victory. His cuirassiers carried him off with great difficulty, all bruised, and half dead, from the thickest of the fight, and from under the horses heels, which trampled on him.

Immediately after this victory, the king of Sweden advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. All the towns of the dutchy surrendered to him at discretion: it was rather a journey than a conquest. From thence he passed without delay into Lithuania, conquering wherever he came: and he felt a pleasing satisfaction, as he himself owned, when he entered triumphant into the town of Birsen, where the king of Poland and the czar had plotted his destruction but a few months before.

It was in this place that he formed the design of dethroning the king of Poland, by the hands of the Poles themselves. One day when he was at table, full of this enterprize, and observing as usual, the strictest temperance, wrapped up in a pro-

profound silence, and seeming, as it were, absorbed in the greatness of his conceptions, a German colonel who waited upon him, said with an audible voice, that the meals which the czar and the king of Poland had made in the same place were somewhat different from those of his majesty. "Yes, says the king, rising, and I shall the more easily spoil their digestion." In short, by intermixing a little policy with the force of his arms, he resolved to hasten the execution of this mighty project.

Poland, a part of the ancient Sarmatia, is somewhat larger than France, but less populous, though it is more so than Sweden. The inhabitants were converted to Christianity only about seven hundred and fifty years ago. It is somewhat surprising, that the Roman language, which never penetrated into that country, is now a-days spoken in common no where but in Poland; there every one speaks Latin, even the very servants. This extensive country is very fertile; but the natives are only, on that account, so much the less industrious. The artists and tradesmen in Poland, are Scotch, French, and especially Jews. The last have, in this country, near three hundred synagogues; and multiplying too fast, and to too great numbers, they will in time be banished from it, as they have already been from Spain. They buy the corn, the cattle, and the commodities of the country at a low rate, dispose of them at Dantzick, and in Germany, and sell to the nobles at a high price wherewithal to gratify the only species of luxury which they know and love. Thus Poland, watered with the finest rivers in the world, rich in pastures, and in mines of salt, and covered with luxuriant crops, remains

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poor, in spite of its plenty; because the people are slaves, and the nobles are proud and indolent.

The constitution of Poland is the most perfect model of the ancient government of the Goths and Celtæ, which hath been corrected or altered every where else. It is the only state that has preserved the name of republick together with the royal dignity.

Every gentleman has a right to give his vote in the election of a king, and may even be elected himself. This inestimable privilege is attended with inconveniences proportionably great. The throne is almost always exposed to sale; and as a Polander is seldom able to make the purchase, it has frequently been sold to strangers. The nobility and clergy defend their liberties against the king, and deprive the rest of the nation of theirs. The body of the people are slaves. Such is the unhappy fate of mankind, that in every country the greater number are, one way or other, enslaved by the lesser. There the peasant sows not for himself, but for his lord, to whom his person, his lands, and even the labour of his hands belong; and who can sell him, or cut his throat with the same impunity as he kills the beasts in the field. Every gentleman is independent. He cannot be tried in a criminal cause but by an assembly of the whole nation: he cannot be arrested till once he is condemned; so that he is hardly ever punished. There are great numbers of poor among them. These engage in the service of the more wealthy, receive wages from them, and perform the meanest offices. They rather chuse to serve their equals, than to enrich themselves by commerce; and while they are dressing their masters horses, they give them-
selves

selves the title of electors of kings and destroyers of tyrants.

To see a king of Poland in the pomp of royal majesty, one would take him to be the most absolute prince in Europe ; and yet he is the least so. The Poles really make with him that contract, which in other nations is only supposed to be made between the king and the subjects. The king of Poland, even at his consecration, and in swearing to the *Paſſa conventa*, absolves his subjects from the oath of allegiance, should he ever violate the laws of the republic.

He nominates to all offices, and confers all honours. Nothing is hereditary in Poland, but the lands and rank of the nobility. The son of a palatine, or of a king, has no claim to the dignity of his father. But there is this great difference betwixt the king and the republic, that the former cannot strip any person of an office after he has bestowed it upon him ; whereas the latter may deprive him of the crown, if he transgress the laws of the state.

The nobility, jealous of their liberty, frequently sell their votes, but seldom their affections. They have no sooner elected a king, than they begin to fear his ambition, and to oppose him by their cabals. The grandees whom he has made, and whom he cannot unmake, often become his enemies, instead of remaining his creatures. Those who are attached to the court are hated by the rest of the nobility, which always forms two parties ; a division unavoidable, and even necessary in those countries, that must needs have kings, and yet preserve their liberties.

Whatever concerns the nation is regulated in the assemblies of the states-general, which are

called diets. These states are composed of the body of the senate, and of several gentlemen. The senators are the palatines and the bishops: the gentlemen the deputies of the particular diets in each palatinate. In these great assemblies presides the archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland, viceroy of the kingdom during an interregnum, and, next to the king, the first person in the state. Besides him there is seldom any other cardinal in Poland; because the Roman purple giving no precedence in the senate a bishop who should be made a cardinal, would be obliged either to take his rank as senator, or to renounce the substantial rights of the dignity he enjoys in his own country, to support the vain pretensions of a foreign honour.

These diets, by the laws of the kingdom, must be held alternately in Poland and Lithuania. The deputies frequently transact their business fabre in hand, like the ancient Sarmatians, from whom they are sprung, and sometimes too intoxicated with liquor, a vice to which the Sarmatians were utter strangers. Every gentleman deputed to the states-general enjoys the same right which the tribunes of the people had at Rome, of opposing themselves to the laws of the senate. Any one gentleman, who says, "I protest," stops by that single word, the unanimous resolution of all the rest; and if he quits the place where the diet is held, the assembly is of course dissolved.

To the disorders arising from this law, they apply a remedy still more dangerous. Poland is seldom without two factions. Unanimity in their diets being thus rendered impossible, each party forms confederacies, in which they decide by a plurality of voices, without any regard to the
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protestation of the lesser number. These assemblies, condemned by the laws, but authorised by custom, are held in the king's name, though frequently without his consent, and even against his interest; in much the same manner as the league in France made use of the name of Henry III. to ruin him; and as the parliament in England, that brought Charles I. to the block, began by prefixing his majesty's name to all the resolutions they took to destroy him. When the public commotions are ended, it belongs to the general diets either to confirm or repeal the acts of these confederacies. A diet can even cancel the acts of a former diet; for the same reason that in absolute monarchies a king can abolish the laws of his predecessor, or even those which have been made by himself.

The nobility, who make the laws of the republic, likewise constitute its strength. They appear on horseback, completely armed, upon great emergencies, and are able to make up a body of an hundred thousand men. This great army, which is called *pospolite*, moves slowly, and is ill governed. It cannot continue assembled for any length of time, for want of provisions and forage: it has neither discipline, subordination, nor experience; but that love of liberty by which it is animated will always make it formidable.

These nobles may be conquered, or dispersed, or even held in subjection for a time; but they soon shake off the yoke. They compare themselves to the reeds, which the storm may bend to the ground, but which rise again the moment the storm is over. It is for this reason that they have no places of strength: they will have themselves to be the only bulwarks of the republic;

lick, nor do they ever suffer their king to build any forts, lest he should employ them less for their defence than their oppression. Their country is intirely open, excepting two or three frontier places; so that if in a war, whether civil or foreign, they resolve to sustain a siege, they are obliged to raise fortifications of earth, in a hurry, to repair the old walls that are half ruined, and to enlarge the ditches that are almost filled up; and the town is commonly taken before the entrenchments are finished.

The pospolite are not always on horseback to defend the country: they never mount but by order of the diets, or sometimes in imminent dangers, by the simple order of the king.

The usual guard of Poland is an army, which ought to be maintained at the expence of the republic. It is composed of two bodies, under two grand generals. The first body is that of Poland, and should consist of thirty-six thousand men; the second, to the number of twelve thousand, is that of Lithuania. The two grand-generals are independent of each other: though nominated by the king, they are accountable for their conduct to the republic alone, and have an unlimited power over their troops. The colonels are absolute masters of their regiments; and it is their business to maintain and pay them as well as they can. But as they are seldom paid themselves, they ravage the country, ruin the peasants, to satisfy their own avidity, and that of their soldiers. The Polish lords appear in these armies with more magnificence than they do in the towns; and their tents are more elegant than their houses. The cavalry, which makes up two thirds of the army, is composed almost entirely of gentlemen; and is

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remarkable for the beauty of their horses, and the richness of the accoutrements and harness.

The gendarmes especially, whom they distinguish into hussars and pancernes, never march without several valets in their retinue, who lead their horses; those are furnished with bridles that are ornamented with plates and nails of silver, embroidered saddles, saddle bows, and gilt stirrups, or stirrups made of massy silver, with large housings trailing on the ground, after the manner of the Turks, whose magnificence the Poles endeavour to imitate as much as they can.

But if the cavalry are fine and gorgeous, the infantry were at that time proportionably wretched, ill clothed, and ill armed, without regimentals, or any thing uniform. Such at least was their condition, till towards the year 1710: and yet these infantry, who resemble the wandering Tartars, support hunger, cold, fatigue, and all the hardships of war with surprising resolution.

One may still discern in the Polish soldiers the character of their ancestors, the ancient Sarmatians, the same want of discipline, the same fury in the assault, the same readiness to fly and to return to the charge, and the same cruel disposition to slaughter when they conquer.

The king of Poland flattered himself at first, that in this pressing necessity, these two bodies would support his cause; that the Polish *pospolite* would take up arms at his orders; and that these forces, joined to the Saxon subjects, and to his Russian allies, would compose an army, before which the small number of the Swedes would not dare to appear. But he found himself, almost in an instant, deprived of these succours by means of that very eagerness he discovered to have them all at once.

Accustomed, in his hereditary dominions, to the exercise of absolute power, he too fondly imagined that he might govern in Poland as he did in Saxony. The beginning of his reign raised malecontents. His first proceedings provoked the party that had opposed his election, and alienated almost all the rest of the nation. The Poles murmured to see the towns filled with Saxon garriſons, and their frontiers lined with Saxon troops. This nation, more anxious to preserve its liberty, than to attack its neighbours, considered the war with Sweden, and the irruption into Livonia, as enterprizes by no means advantageous to the republic. It is very difficult to hinder a free people from seeing their true interest. The Poles were sensible, that if this war, undertaken without their consent, should prove unsuccessful, their country open on all sides, would become a prey to the king of Sweden; and that should it be crowned with success, they would be enslaved by their own king, who being master of Livonia, as well as of Saxony, would shut up Poland between these two states. In this alternative, either of becoming slaves to the king, whom they had elected, or of being pillaged by Charles XII. who was justly incensed, they raised a clamour against the war, which they believed to be declared rather against themselves than against Sweden. They considered the Saxons and the Muscovites as the forgers of their chains; and observing soon after that the king of Sweden had overcome every thing that opposed his progress, and was advancing with a victorious army into the heart of Lithuania, they loudly exclaimed against their sovereign, and with so much the greater freedom as he was unfortunate.

Li-

Lithuania was at that time divided into two parties, that of the princes of Sapieha, and that of Oginsky. The animosity between these two factions, occasioned at first by private quarrels, had at last been inflamed into a civil war. The king of Sweden engaged the princes of Sapieha in his interest; and Oginsky being poorly supported by the Saxons, found his party almost annihilated. The Lithuanian army, reduced by these troubles and the want of money to an inconsiderable number, was partly dispersed by the conquerors. The few that still held out for the king of Poland were separated into small bodies of fugitive troops, who wandered up and down the country, and subsisted by spoil. Augustus beheld nothing in Lithuania but the weakness of his own party, the hatred of his subjects, and an hostile army, conducted by a young king, incensed, victorious, and implacable.

There was indeed an army in Poland; but instead of six and thirty thousand men, the number prescribed by the law, it did not amount to eighteen thousand; and it was not only ill-paid and ill-armed, but the generals were as yet undetermined what course to take.

The only resource of the king was, to order the nobility to follow him; but he durst not expose himself to the mortification of a refusal, which, by discovering his weakness too plainly, would of consequence have encreased it.

In this state of trouble and uncertainty, all the palatinates of the kingdom desired the king to call a diet; in the same manner as in England, during times of danger, all the bodies of the state present addresses to the sovereign, entreating him to convoke a parliament. Augustus had more

need of an army than a diet, in which the actions of kings are severely canvassed. However, that he might not incense the nation beyond a possibility of reconciliation, he found it necessary to assemble a diet; which was accordingly appointed to be held at Warsaw, on the second of December 1701. He soon perceived that Charles XII. had, at least, as much power in this assembly as himself. Those who favoured the Sapiéha, the Lubomirsky and their friends, the palatine Leczinsky, treasurer of the crown, and especially the partizans of the princes Sobiesky, were all of them secretly attached to the king of Sweden.

The most considerable of these partizans, and the most dangerous to the king of Poland, was cardinal Radjousky, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, and president of the diet. He was a man full of artifice and cunning, and entirely under the influence of an ambitious woman, who was called by the Swedes madam Cardinaless, and who was egging him on to intrigue and faction. King John Sobiesky, the predecessor of Augustus, had first made him bishop of Warmia and vice-chancellor of the kingdom. Radjousky, when no more than a bishop, had obtained the cardinal's hat by the favour of the same prince. This dignity soon opened his way to the primacy; and thus by uniting in his own person whatever can impose upon mankind, he was able to undertake the most arduous enterprises, without incurring the least danger.

After the death of John, he employed all his interest to raise prince James Sobiesky to the throne; but the torrent of public hatred ran so strong against the father, notwithstanding the eminent qualities of which he was possessed, that it

entirely excluded the son from that dignity. After this, the cardinal-primate joined his endeavours with those of the abbé de Polignac, the French ambassador, to procure the crown to the prince of Conti, who was actually elected. But the money and troops of Saxony defeated all his negotiations. At last he suffered himself to be drawn over to the party that crowned the elector of Saxony, and patiently waited for an opportunity of sowing dissention between the new king and the nation.

The victories of Charles XII. the protector of prince James Sobiesky, the civil war in Lithuania, the general alienation of men's minds from king Augustus; all these circumstances made the cardinal-primate believe, that the time was now come when he might safely send back Augustus into Saxony, and open for king John's son the way to the throne. This prince, formerly the innocent object of the hatred of the Poles, was now become their darling, ever since the time that Augustus had lost the public favour; but he durst not as yet entertain the most distant hopes of so great a revolution, of which, however, the cardinal was already laying the foundation.

At first he seemed desirous of effecting a reconciliation between the king and the republic; and dispatched circular letters, dictated in appearance by the spirit of charity and concord; a common and well known snare, in which, however, the people are always caught. He wrote an affecting letter to the king of Sweden, conjuring him, in the name of that Saviour whom all Christians adore, to give peace to Poland and her king. Charles XII. answered the intentions of the car-

dinal rather than his words. Mean while he remained with his victorious army in the great dutchy of Lithuania, declaring, that he would not disturb the diet; that he made war against Augustus and the Saxons, and not against the Poles; and that, far from attacking, he came only to deliver them from oppression. These letters and these answers were calculated for the public. The emissaries that were continually going and coming between the cardinal and count Piper, and the secret meetings held at the prelate's house, were the springs that regulated the motions of the diet. They proposed to dispatch an embassy to Charles XII. and unanimously required of the king, that he should bring no more Muscovites upon their frontiers, and that he should send back his Saxon troops.

The bad fortune of Augustus had already done what the diet demanded of him. The league secretly concluded with the Muscovites at Birsen, was now become as useless as it had once appeared formidable. He was far from being able to send to the czar the fifty thousand Germans, whom he had promised to raise in the empire. The czar himself, a dangerous neighbour to Poland, was in no haste to assist a divided kingdom, from whose misfortunes he hoped to derive some advantage. He contented himself with sending twenty thousand Muscovites into Lithuania, who did more mischief than the Swedes, flying every where before the conqueror, and ravaging the lands of the Poles; till at last being pursued by the Swedish generals, and finding no more to pillage, they returned in shoals to their own country. With regard to the shattered remains of the
Saxon

Saxon army that was beat at Riga, Augustus sent them to winter and recruit in Saxony; hoping by this sacrifice, involuntary as it was, to regain the affection of the Poles, who were so highly incensed against him.

The war now was turned into intrigues. The diet was split into almost as many factions as there were palatines. One day the interests of king Augustus prevailed; the next they were disregarded. Every one called out for liberty and justice; and yet no one knew what was liberty and justice. The time was spent in private cabals and public harangues. The diet neither knew what they would be at, nor what they ought to do. Great companies seldom steer the right course in times of public commotions; because the factious are bold, and the virtuous are commonly diffident. The diet broke up in a tumultuous manner, on the 17th of February 1702, after having spent three months in cabals, without coming to any fixed resolution. The senators, consisting of the palatines and bishops, remained at Warsaw. The senate of Poland has a right of making laws provisionally, which the diets seldom disannul. This body being less numerous, and accustomed to business, was far less tumultuous, and decided with greater dispatch.

They decreed that the embassy, which was proposed in the diet, should be sent to the king of Sweden; and that the pospolite should take to arms, and hold themselves in readiness at all events. They made several regulations for quelling the commotions in Lithuania, and for diminishing the authority of the king, though less to be dreaded than that of Charles XII.

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Augustus rather chose to receive hard laws from his conqueror than from his subjects. He resolved to sue for a peace to the king of Sweden, and to conclude a secret treaty with that monarch. This was a step which he was obliged to conceal from the senate, whom he considered as an enemy still more untractable than Charles. As the affair was of a very delicate nature, he entrusted it to the countess of Königsmark, a Swedish lady of high birth, to whom he was at that time attached. This is the lady whose brother became so famous by his unfortunate death, and whose son commanded the French armies with so much glory and success. Celebrated as she was for her wit and beauty, she was more capable than any minister of bringing a negociation to a happy period. Moreover, as she had an estate in the dominions of Charles XII. and had resided a long time at his court, she had a very plausible pretext for waiting upon him. Accordingly she repaired to the Swedish camp in Lithuania, and immediately applied to count Piper, who too rashly promised her an audience of his master. The countess, among those perfections which rendered her the most amiable woman in Europe, possessed the happy talent of speaking the languages of several countries she had never seen, with as much ease and propriety as if she had been a native. She even amused herself sometimes in writing French verses, which one might have easily mistaken for the production of a person born at Versailles. Those which she composed on Charles XII. are not beneath the dignity of history to mention. She introduced the heathen gods praising him for his different virtues. The piece concluded thus:

Enfin,

*Enfin, chacun des Dieux discourant à sa gloire,
Le plaçait par avance au Temple de Mémoire ;
Mais Venus ni Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.*

The hero's acts while other gods proclaim,
And praise, and promise him immortal fame ;
Silent sit Bacchus and the queen of love.

All her wit and charms were lost upon such a man as the king of Sweden, who constantly refused to see her. She therefore resolved to throw herself in his way, as he rode out to take the air, which he frequently did. In this attempt she at last succeeded. She met him one day in a very narrow path ; and the moment she observed him, came down from her coach. The king made her a low bow, without speaking a word to her, turned about his horse, and rode back in an instant. And thus the only advantage which the countess of Königsmark gained from her journey was the pleasure of seeing that the king of Sweden feared nobody but her.

The king of Poland was therefore obliged to throw himself into the arms of the senate. He made them two proposals, which were laid before them by the palatine of Marienburg ; the one, that they should leave to him the disposal of the republic, in which case he would engage to pay the soldiers two quarters advance out of his own revenue ; the other, that they should allow him to bring back twelve thousand Saxons into Poland. The cardinal-primate returned him an answer as severe as the king of Sweden's refusal. He told the palatine of Marienburg, in the name of the assembly, " That they had resolved to send

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an embassy to Charles XII. and that he would not advise him to bring back any Saxons."

In this extremity, the king was desirous of preserving at least the appearance of the royal authority. He sent one of his chamberlains to wait upon Charles, and to learn from him where, and in what manner, his Swedish majesty would be pleased to receive the embassy of the king his master, and of the republic. Unhappily they had forgot to ask from the Swedes a passport for the chamberlain. The king of Sweden, instead of giving him an audience, caused him to be thrown into prison, saying, "That he expected to receive an embassy from the republic, and not from Augustus."

After this, Charles having left garrisons in some towns in Lithuania, advanced beyond Grodno, a city well known in Europe for the diets that are held there, but ill built, and worse fortified.

A few miles on the other side of Grodno, he met the embassy of the republic, which consisted of five senators. They desired, in the first place, to have the ceremony of their introduction properly regulated, a thing with which the king was utterly unacquainted. They demanded, that the senate should be complimented with the title of Most Serene, and that the coaches of the king and senators should be sent to meet them. They were told in answer, "That the republic should be stiled Illustrious, and not Most Serene; that the king never used any coaches; that he had plenty of officers in his retinue, but no senators; that a lieutenant-general should be sent to meet them; and that they might come on their own horses."

Charles

Charles XII. received them in his tent, with some appearance of military grandeur. Their conversation was full of caution and reserve. They said they were afraid of Charles XII. and did not love Augustus; but that it would be a shame for them to take the crown, in obedience to the orders of a stranger, from the head of that prince whom they had elected. Nothing was finally concluded; and Charles XII. gave them to understand, that he would settle all disputes at Warsaw.

His march was preceded by a manifesto, which the cardinal and his party spread over Poland in the space of eight days. By this writing, Charles invited all the Poles to join him in revenging their own quarrel, and endeavoured to persuade them that his interest and theirs were the same. They were, however, very different; but the manifesto, supported by a powerful army, by the disorder of the senate, and by the approach of the conqueror, made a deep impression on the minds of the people. They were obliged to own Charles for their protector, because he was resolved to be so; and happy was it for them, that he contented himself with this title.

The senators who opposed Augustus published this manifesto aloud, even in the royal presence. The few who adhered to him observed a profound silence. At length, intelligence being brought that Charles was advancing by long marches, every one prepared to depart in a hurry. The cardinal left Warsaw among the first. The greatest part fled with precipitation; some retired to their country-seats, there to wait the unravelling of this perplexed and intricate affair; others went to arm their friends. Nobody remained with the king but
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the ambassadors of the emperor and the czar, the pope's nuncio, and a few bishops and palatines who were attached to his fortunes. He was forced to fly, though nothing as yet decided in his favour. Before his departure, he hastened to hold a council with the small body of senators who still represented the senate. Zealous as these were for his interest, they were nevertheless Poles; they had all conceived such an utter aversion to the Saxon troops, that they durst not grant him a liberty of recalling more than six thousand of them for his defence; and they even voted that these six thousand should be commanded by the grand general of Poland, and be immediately sent back upon the conclusion of a peace. The armies of the republic they left entirely to his disposal.

After this decree of the senate, the king left Warsaw, too weak to resist his enemies, and but little satisfied even with the conduct of his friends. He immediately published orders for assembling the *pospolite* and the two armies, which were little more than empty names. He had nothing to hope for in Lithuania, of which the Swedes were in possession. The army of Poland, reduced to an handful of men, was in want of arms and provisions, and had no great inclination to the war. Most of the nobility, intimidated, irresolute, and disaffected, remained at their country-seats. In vain did the king, authorized by the laws of the land, command every gentleman, under pain of death, to take up arms and follow him. It was even become a problematical point whether or not they ought to obey him. His chief dependence was upon the troops of the electorate, where the form of government being wholly despotic, he was under no apprehensions of being disobeyed. He had already given

secret orders for the march of twelve thousand Saxons, who were advancing with great expedition. He likewise recalled the eight thousand men whom he had promised to the emperor in his war against France, and whom the necessity of his affairs now obliged him to withdraw. To introduce so many Saxons into Poland, was, in effect, to alienate the affections of all his subjects, and to violate the law made by his own party, which allowed only of six thousand. But he well knew, that, if he proved victorious, they would not dare to complain, and if he should be conquered, they would never forgive him for having introduced even the six thousand. While the soldiers were arriving in troops, and while he was flying from one palatinate to another, and assembling the nobility who adhered to him, the king of Sweden reached Warsaw, on the 5th of May, 1702. The gates were opened to him at the first summons. He dismissed the Polish garrison, disbanded the city-guard, posted guards of his own in all the convenient places, and ordered the inhabitants to deliver up their arms. Satisfied with having disarmed them, and unwilling to provoke them by any unnecessary severities, he demanded a contribution of no more than one hundred thousand livres. Augustus was then assembling his forces at Cracow, and was greatly surprised to see the cardinal-primate arrive among the rest. This man affected to maintain the decorum of his character to the last, and to dethrone his king with all the appearance of the most respectful behaviour. He gave him to understand that the king of Sweden seemed very well inclined to come to a reasonable accommodation, and humbly begged leave to wait upon that monarch. Augustus granted

granted him what he could not refuse, that is, the liberty of hurting himself.

The cardinal-primate immediately repaired to the king of Sweden, before whom he had not as yet ventured to appear. He saw him at Praag, not far from Warsaw, but without any of those ceremonies which had been observed in introducing the ambassadors of the republic. He found the conqueror clad in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with gilt brass buttons, jack-boots, and buff-skin gloves that reached up to his elbows. He was in a room without hangings, attended by the duke of Holstein, count Piper his first minister, and several general officers. The king advanced a few steps to meet the cardinal; they talked together standing for about a quarter of an hour; Charles put an end to the conference, by saying aloud, "I will never give the Poles peace, till they have elected a new king." The cardinal, who expected such a declaration, caused it to be immediately notified to all the palatinates, assuring them that he was extremely sorry for it, but represented to them, at the same time, the absolute necessity they were under of complying with the conqueror's request.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the king of Poland plainly perceived that he must either lose his crown, or preserve it by a battle; and he exerted his utmost efforts in order to succeed in the decision of this important quarrel. All his Saxon troops were arrived from the frontiers of Saxony. The nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, where he still remained, came in a body to offer him their service. He exhorted them to remember the oaths they had taken; and they promised to shed the last drop of their blood in support

port of his cause. Strengthened by these succours, and by the troops which bore the name of the army of the crown, he went, for the first time, in quest of the king of Sweden ; nor was he long in finding him ; for that prince was already advancing towards Cracow.

The two kings met on the 13th of July 1702, in a spacious plain near Clissau, between Warfaw and Cracow. Augustus had near four and twenty thousand men ; Charles XII. had not above twelve thousand. The battle began by a general discharge of the artillery. At the first volley of the Saxons, the duke of Holstein, who commanded the Swedish cavalry, a young prince of great courage and virtue, received a cannon-ball in his reins. The king asked if he was killed, and was answered in the affirmative. He made no reply : a few tears fell from his eyes : he covered his face with his hands for a moment ; and then, of a sudden, spurring on his horse with all his might, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy at the head of the guards.

The king of Poland did every thing that could be expected from a prince who fought for his crown. Thrice in person did he rally his troops, and lead them up to the charge ; but the Saxons only could be said to fight for him : the Poles, who formed his right wing, fled to a man, at the very beginning of the battle ; some through fear, and others thro' disaffection. The good fortune of Charles XII. carried all before it ; he gained a complete victory. He took possession of the enemy's camp, their colours, and artillery ; and Augustus's military-chest fell into his hands. He halted not a moment on the field of battle, but marched directly

directly to Cracow, pursuing the king of Poland, who fled before him.

The citizens of Cracow were bold enough to shut the gates upon the conqueror. He caused them to be burst open. The garrison did not venture to fire a single gun; but were driven with whips and canes into the castle, into which the king entered pell-mell with them. Charles observing an officer of the artillery going to fire a cannon, ran up to him and snatched the match out of his hand. The commander fell on his knees before him. Three Swedish regiments were lodged at free quarters among the citizens, and the town was taxed with a contribution of an hundred thousand rix-dollars. The count de Steinbock, who was appointed governor of the city, being informed that some treasures were hid in the tombs of the Polish kings, in St. Nicholas church at Cracow, caused them to be opened. Nothing was found there but some ornaments of gold and silver, belonging to the churches. Of these he took a part; and Charles XII. even sent a golden cup to one of the Swedish churches; an action that might have raised the Polish catholics against him, had any thing been able to withstand the terror of his arms.

He left Cracow with a determined resolution to pursue Augustus without intermission. At the distance of a few miles from the city, his horse fell and broke his thigh-bone. They were obliged to carry him back to Cracow, where he remained confined to his bed for six weeks, in the hands of the surgeons. This accident gave Augustus a little respite. He forthwith caused it to be spread abroad thro' Poland and Germany, that Charles XII. was killed by the fall. This report, which

which gained credit for some time, filled the minds of all men with doubt and apprehension. During this interval, he assembled at Marienburg, and then at Lublin, all the orders of the kingdom, which had been already convoked at Sendomir. The assembly was very full, as few palatinates refused to send their deputies thither. He regained the affections of most of them by presents and promises, and by that affability without which absolute kings cannot be beloved, nor elective kings maintain themselves on the throne. The diet were soon undeceived concerning the false report of the king of Sweden's death; but that large body was already put in motion, and suffered itself to be carried along by the impulse it had received; all the members swore to continue faithful to their sovereign: so subject to change are all great companies! Even the cardinal-primate himself, who still pretended a regard for Augustus, repaired to the diet of Lublin; where he kissed the king's hand, and readily took the oath as well as the other members. The substance of the oath was, that they had never attempted, nor ever would attempt, any thing prejudicial to the interest of Augustus. The king excused the cardinal from the first part of the oath, and the prelate blushed while he swore to the last. The result of all the deliberations of this diet was, that the republic of Poland should maintain an army of fifty thousand men at their own expence, for the service of their sovereign; that they should allow the Swedes six weeks time to declare whether they were for peace or war; and the same time to the princes of Sapiaha, the original authors of the troubles in Lithuania, to come and ask pardon from the king of Poland.

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In the mean time Charles XII. being cured of his wound, overturned all their deliberations. Unalterably fixt in his resolution of forcing the Poles to dethrone their king with their own hands, he caused a new assembly to be convoked at Warfaw, by the intrigues of the cardinal, in opposition to that of Lublin. His generals represented to him, that this negociation might possibly be involved in endless delays, and by that means be rendered ineffectual; that, in the mean time, the Muscovites were every day becoming a more equal match for the troops which he had left in Livonia and Ingria; that the skirmishes which frequently happened between the Swedes and Russians in these provinces did not always turn out to the advantage of the former; and, finally, that his own presence might soon be necessary in those quarters. Charles, as steady in the prosecution of his schemes, as he was brisk and vigorous in action, replied; "Should it oblige me to remain here for fifty years, I will not depart till I have dethroned the king of Poland."

He left the assembly of Warfaw to combat that of Lublin, by their speeches and writings, and to justify their proceedings by the laws of the kingdom; laws always equivocal, which each party interpret according to their pleasure, and which success alone can render incontestable. As for himself, having reinforced his victorious troops with six thousand horse and eight thousand foot, which he had received from Sweden, he marched against the remains of the Saxon army, which he had beat at Clissau, and which had found time to rally and recruit, while his fall from his horse had confined him to his bed. This army shunned his approach, and retired towards Prussia, to the

north-west of Warsaw. The river Bug lay between him and the enemy. Charles swam across it at the head of his cavalry: the infantry went to look for a ford somewhat higher. He came up with the Saxons on the first of May 1703, at a place called Pultesk. General Stenau commanded them to the number of about ten thousand. The king of Sweden, in his precipitate march, had brought no more than the same number along with him, confident that a less number would be sufficient. So great was the terror of his arms, that one half of the Saxon troops fled at his approach, without waiting for the battle. General Stenau, with two regiments, kept his ground for a moment; but was soon hurried along in the general flight of his army, which was dispersed before it was vanquished. The Swedes did not take above a thousand prisoners, nor kill above six hundred men, having more difficulty in pursuing than in defeating the enemy.

Augustus having now nothing left him but the shattered remains of his Saxons, who were every where defeated, retired in haste to Thorn, an ancient city of Royal Prussia, situated on the Vistula, and under the protection of the Poles. Charles immediately prepared to besiege it. The king of Poland, not thinking himself secure in this place, withdrew from it, and flew into every corner of Poland, where he could possibly find any soldiers, and into which the Swedes had not as yet penetrated. Mean while Charles, amidst so many rapid marches, swimming across rivers, and hurried along with his infantry mounted behind his cavalry, had not been able to bring up his cannon to Thorn; he was therefore obliged to wait till

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a train

a train of artillery should be brought from Sweden by sea.

While he tarried here, he fixed his quarters at the distance of a few miles from the city, in reconnoitring which he frequently approached too near the ramparts. In these dangerous excursions, the plain dress which he wore was of greater service to him than he imagined, as it prevented his being distinguished and marked out by the enemy, who would not have failed to fire upon him. One day, having advanced too near the fortifications, attended by one of his generals called Lieven, who was dressed in a blue-coat * trimmed with gold, and fearing lest the general should be too easily distinguished, he ordered him to walk behind him. To this he was prompted by that greatness of soul which was so natural to him, that it even prevented his reflecting on the imminent danger to which he exposed his own life, in order to preserve that of his subject. Lieven perceiving his error too late, in having put on a remarkable dress, which endangered all those who were near him, and being equally concerned for the king where-ever he was, hesitated for a moment whether or not he should obey him. In the midst of this contest, the king takes him by the arm, puts himself before him, and screens him with his body. At that instant, a cannon-ball taking them in flank, struck the general dead upon the very spot which the king had hardly quitted. The death of this man, killed exactly

* In the former editions we gave this officer a scarlet coat; but the chaplain Norberg hath so incontestibly proved it to have been a blue one, that we have thought proper to correct the error.

in his stead, and because he had endeavoured to save him, contributed not a little to confirm him in the opinion, which he always entertained, of absolute predestination; and made him believe that his fate, which had preserved him in such a singular manner, reserved him for the execution of greater undertakings.

Every thing succeeded with him: his negotiations and his arms were equally fortunate. He was present, as it were, in every part of Poland. His grand general Renschild was in the heart of the kingdom with a large body of troops. About thirty thousand Swedes, under different generals, were posted towards the north and east upon the frontiers of Muscovy, and withstood the united efforts of the whole Russian empire; and Charles was in the west, at the other end of Poland, with the flower of his army.

The king of Denmark, tied up by the treaty of Travendal, which his weakness had hindered him from breaking, remained quiet. That prudent monarch did not venture to discover the disgust he felt at seeing the king of Sweden so near his dominions. At a greater distance towards the south-west, between the rivers Elbe and Weser, lay the dutchy of Bremen, the most remote of all the ancient conquests of the Swedes. This country was filled with strong garrisons, and opened to the conqueror a free passage into Saxony and the empire. Thus, from the German Ocean almost to the mouth of the Boristhenes, comprehending the whole breadth of Europe, and even to the gates of Moscow, all was in consternation; and every one was daily expecting a general revolution. Charles's ships, which were now masters of the Baltick, were employed in transporting to

Sweden the prisoners he had taken in Poland. Sweden, undisturbed in the midst of these mighty commotions, enjoyed the sweets of peace, and shared in the glory of its king, without bearing the burden of the war; inasmuch as its victorious troops were paid and maintained at the expence of the conquered.

While all the northern powers were thus kept in awe by the arms of Charles XII. the town of Dantzick ventured to incur his displeasure. Fourteen frigates and forty transports were bringing the king a reinforcement of six thousand men, with cannon and ammunition, to form the siege of Thorn. These succours must necessarily pass up the Weisfel. At the mouth of this river stands Dantzick, a free and wealthy town, which, together with Thorn and Elbing, enjoys the same privileges in Poland as the imperial towns possess in Germany. Its liberty hath been alternately attacked by the Danes, the Swedes, and some German princes; and nothing hath preserved it from bondage but the mutual jealousy of these rival powers. Count Steinbock, one of the Swedish generals, assembled the magistrates in the king's name, and demanded a passage for the troops and ammunition. The magistrates were guilty of a piece of imprudence very common with those who treat with people more powerful than themselves; they durst neither refuse nor grant his demands. General Steinbock obliged them to grant more than he had at first demanded. He exacted from the city a contribution of an hundred thousand crowns, as a punishment for their imprudent refusal. At last the recruits, the cannon, and ammunition, being arrived before Thorn, the siege was begun on the 22d of September.

Robel,

Robel, governor of the place, defended it for a month with a garrison of five thousand men. At the expiration of that term he was obliged to surrender at discretion. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and transported to Sweden. Robel was presented to the king unarmed. That prince, who never lost an opportunity of honouring merit in his enemies, gave him a sword with his own hand, made him a handsome present in money, and dismissed him on his parole. But the poor and paultry town was condemned to pay forty thousand crowns; an excessive contribution for such a place.

Elbing, built on an arm of the Weiffel, founded by the Teutonic knights, and annexed likewise to Poland, did not profit by the misconduct of the Dantzickers, but hesitated too long about granting a passage to the Swedish troops. It was more severely punished than Dantzick. On the 13th of December Charles entered it at the head of four thousand men, with bayonets fixed to the ends of their muskets. The inhabitants, struck with terror, fell upon their knees in the streets, and begged for mercy. He caused them all to be disarmed; quartered his soldiers upon them; and then having assembled the magistrates, exacted that same day a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns. There were in the town two hundred pieces of cannon and four hundred thousand weight of powder, which he likewise seized. A battle gained would not have procured him so many advantages. All these successes paved the way for the dethroning of Augustus.

Hardly had the cardinal taken an oath that he would make no attempts against his sovereign, when he repaired to the assembly of Warsaw, al-

ways under the specious pretence of peace. When he arrived there he talked of nothing but obedience and concord, though he was accompanied by a number of soldiers whom he had raised on his own estate. At last he threw off the mask; and, on the 14th of February 1704, declared, in the name of the assembly, "That Augustus, elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the crown of Poland." All the members with one voice pronounced the throne to be vacant. It was the intention, of the king of Sweden, and consequently of the diet, to raise prince James Sobieski to the throne of king John his father. James Sobieski was then at Breslaw in Silesia, waiting with impatience for the crown which his father had worn. While he was one day a-hunting a few leagues from Breslaw, in company with prince Constantine, one of his brothers, thirty Saxon horsemen, sent privately by king Augustus, issued suddenly from a neighbouring wood, surrounded the two princes, and carried them off without resistance. They had prepared fresh horses, upon which they conducted them to Leipstick, and committed them to close custody. This stroke disconcerted the measures of Charles, the cardinal, and the assembly of Warsaw.

Fortune, which sports herself with crowned heads,^a exposed Augustus, almost at the same time, to the danger of being taken himself. He was at table, three leagues from Cracow, relying upon an advanced guard which was posted at some distance, when, all of a sudden, general Renschild appeared, after having carried off the guard. The king of Poland had but just time to get on horseback, with ten others. General Renschild pursued him for four days, just upon the

the point of seizing him every moment. The king fled to Sendomir: the Swedish general pursued him thither; and it was only by a piece of good fortune that he made his escape.

Mean while the king's party and that of the cardinal treated each other as traitors to their country. The army of the crown was divided between the two factions. Augustus, being at last obliged to accept of assistance from the Russians, was sorry that he had not applied to them sooner. One while he flew into Saxony, where his resources were exhausted; at another he returned to Poland, where no one durst serve him; while in the mean time the king of Sweden, victorious and unmolested, ruled in Poland with uncontrouled authority.

Count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a hero, advised Charles XII. to take the crown of Poland to himself. He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a scheme with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already subdued. He tempted him with the title of "Defender of the Evangelick Religion;" a name which flattered the ambition of Charles. It would be easy, he said, to effect in Poland what Gustavus Vasa had effected in Sweden; to establish the Lutheran religion, and to break the chains of the people, who were now held in slavery by the nobility and clergy. Charles yielded to the temptation for a moment; but glory was his idol. To it he sacrificed his own interest, and the pleasure he would have enjoyed in taking Poland from the pope. He told count Piper, that he was much happier in bestowing than in gaining kingdoms; and added with a smile, "You

were made to be the minister of an Italian prince."

Charles was still near Thorn, in that part of Royal Prussia which belongs to Poland. From thence he extended his views to what was passing at Warsaw, and kept all the neighbouring powers in awe. Prince Alexander, brother of the two Sobieskis who were carried into Silesia, came to implore his aid in revenging his wrongs. Charles granted his desire the more readily, as he thought he could easily gratify it, and that, at the same time, he should be avenging himself. But being extremely desirous of giving Poland a king, he advised prince Alexander to mount the throne, from which fortune seemed determined to exclude his brother. Little did he expect a refusal. Prince Alexander told him that nothing should ever induce him to make an advantage of his elder brother's misfortune. The king of Sweden, count Piper, all his friends, and especially the young palatine of Posnania, Stanislaus Leczinsky, pressed him to accept of the crown; but he remained unmoved by all their importunities. The neighbouring princes were astonished to hear of this uncommon refusal; and knew not which to admire most: a king of Sweden, who, at twenty-two years of age, gave away the crown of Poland, or prince Alexander, who refused to accept it.

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K I N G of S W E D E N .

B O O K I I I .

T H E C O N T E N T S .

STANISLAUS LECZINSKY elected King of POLAND. Death of the Cardinal-primate. Skilful Retreat of General SCHULLEMBURG. Exploits of the Czar. Foundation of PETERSBURG. Battle of FRAVENSTAD. CHARLES enters SAXONY. Peace of ALRAENSTADT. AUGUSTUS abdicates the Crown in Favour of STANISLAUS. General PATKUL, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, is broke upon the Wheel and quartered. CHARLES receives the Ambassadors of foreign Princes in SAXONY: And goes to DRESDEN to visit AUGUSTUS before his Departure.

YOUNG Stanislaus Leczinsky was then deputed by the assembly of Warsaw to go to the king of Sweden and give him an account of several differences which had arisen among them, since the time that prince James was carried off. Stanislaus had a very engaging aspect, full of courage

rage and sweetness, with an air of probity and frankness, which, of all external advantages, is certainly the greatest, and gives more weight to words than even eloquence itself. Charles was surprised to hear him talk with so much judgment of Augustus, the assembly, the cardinal-primate, and the different interests that divided Europe: King Stanislaus did me the honour to inform me, that he said to the king of Sweden in Latin, "How can we elect a king, if the two princes, James and Constantine Sobieski, are held in captivity?" and that Charles replied, "How can we deliver the republic if we don't elect a king?" This conversation was the only intrigue that placed Stanislaus on the throne. Charles prolonged the conversation, on purpose that he might the better sound the genius of the young deputy. After the audience, he said aloud, that he had not seen a man so fit to reconcile all parties. He immediately made inquiry into the character of the palatine Lecziński, and found that he was a man of great courage and inured to labour; that he always lay on a kind of straw mattress, requiring no service from his domestics; that he was temperate to a degree rarely known in that climate; liberal with oeconomy; adored by his vassals; and perhaps the only lord in Poland who had any friends, at a time when men acknowledged no ties but those of interest and faction. This character, which in many particulars resembled his own, determined him entirely. After the conference he said aloud, "There is the man that shall always be my friend." The meaning of which words was soon perceived to be, "There is the man that shall be king."

As soon as the primate of Poland understood that Charles XII. had nominated the palatine

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Leczinsky, in much the same manner as Alexander nominated Abdalonimus, he hastened to the king of Sweden, to try if possible to divert him from his resolution ; being desirous that the crown should devolve on one Lubomirsky. “ But what have you to object against Stanislaus Leczinsky ?” said the conqueror. “ Sir, (said the primate) he is too young.” “ He is much about my age,” replied the king dryly ; and turning his back upon the prelate, immediately dispatched the count de Hoorn, to acquaint the assembly of Warsaw, that they must chuse a king in five days, and that Stanislaus Leczinsky must be the man. The count de Hoorn arrived on the 7th of July, and fixed the 12th for the day of election, with as much ease and indifference as if he had been ordering the decampment of a battalion. The cardinal-primate, disappointed of the fruit of so many intrigues, returned to the assembly, where he left no stone unturned to defeat an election in which he had no share. But the king of Sweden having come incognito to Warsaw, he was obliged to hold his peace. All that the primate could do was to absent himself from the election : unable to oppose the conqueror, and unwilling to assist him, he confined himself to an useless neutrality.

Saturday the 12th of July, the day fixed for the election, being come, the assembly met at three in the afternoon at Colo, the place appointed for the ceremony ; the bishop of Posen acting as president, in the room of the cardinal primate. He came attended by several gentlemen of the party. The count de Hoorn and two other general officers assisted publicly at the solemnity, as ambassadors-extraordinary from Charles to the republic. The session lasted till nine in the even-

ing; and the bishop of Posen put an end to it by declaring, in name of the assembly, that Stanislaus was elected king of Poland. They all threw up their hats into the air, and the shouts of acclamation stifled the cries of the opposers. It was of no service to the cardinal-primate, or to the others who had resolved to continue neuter, that they had absented themselves from the election; they were all obliged next day to come and do homage to the new king: but the greatest mortification to which they were subjected was their being compelled to follow him to the king of Sweden's quarters. Charles paid the sovereign he had made all the honours due to a king of Poland; and, to add the greater weight to his new dignity, he furnished him with a considerable sum of money, and a sufficient number of troops.

Immediately after this, Charles XII. departed from Warsaw, in order to finish the conquest of Poland. He had ordered his army to rendezvous before Leopold, the capital of the great palatinate of Russia, a place important in itself, and still more so on account of the riches which it contained. It was supposed it would hold out for fifteen days, by means of the fortifications with which Augustus had strengthened it. The conqueror sat down before it on the 5th of September, and next day took it by assault. All those who presumed to make resistance were put to the sword. The victorious troops, though masters of the city, did not break their ranks to go a-pillaging, notwithstanding the immense treasures that were said to be concealed in Leopold. They drew up in order of battle in the great square; where the remaining part of the garrison came and surrendered

rendered themselves prisoners of war. The king published his orders by sound of trumpet, commanding, under pain of death, all the inhabitants, who had any effects belonging to Augustus or his adherents, to produce them before night. The measures he took were so wisely concerted, that few ventured to disobey; and accordingly four hundred chests of gold and silver coin, of plate and other valuable effects, were brought to his majesty.

The beginning of Stanislaus's reign was distinguished by an event of a very different nature. Some business, which absolutely required his presence, had obliged him to remain at Warsaw. He had with him his mother, his wife, and his two daughters. The cardinal-primate, the bishop of Posenania, and some grandees of Poland, composed his new court. It was guarded by six thousand Poles, of the army of the crown, who had lately entered into his service, but whose fidelity had not yet been put to the trial. General Hoorn, governor of the town, had not above fifteen hundred Swedes. The citizens of Warsaw were in a profound tranquillity; and Stanislaus proposed setting out in a few days for the conquest of Leopold; when, all on a sudden, he was informed that a numerous army was approaching the city. This was king Augustus, who, by a fresh effort, and by one of the most dexterous marches that ever general made, had eluded the king of Sweden, and was now coming with twenty thousand men to fall upon Warsaw, and carry off his rival.

Warsaw was unfortified; the Polish troops who defended it were not to be relied on; Augustus held a correspondence with some of the citizens; so that, had Stanislaus remained in it, he must

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certainly have been ruined. He sent back his family into Posnania, under a guard of Polish troops in whom he could most confide. In this confusion he thought he had lost his second daughter, who was about a year old, and who had been carried by her nurse into a neighbouring village, where she was soon after found in a manger; as Stanislaus himself hath since informed me. This is the same child whom fortune, after a variety of the most surprising vicissitudes, at last made queen of France. Several gentlemen took different roads. The new king immediately set out for the camp of Charles XII. learning thus betimes to suffer disgrace, and forced to quit his capital six weeks after he had been advanced to the sovereignty.

Augustus entered the capital like a provoked and victorious sovereign. The inhabitants, already fleeced by the king of Sweden, were entirely ruined by Augustus. The cardinal's palace, and all the houses of the confederate lords, with all their effects both in town and country, were given to plunder. What was most extraordinary in this sudden revolution, the pope's nuncio who attended Augustus demanded in name of his master, that the bishop of Posnania should be delivered into his hands, as subject to the jurisdiction of the court of Rome, both as a bishop and as the favourer of a prince who had been advanced to the throne by the arms of a Lutheran.

The court of Rome, which hath always been endeavouring to encrease its temporal power by means of the spiritual, had, long before this, established a kind of jurisdiction in Poland, at the head of which was the pope's nuncio. Its ministers never failed to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to extend their power, which

is revered by the multitude, but always contested by men of sense. They claimed a right of judging in all ecclesiastical causes; and in times of trouble had usurped several other privileges, in which they maintained themselves till about the year 1728, when these abuses were corrected; abuses which are never reformed till they are become absolutely intolerable.

Augustus, glad of an opportunity of punishing the bishop of Posen in a decent manner, and willing to gratify the court of Rome, whose pretensions, however, he would have opposed on any other occasion, delivered the Polish prelate into the hands of the nuncio. The bishop, after having seen his house pillaged, was carried by the soldiers to the lodgings of the Italian minister, and from thence sent into Saxony, where he ended his days. Count Hoorn bore the continual fire of the enemy in the castle, where he was shut up, till at last the place being no longer tenable, he surrendered himself with his fifteen hundred Swedes. This was the first advantage which Augustus gained amidst the torrent of his bad fortune, over the victorious arms of his enemy.

This last effort was the blaze of a fire that was just going out. His troops, which had been assembled in haste, consisted either of Poles, ready to forsake him on the first disgrace, or of Saxon recruits, who had never seen a campaign; or of vagabond Cossacks, more fit to distress the conquered than to conquer: and all of them trembled at the bare mention of the king of Sweden's name.

That conqueror, accompanied by Stanislaus, went in quest of his enemy, at the head of his best troops. The Saxon army fled every where before

before him. The towns for thirty miles round sent him the keys of their gates. Not a day passed that was not distinguished by some advantage. Success began to grow too familiar to Charles. He said it was rather like hunting than fighting, and complained that he was not obliged to purchase a victory on harder terms.

Augustus gave the command of his army, for some time, to count Schullemburg, a very able general, and who had need of all his experience at the head of dispirited troops. He was more anxious to preserve his master's troops than to conquer. He acted by stratagem, and the two kings with vigour. He stole some marches upon them, took possession of some advantageous posts, sacrificed a few horse in order to give his infantry time to retire; and thus, by a glorious retreat, saved his troops in the face of an enemy, in contending with whom it was impossible, at that time, to acquire any other kind of glory.

He was scarce arrived in the palatinate of Posenania, when he learned that the two kings, who, he imagined were at the distance of fifty leagues, had marched these fifty leagues in nine hours. He had only eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse; and yet with his handful of men, he was obliged to make head against a superior army, against the name of the king of Sweden, and against that terror with which so many defeats had naturally inspired the Saxons. He had always affirmed, contrary to the opinion of the German generals, that infantry were able to resist cavalry in open field, even without the assistance of chevaux de frize, and he this day ventured to put the matter to the test of experience, against a victorious cavalry commanded by two kings, and by the
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the best Swedish generals. He took possession of such an advantageous post, that he could not possibly be surrounded. The soldiers of the first rank, armed with pikes and fuses, bent one knee upon the ground, and standing very close together, presented to the enemy's horse a kind of pointed rampart with pikes and bayonets: the second rank, inclining a little on the shoulders of the first, fired over their heads; and the third, standing upright, fired at the same time, from behind the other two. The Swedes, with their usual impetuosity, rushed upon the Saxons, who waited the assault without flinching: the discharge of the muskets, and the points of the pikes and bayonets maddened the horses, and made them rear instead of advancing. By these means the attack of the Swedes was rendered disorderly; and the Saxons defended themselves by keeping their ranks.

Though he had received five wounds, he drew up his men in an oblong square, and in this form made an orderly retreat about midnight towards the small town of Gurau, three leagues distant from the field of battle. But he had hardly begun to breathe in this place, when the two kings suddenly appeared at his heels.

Beyond Gurau, towards the river Oder, lay a thick wood, by marching through which the Saxon general saved his fatigued infantry. The Swedes, who were not to be checked by such a trivial interruption, pursued them even through the wood, advancing with great difficulty through paths hardly passable by foot travellers; and the Saxons had not crossed the wood above five hours before the Swedish horse. On the other side of the wood runs the river Parts, hard by a village called

called Rutfen. Schullemburg had taken care to fend orders for having the boats in readinefs; and he now transported his troops, which were diminished by one half. Charles arrived the very moment that Schullemburg reached the oppofite bank. Never conqueror purfued his enemy with greater celerity. The reputation of Schullemburg depended upon his efcaping from the king of Sweden: the king, on the other hand, thought his glory concerned in taking Schullemburg, and the remains of his army. He loft not a moment, but immediately caufed his cavalry to crofs at a ford. And thus the Saxons found themfelves fhut up between the river of Parts, and the greater river of Oder, which takes its rife in Silefia, and at this place is very deep and rapid.

Though the deftruction of Schullemburg feemed to be inevitable, yet with the lofs of a few foldiers he paffed the Oder in the night. Thus he faved his army, and Charles could not help faying, "Schullemburg has conquered us to-day."

This is the fame Schullemburg, who was afterwards general of the Venetians, and to whom the republic erected a ftatue in Corfu, for having defended that bulwark of Italy againft the Turks. Such honours are conferred by republicks only: kings give nothing but rewards.

But what contributed fo much to the glory of Schullemburg was of no fervice to king Auguftus, who once more abandoned Poland to his enemies; retired into Saxony, and instantly repaired the fortifications of Dresden, being already afraid, and not without reason, for the capital of his hereditary dominions.

Charles XII. now beheld Poland reduced to fubjection. His generals, after his example, had
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beat in Courland several small bodies of the Muscovites, who ever since the battle of Narva had appeared only in small companies, and made war in those parts like the vagrant Tartars, who pillage, fly, and then re-appear in order to fly again.

Wherever the Swedes came, they thought themselves sure of victory, when they were only twenty to an hundred. At this happy conjuncture, Stanislaus prepared for his coronation. Fortune to which he owed his election at Warsaw, and his expulsion from thence, now recalled him thither, amidst the acclamations of a numerous nobility, attached to him by the fate of war. A diet was immediately convoked, where all obstacles were removed, except such as were raised by the court of Rome, which alone endeavoured to traverse the project.

It was natural for Rome to declare in favour of Augustus, who from a protestant had become a catholic, in order to mount the throne of Poland, and to oppose Stanislaus, who had been placed upon the same throne by the great enemy of the catholic religion. Clement XI. the then pope, sent briefs to all the prelates of Poland, and particularly to the cardinal-primate, threatening them with excommunication, if they presumed to assist at the consecration of Stanislaus, or attempt any thing against the rights of Augustus.

Should these briefs be delivered to the bishops, who were at Warsaw, it was believed that some of them would be weak enough to obey them; and that the majority would avail themselves of this pretext to become more troublesome in proportion as they were more necessary. Every possible precaution was therefore taken to prevent these letters

letters of the pope from being admitted into Warsaw. But a Franciscan received the briefs secretly, promising to deliver them into the bishops own hands. He presently gave one to the suffragan of Chelm. This prelate, who was strongly attached to Stanislaus, carried it to the king unopened. The king sent for the monk, and asked him how he durst undertake to deliver a writing of that nature. The Franciscan answered, that he did it by order of his general. Stanislaus desired him for the future to pay a greater regard to the orders of his king than to those of the general of the Franciscans, and forthwith banished him the city.

The same day a placart was published by the king of Sweden, forbidding, under the most severe penalties, all the ecclesiastics in Warsaw, both secular and regular, to interfere in affairs of state. And for the greater security, he caused guards to be placed at the gates of all the prelates, and forbade any stranger to enter the city. These little severities he took upon himself, in order to prevent any rupture between the clergy and Stanislaus, at his accession to the throne. He said he relaxed himself from the fatigues of war, in giving a check to the intrigues of the Romish court; and that he must fight against it with paper, whereas he was obliged to attack other sovereigns with real arms.

The cardinal-primate was solicited by Charles and Stanislaus to come and perform the ceremony of the coronation. He did not think himself obliged to leave Dantzick, and to consecrate a king who had been chosen against his will. But as it was his maxim never to do any thing without a pretext, he resolved to provide a lawful excuse
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for his refusal. He caused the pope's brief to be fixed in the night time to the gate of his own house. The magistrates of Dantzick took fire at this indignity, and caused strict search to be made for the authors, who nevertheless could not be found. The primate affected to be highly incensed, but in reality was very well pleased, as it furnished him with a reason for refusing to consecrate the new king; and thus at one and the same time he kept fair with Charles XII. Augustus, Stanislaus, and the pope. He died a few days after, leaving his country involved in confusion, and having reaped no other fruit from all his intrigues, but that of embroiling himself with the three kings, Charles, Augustus, and Stanislaus; and with the republic and the pope, who had ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his conduct. But as even politicians are sometimes touched with remorse in their last moments, he wrote to king Augustus on his death-bed, and begged his pardon.

The consecration was performed with equal tranquillity and magnificence, on the fourth of October 1705, in the city of Warsaw, notwithstanding the usual custom of the Poles, of crowning their kings at Cracow. Stanislaus Leczinsky and his wife Charlotta Opalinska, were consecrated king and queen of Poland, by the hands of the archbishop of Leopold, assisted by several other prelates. Charles XII. saw the ceremony incognito, the only advantage he reaped from his conquests.

While he was thus giving a king to the conquered Poles, and Denmark durst not presume to create him any disturbances; while the king of Prussia courted his friendship, and Augustus was

retired to his hereditary dominions, the czar was every day becoming more and more formidable. Though he had given but little assistance to Augustus in Poland, he had nevertheless made powerful diversions in Ingria.

He now began to grow not only a good soldier himself, but likewise instructed his subjects in the art of war. Discipline was established among his troops. He had good engineers, and well served artillery, and several good officers; and he understood the great secret of subsisting his armies. Some of his generals had learned both how to fight, and as occasion required, to decline fighting; and he had besides formed a respectable navy, capable of making head against the Swedes in the Baltick.

Strengthened by all these advantages, which were entirely owing to his own genius, and by the absence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva by assault, on the twenty-first of August 1704, after a regular siege, during which he had prevented its receiving any succours either by sea or land. The soldiers were no sooner masters of the city than they ran to pillage, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to stop the disorder and carnage. He snatched the women from the hands of the soldiers, who, after having ravished them, were going to cut their throats. He was even obliged to kill some Muscovites who did not obey his orders. They still shew you, in the town house of Narva, the table upon which he laid his sword as he entered, and repeat the words which he spoke to the citizens, who were there assembled. "It is not with the blood of the inhabitants that this sword is stained, but with that of the

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the Muscovites, which I have shed to save your lives."

Had the czar always observed these humane maxims, he would have been the greatest man in the world. He aspired to a nobler character than that of a destroyer of towns. He was, at that time, laying the foundation of a city not far from Narva, in the middle of his new conquests. This was the city of Petersburg, which he afterwards made the place of his residence, and the center of his trade. It is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the gulph of Finland. With his own hands he drew the plan of the city, the fortresses, and the harbour, the keys which embellished it, and the forts which defended its entrance. This desert and uncultivated island, which during the short summer in those climates, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entry by land but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and which had hitherto been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled in 1703, with above three hundred thousand men, whom the czar had brought thither from his other dominions. The peasants of the kingdom of Astracan, and those who inhabit the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg. He was obliged to clear forests, to make roads, to drain marshes, and to raise banks, before he could lay the foundation of the city. The whole was a force put upon nature. The czar was determined to people a country, which did not seem designed for the habitation of men. Neither the inundation which razed his works, nor the sterility of the soil, nor the ignorance of the workmen,

men, nor even the mortality which carried off about two hundred thousand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his firm resolution. The town was founded amidst the obstacles which nature, the genius of the people, and an unsuccessful war, conspired to raise against it. Petersburg was become a city in 1705, and its harbour was filled with ships. The emperor, by a proper distribution of favours, drew many strangers thither, bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging all the artists that came to civilize this barbarous climate. Above all, he had rendered it proof against the utmost efforts of his enemies. The Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops in every other quarter, were never able to hurt his infant colony. It enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midst of the war, with which it was surrounded.

While the czar was thus creating, as it were, new dominions to himself, he still held out a helping hand to Augustus, who was losing his. He persuaded him, by means of general Patkul, who had lately entered into the service of Muscovy, and was then the czar's ambassador in Saxony, to come to Grodno to confer with him once more on the unhappy situation of his affairs. Thither Augustus repaired with some troops, and accompanied by general Schullemburg, who was now become famous over all the north for his passage cross the Oder, and in whom the king reposed his last hopes. The czar arrived at the same place, followed by an army of seventy thousand men. The two monarchs concerted new measures for carrying on the war. Augustus being now dethroned, was no longer afraid

of provoking the Poles, by abandoning their country to the Muscovite troops. It was resolved that the army of the czar should be divided into several bodies, to check the progress of the king of Sweden at every step. It was at this time that Augustus renewed the order of the white eagle, a weak expedient for attaching to his interest some Polish lords, who were more desirous of real advantages than of an empty honour, which becomes ridiculous when it is held of a prince possessed of nothing but the name of king. The conference of the two kings ended in a very extraordinary manner. The czar departed suddenly, left his troops to his ally, and went to extinguish a rebellion with which he was threatened in Astracan. Immediately after his departure, Augustus ordered Patkul to be arrested at Dresden. All Europe was surprised at his conduct, in presuming, contrary to the law of nations, and even in appearance to his own interest, to imprison the ambassador of the only prince from whom he could expect any assistance.

The secret-spring of this transaction, as I had the honour to be informed from marshal Saxe, son to king Augustus, was as follows: Patkul, proscribed in Sweden for having defended the privileges of Livonia, his native country, had been general to Augustus; but his high and lofty spirit being unable to brook the haughty behaviour of general Fleming, the king's favourite, more imperious and lofty than himself, he had passed into the service of the czar, whose general he then was, and his ambassador at the court of Augustus. Endowed, as he was, with a penetrating genius, he had observed that Fleming and the chancellor of Saxony intended to purchase a

peace from the king of Sweden at any price. He forthwith formed a design to prevent them, and to effect an accommodation between the czar and Sweden. The chancellor discovered his project, and obtained leave to seize him. Augustus told the czar that Patkul was a perfidious wretch, and would betray them both. And yet he was no further culpable than in having served his new master too well; but an ill-timed piece of service frequently meets with the punishment due to treason.

Mean while, the sixty thousand Russians, divided into several small bodies, were burning and ravaging the lands of Stanislaus' adherents, on one side; and on the other, Schullemburg was advancing with fresh troops. The fortune of the Swedes dispersed these two armies in less than two months. Charles XII. and Stanislaus attacked the separate bodies of the Muscovites, one after another, and with so much vigour and dispatch, that one Muscovite general was beat before he heard of the defeat of his companion.

Nothing could stop the progress of the conqueror. If a river intervened between him and the enemy, Charles XII. and his Swedes swam across it. A party of Swedes took the baggage of Augustus, in which were found two hundred thousand crowns of silver. Stanislaus seized eight hundred thousand ducats belonging to prince Menzikoff, the Russian general. Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in four and twenty hours; every soldier leading a horse in his hand to mount when his own was weary. The Muscovites, struck with terror, and reduced to a small number, fled in disorder beyond the Boristhenes.

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While Charles was driving the Muscovites before him into the heart of Lithuania, Schullemburg at last repassed the Oder, and came at the head of twenty thousand men to give battle to the grand marshal, Renschild, who was reckoned the best general that Charles had, and was called the *Parmenio* of this Alexander of the North. These two illustrious generals, who seemed to share the fate of their masters, met near Punitz, in a place called Travenstad, a spot already fatal to the troops of Augustus. Renschild had only thirteen battalions, and two and twenty squadrons, amounting in all to about ten thousand men. Schullemburg had double that number. It is worthy of remark, that there was in his army a body of six or seven thousand Muscovites, who had been long disciplined, and were esteemed good soldiers. The battle of Travenstad was fought on the twelfth of February 1706. But this very general Schullemburg, who, with four and twenty thousand men, had, in some measure, baffled the good fortune of the king of Sweden, sunk under that of general Renschild. The combat did not last a quarter of an hour; the Saxons made no resistance; the Muscovites threw down their arms the moment they saw the Swedes. The panic was so sudden, and the confusion so great, that the conquerors found on the field of battle seven thousand loaded fuses, which the enemy had thrown away without firing. No defeat was ever more sudden, more complete, or more disgraceful; and yet no general ever made a finer disposition of his troops than Schullemburg, even by the confession of the Saxon and Swedish generals themselves, who this day saw how little human prudence is able to command events.

Among the prisoners there was an entire regiment of Frenchmen. These unhappy men had been taken by the Saxons in 1704, at the famous battle of Hochstet, so fatal to the grandeur of Lewis XIV. They had afterwards passed into the service of Augustus, who had formed them into a regiment of dragoons, the command of which he had given to a Frenchman of the family of Joyeuse. The colonel was killed at the first, or rather the only charge of the Swedes; and the whole regiment were made prisoners of war. That very day the French begged to be admitted into the service of Charles XII. into which they were accordingly received by a strange caprice of fortune, which reserved them once more to change their master and their conqueror.

With regard to the Muscovites, they begged their lives on their knees; but the Swedes cruelly put them to death above six hours after the battle, in order to revenge on them the outrages which their countrymen had committed, and to rid their hands of those prisoners whom they did not know how to dispose of.

Augustus now saw himself deprived of all resources. He had nothing left but Cracow, where he was shut up with two regiments of Muscovites, two of Saxons, and some troops of the army of the crown, by whom he was even afraid of being delivered up to the conqueror: but his misfortunes were completed when he heard that Charles XII. had at last entered Saxony, on the first of September 1706.

He had marched through Silesia, without so much as deigning to apprise the court of Vienna of his motions. Germany was struck with consternation. The diet of Ratisbon, which represents the

the empire, and whose resolutions are frequently as ineffectual as they are solemn, declared the king of Sweden an enemy of the empire, if he should pass the Oder with his army: a step which only determined him to march the sooner into Germany.

At his approach the villages were deserted, and the inhabitants fled on all sides. Charles behaved in the same manner as he had done at Copenhagen: he caused a declaration to be fixed up in all public places, importing, That his only intention in coming was to procure peace; that all those who should return home and pay the contributions he demanded, should be treated as his own subjects, and the rest punished without mercy. This declaration from a prince who was never known to break his word, made all those who had fled for fear, to return home. He pitched his camp at Altranstad, near the plain of Lutzen, a field famous for the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. He went to see the place where that great man fell. When he reached the spot, "I have endeavoured (said he) to live like him; God, perhaps, will one day grant me as glorious a death."

From this camp, he sent orders to the states of Saxony to assemble, and to transmit to him, without delay, the registers of the electoral finances. As soon as he had got them in his power, and was exactly informed how much Saxony could supply, he taxed it at six hundred twenty five thousand six-dollars a-month. Over and above this contribution, the Saxons were obliged to furnish every Swedish soldier with two pounds of flesh, two pounds of bread, two pots of beer, and four pence a-day, with forage for the horse. The con-

tributions being thus regulated, the king established a new police, to protect the Saxons from the insults of his soldiers. In all the towns where he placed garrisons, he ordered the inn-keepers, in whose houses the soldiers were quartered, to deliver every month certificates of their behaviour, without which the soldiers were to have no pay. Besides, inspectors were appointed, who, once in every fifteen days, went from house to house to make inquiry whether the Swedes had committed any outrage; in which case, care was taken to indemnify the inn-keepers, and to punish the delinquents.

It is well known under what severe discipline the troops of Charles XII. were kept; that they never plundered the towns which they took by assault till they had received permission; and that they even plundered in a regular manner, and left off at the first signal. The Swedes pique themselves to this day on the strict discipline which they observed in Saxony; and yet the Saxons complain of the terrible ravages they committed; contradictions which it would be impossible to reconcile, did not we know in what very different lights the same objects appear to different men. It could hardly happen but that the conquerors must have sometimes abused their rights; and the conquered have taken the slightest injuries for the most enormous outrages. One day, as the king was taking the air on horseback, in the neighbourhood of Leipzick, a Saxon peasant threw himself at his feet, begging he would do him justice on a grenadier, who had just taken from him what was designed for his family's dinner. The king ordered the soldier to be brought before him; "And is it true, (says he with a stern countenance)

nance) that you have robbed this man?" "Sir, (says the soldier) I have not done him so much harm as you have done to his master: you have taken a kingdom from him, and I have only taken a turkey from this fellow." The king gave the peasant ten ducats with his own hand, and pardoned the soldier for the wit and boldness of the reply; adding, "Remember, friend, that, if I have taken a kingdom from Augustus, I have kept nothing to myself."

The great fair of Leipfick was held as usual. The merchants came thither in perfect security. Not one Swedish soldier was to be seen in the fair. One would have said that the army of the king of Sweden was in Saxony for no other reason than to watch over the safety of the country. He commanded throughout all the electorate with a power as absolute, and a tranquillity as profound, as if he had been in Stockholm.

Augustus wandering up and down Poland, and deprived at once of his kingdom and electorate, at last wrote a letter with his own hand to Charles XII. in which he humbly sued for peace. This letter he sent secretly by baron d'Imhoff and Mr. Fingsten refendary of the privy council, to which two gentlemen he gave full power, and a blank signed: "Go, (says he to them) endeavour to procure me reasonable and christian conditions." He was obliged, however, to conceal these overtures, and to decline the mediation of any prince; for, being then in Poland, at the mercy of the Muscovites, he had reason to fear that that dangerous ally, whom he was now going to abandon, would punish him for his submission to the conqueror. His two plenipotentiaries came to Charles's camp in the night-time, and had a private au-

dience. The king having read the letter, told them they should have his answer in a moment; and accordingly retiring to his closet, he wrote as follows:

“ I consent to give peace on the following conditions, in which it must not be expected that ever I will make the least alteration.

I. That Augustus renounce the crown of Poland for ever; that he acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful king; and that he promise never to remount the throne, not even after the death of Stanislaus.

II. That he renounce all other treaties, and particularly those he hath made with Muscovy.

III. That he send back to my camp, in an honourable manner, the princes Sobieski, and all the prisoners he hath taken.

IV. That he deliver into my hands all the deserters that have entered into his service, and particularly John Patkul; and that he stop all proceedings against such as have passed from his service into mine.”

This paper he gave to count Piper, with orders to transact the rest with the plenipotentiaries of Augustus. These gentlemen were shocked at the cruelty of the proposals; and used all the little arts that men without power can employ, to soften, if possible, the rigour of the king of Sweden. They had several conferences with count Piper; but that minister answered all their arguments with this short reply; “ Such is the will of the king my master, and he never alters his resolution.”

While these negotiations were carrying on in Saxony, fortune seemed to put Augustus in a condition to obtain more honourable terms; and of treating

treating with his conqueror on a more equal footing.

Prince Menzikoff, generalissimo of the Muscovite army, brought into Poland a body of thirty thousand men, at a time when Augustus not only did not desire their assistance, but even feared it. He had with him some Polish and Saxon troops, making in all about six thousand men. Surrounded with this small body by the army of prince Menzikoff, he had every thing to fear, in case the negociation should be discovered. He saw himself at once dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being arrested by his ally. In this delicate conjuncture, one of the Swedish generals, named Meyerfeld, at the head of ten thousand men, appeared at Calish, near the palatinate of Posenania. Prince Menzikoff pressed Augustus to give them battle. The king, who was greatly embarrassed, delayed the engagement under various pretexts; for though the enemy had but one third of his number, there were four thousand Swedes in Meyerfeld's army, and that alone was sufficient to render the event doubtful. To give battle to the Swedes during the negociation, and to lose it, was, in effect, to deepen the abyss in which he was already plunged. He therefore resolved to send a trusty servant to the general of the enemy, to give him some distant hints with regard to the peace, and advise him to retreat. But this advice produced an effect quite contrary to what he expected. General Meyerfeld thought they were laying a snare to intimidate him; and for that reason resolved to hazard a battle.

The Russians, now for the first time, conquered the Swedes in a pitched battle. This victory, which Augustus gained almost against his will,

was entire and complete. In the midst of his bad fortune, he entered triumphant into Warsaw, formerly his flourishing capital, but then a dismantled and ruined town, ready to receive any conqueror, and to acknowledge the strongest for king. He was tempted to seize upon this moment of prosperity, to go and attack the king of Sweden in Saxony with the Muscovite army. But when he reflected that Charles XII. was at the head of a Swedish army, hitherto invincible; that the Russians would abandon him on the first intelligence of the treaty he had begun; that his Saxon dominions, already drained of men and money, would be equally ravaged by the Swedes and Muscovites; that the empire, engaged in a war with France, could afford him no assistance; and that, in the end, he should be left without dominions, money, or friends; he thought it most adviseable to comply with the terms which the king of Sweden should impose. These terms became still more hard when Charles heard that Augustus had attacked his troops during the negociation. His resentment, and the pleasure of further humbling an enemy who had just vanquished his forces, made him inflexible upon all the articles of the treaty. Thus the victory of Augustus served only to render his situation the more miserable; a thing which perhaps never happened to any but himself.

He had just caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Warsaw, when Fingsten, one of his plenipotentiaries, arrived from Saxony with the treaty of peace which deprived him of his crown. Augustus hesitated for a little, but at last signed it; and then set out for Saxony, vainly hoping that his presence would soften the king of Sweden, and that

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his enemy would perhaps remember the ancient alliances of their families, and the common blood that ran in both their veins.

These two princes met for the first time in count Piper's tent, at a place called Guterdsdorff, without any ceremony. Charles XII. was in jack-boots, with a piece of black taffety tied round his neck instead of a cravat: his cloaths, as usual, were of coarse blue cloath, with gilt brass buttons. He had a long sword by his side, which had served him in the battle of Narva, and upon the pommel of which he frequently-leaned. The conversation turned wholly upon these jack-boots; Charles XII. told Augustus that he had not laid them aside for these six years past, except when he went to bed. These trifles were the only subject of discourse between two kings, one of whom had deprived the other of a crown. Augustus, especially, spoke with an air of complaisance and satisfaction, which princes, and men accustomed to the management of great affairs, know how to assume amidst the most cruel mortifications. The two kings dined together two several times. Charles XII. always affected to give Augustus the right hand; but, far from mitigating the rigour of his demands, he rendered them still more severe. It was certainly a very mortifying thing, for a sovereign to be forced to deliver up a general officer and a public minister. It was still a greater debasement to be obliged to send the jewels and archives of the crown to his successor Stanislaus. But what completed his degradation was his being at last compelled to congratulate, on his accession to the throne, the man who was going to usurp his place. Charles required Augustus to write a letter to Stanislaus. The dethroned king endeavoured to evade

the demand ; but Charles insisted upon his writing the letter, and he was at last obliged to comply. Here follows an exact copy of it, which I have seen. It is transcribed from the original, which is still in the possession of king Stanislaus.

“ SIR and BROTHER,

“ We little imagined it would have been necessary to enter into a literary correspondence with your majesty ; nevertheless, in order to please his Swedish majesty, and to avoid the suspicion of our being unwilling to gratify his desire, we hereby congratulate you on your accession to the throne ; and wish you may find in your native country more faithful subjects than we have left there. All the world will do us the justice to believe, that we have received nothing but the most ungrateful returns for our good offices, and that the greater part of our subjects seemed to have no other aim than to hasten our ruin. Withing that you may never be exposed to the like misfortunes, we commit you to the protection of God.

Dresden, April

8, 1707.

Your brother and neighbour,

AUGUSTUS, King.

Augustus was obliged to give orders to all his magistrates no longer to stile him king of Poland, and to craze this title, which he now renounced, out of the public prayers. He was less averse to the releasing of the Sobieskies ; but the sacrifice of Patkul was the severest of all. The czar, on the one hand, loudly demanded him back as his ambassador ; and on the other, the king of Sweden, with the most terrible menaces in case of a refusal, insisted that he should be delivered

livered up to him. Patkul was then confined in the castle of Konigstein, in Saxony. Augustus thought he might easily gratify Charles XII. and save his own honour. He sent his guards to deliver this unhappy man to the Swedish troops; but he previously dispatched a secret order to the governor of Konigstein, to let his prisoner escape. The bad fortune of Patkul defeated the pains that were taken to save him. The governor, knowing that Patkul was very rich, had a mind to make him purchase his liberty. The prisoner still relying on the law of nations, and informed of the intentions of Augustus, refused to pay for that which he thought he had a title to obtain for nothing. During this interval, the guards who were commissioned to seize the prisoner arrived, and immediately delivered him to four Swedish captains, who carried him forthwith to the general quarters at Altranstad, where he remained for three months tied to a stake, with a heavy iron chain; and from thence was conducted to Casimir.

Charles XII. forgetting that Patkul was the czar's ambassador, and considering him only as his own subject, ordered a council of war to try him with the utmost rigour. He was condemned to be broke alive, and quartered. A chaplain having come to inform him of the fatal sentence, without acquainting him with the manner in which it was to be executed, Patkul, who had braved death in so many battles, finding himself shut up with a priest, and his courage being no longer supported by glory or passion, the only sources of human intrepidity, poured out a flood of tears into the chaplain's bosom. He was affianced to a Saxon lady, called Madam d'Einsiedel, a wo-

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man of birth, of merit, and of beauty, and whom he intended to have married much about the time that he was now condemned to die. He intreated the chaplain to wait upon her, to give her all the consolation he could, and to assure her that he died full of the most tender affection for his incomparable mistress. When he was brought to the place of punishment, and beheld the wheels and stakes prepared for his execution, he fell into convulsions, and threw himself into the arms of the minister, who embraced him, covered him with his cloak, and wept over him. Then a Swedish officer read aloud a paper to the following effect:

"This is to declare, that it is the express order of his majesty, our most merciful lord, that this man, who is a traitor to his country, be broke upon the wheel, and quartered, in order to atone for his crimes, and to be an example to others; that every one may beware of treason, and faithfully serve his king." At the words "most merciful prince," Patkul cried out, "What mercy?" and at those of "traitor to his country," "Alas! (said he) I have served it but too well." He received sixteen blows, and suffered the longest and most excruciating tortures that can be imagined. Thus died the unfortunate John Reinold Patkul, ambassador and general of the emperor of Russia.

Those that looked upon him only as a rebel, said that he deserved death; but those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province that had privileges to defend, and remembered that he had been banished from Livonia for no other reason than his having defended those privileges, called him a martyr to the liberty of his country.

But all agreed that the title of ambassador to the czar ought to have rendered his person sacred. The king of Sweden alone, brought up in the principles of arbitrary power, thought that he had only performed an act of justice, whilst all Europe condemned his cruelty.

His mangled limbs remained exposed upon gibbets till 1713, when Augustus having regained his throne, caused these testimonies of the necessity to which he was reduced at Altranstad to be gathered together. They were brought to Warsaw in a box, and delivered to him in presence of the French envoy. The king of Poland shewing the box to this minister, only said, "These are the limbs of Patkul;" without adding any thing, either to blame his conduct or to bewail his memory, and without any one daring to speak on so delicate and mournful a subject.

About this time, a Livonian called Paikel, an officer in the Saxon troops, who had been taken prisoner in the field, was condemned at Stockholm by a decree of the senate; but his sentence was only to lose his head. This difference of punishments in the same case, made it but too plain, that Charles, in putting Patkul to such a cruel death, was more anxious to avenge himself than to punish the criminal. Be that as it will, Paikel, after his condemnation, proposed to the senate to impart to the king the secret of making gold, on condition that he should obtain his pardon. He made the experiment in prison, in presence of colonel Hamilton and the magistrates of the town; and whether he had actually discovered some useful secret, or, which is more probable, had only acquired the art of deceiving with a plausible air, they carried the gold which was found

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in the crucible to the mint at Stockholm, and gave the senate such a full, and seemingly such an important account of the matter, that the queen-dowager, Charles's grandmother, ordered the execution to be suspended till the king should be informed of this uncommon affair, and should send his orders accordingly.

The king made answer, "That he had refused the pardon of the criminal to the entreaties of his friends, and that he would never grant to interest what he had denied to friendship." This inflexibility had something in it very heroical in a prince, especially as he thought the secret practicable. Augustus, upon hearing this story, said, "I am not surpris'd at the king of Sweden's indifference about the philosopher's stone: he has found it in Saxony."

When the czar was informed of the strange peace which Augustus had, notwithstanding their former treaties, concluded at Altranstad; and that Patkul, his ambassador-plenipotentiary, was delivered up to the king of Sweden, in contempt of the law of nations, he loudly complained of these indignities to the courts of Europe. He wrote to the emperor of Germany, to the queen of England, and to the states-general of the United Provinces. He gave the terms of cowardice and treachery to the sad necessity to which Augustus had been obliged to submit. He conjured all these powers to interpose their mediation to procure the restoration of his ambassador, and to prevent the affront, which, in his person, was going to be offered to all crowned heads. He pressed them, by the motive of honour, not to demean themselves so far as to become guarantees of the treaty of Altranstad; a concession which Charles XII. meant

to extort from them by his threatening and imperious behaviour. These letters had no other effect than to set the power of the king of Sweden in a stronger light. The emperor, England, and Holland, were then engaged in a destructive war against France, and thought it a very unreasonable juncture to exasperate Charles XII. by refusing the vain ceremony of being guarantees to a treaty. With regard to the unhappy Parkul, there was not a single power that interposed its good offices in his behalf; from whence it appears what little confidence a subject ought to put in princes, and how much all the European powers at that time stood in awe of the king of Sweden.

It was proposed in the czar's council to retaliate on the Swedish officers who were prisoners at Moscow; but the czar would not consent to a barbarity which would have been attended with fatal consequences, as there were more Muscovites prisoners in Sweden, than Swedes in Muscovy.

He resolved to take a more advantageous revenge. The main body of his enemy's army lay idle in Saxony. Levenhaupt, the king of Sweden's general, who was left in Poland with about twenty thousand men, was not able to guard the passes into a country without forts, and full of factions. Stanislaus was in the camp of Charles XII. The emperor of Muscovy seizes this opportunity, and re-enters Poland with above 60,000 men. These he divides into several bodies, and marches with a flying camp to Leopold, where there was no Swedish garrison. All the towns of Poland yield to any one who appears before their gates at the head of an army. He caused an assembly to be convoked at Leopold, of much the same

same nature with that which had dethroned Augustus at Warsaw.

At that time Poland had two primates, as well as two kings, the one nominated by Augustus, the other by Stanislaus. The primate nominated by Augustus summoned the assembly of Leopold, to which resorted all those whom that prince had abandoned by the peace of Altranstad, and such as were gained by the czar's money. Here it was proposed to elect a new sovereign; so that Poland was almost upon the point of having three kings at once, without being able to say which was the real one.

During the conferences at Leopold, the czar, whose interest was closely connected with that of the emperor of Germany, on account of the common dread which they both entertained of the power of the king of Sweden, secretly obtained from him a number of German officers; who daily arriving, encreased his strength in a considerable degree, by bringing along with them discipline and experience. These he engaged in his service by several instances of liberality; and the more to encourage his own troops, he gave his picture set round with diamonds to all the general officers and colonels who had fought at the battle of Calish: the subaltern officers had medals of gold, and every private soldier a medal of silver. These monuments of the victory at Calish were all struck in the new city of Petersburg; where the improvement of the arts kept pace with the desire of glory and spirit of emulation which the czar had infused into his troops.

The confusion, the multiplicity of factions, and the continual ravages prevailing in Poland, hindered the diet of Leopold from coming to any resolution.

solution. The czar transferred it to Lublin; but the change of place did not lessen the disorder and perplexity in which the whole nation was involved. The assembly contented themselves with declaring that they neither acknowledged Augustus who had abdicated the throne, nor Stanislaus who had been elected against their will; but they were neither sufficiently united, nor had resolution enough to nominate another king. During these fruitless deliberations, the party of the princes Sapieha, that of Oginsky, those who secretly adhered to Augustus, and the new subjects of Stanislaus, all made war upon one another, and by pillaging each other's estates, completed the ruin of their country. The Swedish troops, commanded by Levenhaupt, one part of which lay in Livonia, another in Lithuania, and a third in Poland, were daily in pursuit of the Russians, and set fire to every thing that opposed Stanislaus. The Russians ruined their friends and foes without distinction; and nothing was to be seen but towns reduced to ashes, and wandering troops of Poles, deprived of all their substance, and detesting alike their two kings, the czar, and Charles XII.

To quell these commotions, and to secure the possession of the throne, Stanislaus set out from Altranstad on the fifteenth of July, 1707, accompanied by general Renschild, and sixteen Swedish regiments, and furnished with a large sum of money. He was acknowledged wherever he came. The strict discipline of his troops, which made the barbarity of the Muscovites to be more sensibly felt, conciliated the affections of the people. His extreme affability, in proportion as it was better known, reconciled to him almost all the different factions; and his money procured him
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the greatest part of the army of the crown: The czar, apprehensive of wanting provisions, in a country which his troops had laid waste, retired into Lithuania, where he had fixed the general rendezvous of his army, and where he resolved to establish magazines. This retreat left Stanislaus the undisturbed sovereign of the greatest part of Poland.

The only person that gave him any uneasiness, was count Sincausky, grand general of the crown, by the nomination of Augustus. This man, who was possessed of no contemptible talents, and entertained the most ambitious views, was at the head of a third party. He neither acknowledged Augustus nor Stanislaus; and after having used his utmost efforts in order to procure his own election, he contented himself with being the head of a party, since he could not be king. The troops of the crown, which continued under his command, had no other pay but the liberty of pillaging their fellow subjects with impunity. And all those who had either suffered, or were apprehensive of suffering, from the rapacity of these free booters, soon submitted to Stanislaus, whose power was gathering strength every day.

The king of Sweden was then receiving, in his camp at Altranstad, ambassadors from almost all the princes in Christendom. Some entreated him to quit the empire, others desired him to turn his arms against the emperor; and it was then the general report, that he intended to join with France, in humbling the house of Austria. Among these ambassadors was the famous John duke of Marlborough, sent by Anne, queen of Great Britain. This man, who never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle which he

he did not gain, was at St. James's a perfect courtier, in parliament the head of a party, and in foreign countries the most able negociator of his time. He did France as much mischief by his politics as by his arms. Mr. Fagel, secretary of the states general, and a man of great merit, has been heard to say, that when the states general had more than once resolved to oppose the schemes which the duke was about to lay before them, the duke came, spoke to them in French, a language in which he expressed himself but very indifferently, and brought them all over to his opinion. This account I had from lord Bolingbroke.

In conjunction with prince Eugene, the companion of his victories, and Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, he supported the whole weight of the war which the allies waged against France. He knew that Charles was incensed against the empire and the emperor; that he was secretly solicited by the French; and that if this conqueror should espouse the cause of Lewis XIV. the allies must be entirely ruined,

True it is, Charles had given his word in 1700, that he would not intermeddle in the quarrel between Lewis XIV. and the allies; but the duke of Marlborough could not believe that any prince would be so great a slave to his word as not to sacrifice it to his grandeur and interest. He therefore set out from the Hague with a resolution to sound the intentions of the king of Sweden. Mr. Fabricius, who then attended upon Charles XII. assured me, that the duke of Marlborough, on his arrival, applied secretly, not to count Piper, the prime minister, but to baron de Gortz, who now began to share with Piper the confidence of the king. He even went to the quarters of
Charles

Charles XII. in the coach of this gentleman *, between whom and the chancellor Piper, together with Robinson, the English minister, he spoke to the king in French. He told him that he should esteem it a singular happiness, could he have an opportunity of learning under his command such parts of the art of war as he did not yet understand. To this polite compliment the king made no return, and seemed to forget that it was Marlborough who was speaking to him. He even thought, as I have been credibly informed, that the dress of this great man was too fine and costly; and that his air had in it too little of a soldier. The conversation was tedious and general. Charles XII. speaking in the Swedish tongue, and Robinson serving as an interpreter. Marlborough, who was never in a haste to make proposals; and who, by a long course of experience, had learned the art of diving into the real characters of men, and discovering the connection between their most secret thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, regarded the king with the utmost attention. When he spoke to him of war in general, he thought he perceived in his majesty a natural aversion to France; and remarked that he talked with pleasure of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the czar to him, and observed that his eyes always kindled at

* When the duke arrived at the quarters of count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was told the count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. Then the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, went aside to the wall, where having staid a few minutes, he returned and accosted Piper with the most polite address.

the name, notwithstanding the calmness of the conversation. Besides, he saw a map of Muscovy lying before him upon the table. He wanted no more to convince him, that the real design and the sole ambition of the king of Sweden was to dethrone the czar, as he had already done the king of Poland. He was sensible that, if Charles remained in Saxony, it was only to impose some hard conditions on the emperor of Germany. He knew the emperor would make no resistance, and that thus all disputes would be easily accommodated. He left Charles XII. to follow the bent of his own mind; and satisfied with having discovered his intentions, he made him no proposals. These particulars I had from the dutchess of Marlborough, his widow, who is still alive*.

As few negotiations are finished without money, and as ministers are sometimes seen to sell the hatred or favour of their masters, it was the general opinion throughout all Europe, that the duke of Marlborough would not have succeeded so well with the king of Sweden, had he not made a handsome present to count Piper, whose memory still labours under the imputation. For my own part, after having traced this report to its source, with all the care and accuracy of which I am master, I have found that Piper received a small present from the emperor, by the hands of the count de Wratislau, with the consent of his master, and not a farthing from the duke of Marlborough. Certain it is, Charles was so firmly resolved to dethrone the emperor of Russia, that

* The author wrote in 1727, since which time, as appears from other dates, the work hath undergone several corrections,

he asked no body's advice on that subject, nor needed the instigation of count Piper to prompt him to wreak his long meditated vengeance on the head of Peter Alexiowitz.

But what vindicates the character of that minister beyond all probability and cavil was the honour which, long after this period, was paid to his memory by Charles XII. who having heard that Piper was dead in Russia, caused his corps to be transported to Stockholm, and gave him a magnificent funeral at his own expence.

The king, who had not as yet experienced any reverse of fortune, nor even met with any interruption in his victories, thought one year would be sufficient for dethroning the czar; after which, he imagined he might return in peace and erect himself into the arbiter of Europe. But, first of all, he resolved to humble the emperor of Germany.

The baron de Stralheim, the Swedish envoy at Vienna, had had a quarrel at a public entertainment, with the count de Zobor, chamberlain of the emperor. The latter having refused to drink the health of Charles XII. and having bluntly declared that that prince had used his master ill, Stralheim gave him at once the lie and a box on the ear, and besides this insult, boldly demanded a reparation from the imperial court. The emperor, afraid of displeasing the king of Sweden, was obliged to banish his subject, whom he ought rather to have avenged. Charles, not satisfied even with this condescension, insisted that count Zobor should be delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to stoop. The count was put into the hands of the king, who
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sent him back, after having kept him for some time as a prisoner at Stertin.

He further demanded, contrary to all the laws of nations, that they should deliver up to him fifteen hundred unhappy Muscovites, who having escaped the fury of his arms, had fled for refuge into the empire. The emperor was obliged to yield even to this unreasonable demand; and had not the Russian envoy at Vienna given these unhappy wretches an opportunity of escaping by different roads, they must have been delivered into the hands of their enemies.

The third and last of his demands was the most daring. He declared himself the protector of the emperor's protestant subjects in Silesia, a province belonging to the house of Austria, and not to the empire. He insisted that the emperor should grant them the liberties and privileges which had been established by the treaties of Westphalia, but which were extinguished, or at least eluded by those of Ryswick. The emperor, who wanted only to get rid of such a dangerous neighbour, yielded once more, and granted all that he desired. The Lutherans of Silesia had above an hundred churches, which the Catholics were obliged to cede to them by this treaty: but of these advantages, which were now procured them by the king of Sweden's good fortune, they were afterwards deprived, when that prince was no longer in a condition to impose laws.

The emperor who made these forced concessions, and complied in every thing with the will of Charles XII. was called Joseph; and was the eldest son of Leopold, and brother of Charles VI. who succeeded him. The pope's inter-nuncio,

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who then resided at the court of Joseph, reproached him in very severe terms, alledging that it was a most shameful condescension for a Catholic emperor, like him, to sacrifice the interest of his own religion to that of hereticks. "You may think yourself very happy, replied the emperor, with a smile, that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me a Lutheran; for if he had, I do not know what I might have done."

The count de Wratislau, his ambassador with Charles XII. brought to Leipzig the treaty in favour of the Silesians, signed with his master's hand; upon which Charles said, he was the emperor's very good friend. He was far from being pleased, however, with the court of Rome, which had employed all its arts and intrigues, in order to traverse his scheme. He looked with the utmost contempt upon the weakness of that court, which, having one half of Europe for its irreconcilable enemy, and placing no confidence in the other, can only support its credit by the dexterity of its negotiations; and he therefore resolved to be revenged on his holiness. He told the count de Wratislau, that the Swedes had formerly subdued Rome, and had not degenerated like her. He sent the pope word, that he would one day redemand the effects which queen Christina had left at Rome. It is hard to say how far this young conqueror might have carried his resentment and his arms, had fortune favoured his designs. At that time nothing appeared impossible to him. He had even sent several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength of those countries. Certain it is, that if ever prince was able to over-
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turn the empire of the Turks and Persians, and from thence pass into Italy, it was Charles XII. He was as young as Alexander, as brave, as enterprizing, more indefatigable, more robust, and more temperate; and the Swedes perhaps were better soldiers than the Macedonians. But such projects, which are called divine when they succeed, are regarded only as chimeras when they prove abortive.

At last, having removed every difficulty, and accomplished all his designs; having humbled the emperor, given laws in the empire, protected the Lutheran religion in the midst of the Catholics, dethroned one king, crowned another, and rendered himself the terror of all the princes around him, he began to prepare for his departure. The pleasures of Saxony, where he had remained inactive for a whole year, had not made the least alteration in his manner of living. He mounted his horse thrice a-day, rose at four in the morning, dressed himself with his own hands, drank no wine, sat at table only a quarter of an hour, exercised his troops every day, and knew no other pleasure but that of making Europe tremble.

The Swedes were still uncertain whither their king intended to lead them. They had only some slight suspicion that he meant to go to Moscow. A few days before his departure, he ordered the grand marshal of his household, to give him in writing the route from Leipstick—at that word he paused a moment; and, lest the marshal should discover his project, he added, with a smile—to all the capital cities of Europe. The mareschal brought him a list of all these

routes, at the head of which he placed, in great letters, "The route from Leipſick to Stockholm." The generality of Swedes were extremely deſirous of returning home; but the king was far from the thoughts of carrying them back to their native country. "Mr. Mareſchal, ſays he, I plainly ſee whither you would lead me; but we ſhall not return to Stockholm ſo ſoon."

The army was already on its march, and was paſſing by Dresden. Charles was at the head of his men, always riding, as uſual, two or three hundred paces before his guards. All of a ſudden he vaniſhed from their ſight. Some officers advanced at full gallop to ſee where he was. They ran to all parts, but could not find him. In a moment the alarm was ſpread over the whole army. The troops were ordered to halt: the generals aſſembled together, and were already in the utmoſt conſternation. At laſt they learned from a Saxon, who was paſſing by, what was become of the king.

As he was paſſing ſo near Dresden, he took it into his head to pay a viſit to Auguſtus. He entered the town on horſeback, followed by three or four general officers. The ſentries of the gates aſked them their names? Charles ſaid his name was Carl, and that he was a Draban; and all the reſt took fictitious names. Count Fleming, ſeeing them paſs through the town, had only time to run and inform his maſter. All that could poſſibly be done on ſuch an occaſion immediately preſented itſelf to the mind of that miniſter, who laid it before Auguſtus. But Charles entered the chamber in his boots, before Auguſtus had time to recover from his
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surprize. Augustus was then sick, and in his night-gown; but dressed himself in a hurry. Charles breakfasted with him, as a traveller who comes to take leave of his friend; and then expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. During the short time he employed in walking round them, a Livonian who had been condemned in Sweden, and now served in the Saxon army, imagining that he could never find a more favourable opportunity of obtaining his pardon, entreated Augustus to ask it of Charles, being fully convinced that his majesty would not refuse so small a favour to a prince from whom he had taken a crown, and in whose power he now was. Augustus readily undertook the charge. He was then at some distance from the king, and was conversing with Hord, a Swedish general. "I believe, said he smiling, your master will not refuse me." "You do not know him, replied general Hord, he will rather refuse you here than any where else." Augustus however did not fail to prefer the petition in very pressing terms; and Charles refused it in such a manner as to prevent a repetition of the request. After having passed some hours in this strange visit, he embraced Augustus, and departed. Upon rejoining his army, he found all his generals still in consternation. They told him they had determined to besiege Dresden, in case his majesty had been detained a prisoner. "Right, said the king, they durst not." Next day, upon hearing the news that Augustus held an extraordinary council at Dresden: "You see, said baron Stralheim, they are deliberating upon what they should have done yesterday."

A few days after Renschild, coming to wait upon the king, expressed his surprize at this unaccountable visit to Augustus. "I confided, said Charles, in my good fortune; but I have seen the moment that might have proved prejudicial to me. Fleming had no mind that I should leave Dresden so soon."

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T H E C O N T E N T S .

CHARLES quits SAXONY in a victorious Manner :
Pursues the Czar : Shuts himself up in the
UKRAINE : His Losses : His Wound : The
Battle of PULTOWA : Consequences of that
Battle : Charles obliged to fly into TURKY :
His reception in Bessarabia.

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CHARLES at last took leave of Saxony, in
September 1707, followed by an army of
forty-three thousand men, formerly covered with
steel, but now shining with gold and silver, and
enriched with the spoils of Poland and Saxony.
Every soldier carried with him fifty crowns in re-
ady money. Not only were all the regiments
complete, but in every company there were several
supernumeraries. Besides this army, Count Leven-
haupt, one of his best generals, waited for him
in Poland with twenty thousand men. He had
another army of fifteen thousand in Finland; and

fresh recruits were coming to him from Sweden. With all these forces it was not doubted but that he would easily dethrone the czar.

That emperor was then in Lithuania, endeavouring to reanimate a party which Augustus seemed to have abandoned. His troops, divided into several bodies, fled on all sides at the first report of the king of Sweden's approach. He himself had enjoined his generals never to wait for the conqueror with unequal forces; and he was punctually obeyed.

The king of Sweden, in the midst of his victorious march, received an ambassador from the Turks. The ambassador had his audience in count Piper's quarters; for it was always in that minister's tent that ceremonies of pomp were performed. On these occasions he supported the dignity of his master, by an appearance which had in it something magnificent; and the king, who was always worse lodged, worse served, and more plainly dressed than the meanest officer in his army, was wont to say, that his palace was Piper's quarters. The Turkish ambassador presented Charles with an hundred Swedish soldiers, who having been taken by the Calmucks, and sold in Turkey, had been purchased by the grand seignior, and sent back by that emperor as the most acceptable present he could make to his majesty; not that the Ottoman pride condescended to pay homage to the glory of Charles XII. but because the sultan, the natural enemy of the Russian and German emperors, was willing to fortify himself against them by the friendship of Sweden and the alliance of Poland. The ambassador complimented Stanislaus upon his accession to the throne; so that this king was acknowledged by Germany, France,

France, England, Spain, and Turkey. There remained only the pope, who, before he would acknowledge him, resolved to wait till time should have settled on his head that crown of which a reverse of fortune might easily deprive it.

Charles had no sooner given audience to the ambassador of the Ottoman Porte, than he went in pursuit of the Muscovites. The Russians, in the course of the war, had quitted Poland and returned to it above twenty different times. That country, which is open on all sides, and has no places of strength to cut off the retreat of an army, gave the Muscovites an opportunity of sometimes revisiting the very spot where they had formerly been beat, and even of penetrating as far into the heart of the kingdom as the conqueror himself. While Charles remained in Saxony, the czar had advanced as far as Leopold, situated at the southern extremity of Poland. Charles was then at Grodno in Lithuania, an hundred leagues to the northward of Leopold.

He left Stanislaus in Poland to defend his new kingdom, with the assistance of ten thousand Swedes and that of his own subjects, against all his enemies, both foreign and domestic. He then put himself at the head of his cavalry, and marched amidst frost and snow to Grodno, in the month of January 1708.

He had already passed the Niemen, about two leagues from the town; and the czar as yet knew nothing of his march. Upon the first news of the approach of the Swedish army, the czar quits the town by the north gate, and Charles enters it by the south. Charles had only six hundred of his guards with him; the rest not being able to keep pace with his rapid march. The czar fled with

above two thousand men, from an apprehension that a whole army was entering Grodno. That very day he was informed by a Polish deserter, that he had abandoned the place to no more than six hundred men, and that the main body of the army was still at the distance of five leagues. He lost no time: he detached fifteen hundred horse, of his own troops in the evening, to surprise the king of Sweden in the town. This detachment, under favour of the darkness, arrived undiscovered at the first Swedish guard, which, tho' consisting only of thirty men, sustained, for half a quarter of an hour, the efforts of the whole fifteen hundred. The king, who happened to be at the other end of the town, flew to their assistance with the rest of his six hundred men; upon which the Russians fled with precipitation. In a short time his army arrived, and he then set out in pursuit of the enemy. All the corps of the Russian army, dispersed through Lithuania, retired hastily into the palatinate of Minsky, near the frontiers of Muscovy, where their general rendezvous was appointed. The Swedes, who were likewise divided into several bodies, continued to pursue the enemy for more than thirty leagues. The fugitives and the pursuers made forced marches almost every day, though in the middle of winter. For a long time past all seasons of the year were become indifferent to the Swedes and Russians; and the only difference between them now arose from the terror of Charles's arms.

From Grodno to the Boristhenes eastward, there is nothing but morasses, deserts, and immense forests. In the cultivated spots there are no provisions to be had, the peasants burying under ground all their grain, and whatever else can be pre-

preserved in these subterranean receptacles. In order to discover these hidden magazines, the earth must be pierced with long poles pointed with iron. The Muscovites and the Swedes alternately made use of these provisions; but they were not always to be found, and even then they were not sufficient.

The king of Sweden, who had foreseen these difficulties, had provided biscuit for the subsistence of his army, and nothing could stop him in his march. After having traversed the forest of Minsky, where he was every moment obliged to cut down trees in order to clear the road for his troops and baggage, he found himself, on the 25th of June 1708, on the banks of the river Berezine, opposite to Borislow.

In this place the czar had assembled the best part of his forces, and intrenched himself to great advantage. His design was to hinder the Swedes from crossing the river. Charles posted some regiments on the banks of the Berezine, over against Borislow, as if he meant to attempt a passage in the face of the enemy. Mean while he leads his army three leagues higher up the river, throws a bridge across it, cuts his way through a body of three thousand men who defended that pass, and, without halting, marches against the main body of the enemy. The Russians did not wait his approach, but decamped and retreated towards the Boristhenes, spoiling all the roads, and destroying every thing in their way, in order, at least, to retard the progress of the Swedes.

Charles surmounted every obstacle, and still advanced towards the Boristhenes. In his way he met with twenty thousand Muscovites, intrenched in a place called Hollofin, behind a morass, which

could not be approached without passing a river. Charles did not delay the attack till the rest of his infantry should arrive: he plunges into the water at the head of his foot-guards, and crosses the river and the morafs, the water frequently reaching above his shoulders. While he was thus pressing forward to the enemy, he ordered his cavalry to go round the morafs and take them in flank. The Muscovites, surpris'd that no barrier could defend them, were instantly routed by the king, who attacked them on foot, and by the Swedish cavalry.

The horse, having forced their way through the enemy, joined the king in the midst of the battle. He then mounted on horseback; but some time after, observing in the field a young Swedish gentleman, named Gyllenstiern, for whom he had a great regard, wounded and unable to walk, he forced him to take his horse, and continued to command on foot at the head of his infantry. Of all the battles he had ever fought, this was perhaps the most glorious; this was the one in which he encountered the greatest dangers, and displayed the most consummate skill and prudence. The memory of it is still preserved by a medal, with this inscription on one side, *Sylvæ, paludis, æggeres, hostes victi**: and on the other this verse of Lucan, *Vitricæ copias alium laturus in orbem*†.

The Russians, chased from all their posts, re-passed the Boristhenes, which divides Poland from Muscovy. Charles did not give over the pursuit; but followed them across the Boristhenes, which

* Woods, marshes, mounds, and enemies conquered.

† Wasting his warlike troops to other worlds,

he passed at Mohilou, the last town of Poland, and which sometimes belongs to the Poles, and sometimes to the Russians; a fate common to frontier places.

The czar thus seeing his empire, where he had lately established the polite arts and a flourishing trade, exposed to a war, which, in a short time, might overturn all his mighty projects, and perhaps deprive him of his crown, began to think seriously of peace; and accordingly ventured to make some proposals for that purpose, by means of a Polish gentleman, whom he sent to the Swedish army. Charles XII. who had not been used to grant peace to his enemies, except in their own capitals, replied, "I will treat with the czar at Moscow." When this haughty answer was reported to the czar, "My brother Charles (says he) always affects to act the Alexander; but, I flatter myself, he will not find in me another Darius."

From Mohilou, the place where the king passed the Boriithenes, as you advance towards the north, along the banks of that river, and always on the frontiers of Poland and Muscovy, you meet with the country of Smolensko, through which lies the great road that leads from Poland to Muscovy. This way the czar directed his flight; and the king pursued him by long marches. Part of the Russian rear-guard was frequently engaged with the dragoons of the Swedish van-guard. The latter had generally the advantage; but they weakened themselves even by conquering in these small skirmishes, which were never decisive, and in which they always lost a number of men.

On the 22d of September 1708, the king attacked, near Smolensko, a body of ten thousand horse, and six thousand Calmucks.

These

These Calmucks are Tartars, living between the kingdom of Astracan, which is subject to the czar, and that of Samarcande, belonging to the Usbeck Tartars, and the country of Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. The country of the Calmucks extends eastward to the mountains which divide the mogul from the western parts of Asia. Those who inhabit that part of the country which borders upon Astracan are tributary to the czar, who pretends to an absolute authority over them; but their vagrant life hinders him from making good his claim, and obliges him to treat them in the same manner in which the grand seignior treats the Arabs, sometimes conniving at, and sometimes punishing their robberies. There are always some of these Calmucks in the Russian army; and the czar had even reduced them to a regular discipline, like the rest of his soldiers.

The king attacked these troops with only six regiments of horse, and four thousand foot; broke their ranks at the first onset, at the head of his Ostrogothick regiment, and obliged them to fly. He pursued them thro' rugged and hollow ways, where the Calmucks lay concealed, who soon began to shew themselves and cut off the regiment in which the king fought from the rest of the Swedish army. In an instant the Russians and Calmucks surrounded this regiment, and penetrated even to the king. Two aids de camp who fought near him fell at his feet. The king's horse was killed under him; and as one of his equerries was presenting him with another, both the equerry and horse were struck dead upon the spot. Charles fought on foot, surrounded by some of his officers, who instantly flocked around him.

Many

Many of them were taken, wounded, or slain, or pushed to a great distance from the king by the crowds that assailed them; so that he was left at last with no more than five attendants. With his own hand he had killed above a dozen of the enemy, without receiving a single wound, owing to that surprising good fortune which had hitherto attended him, and upon which he always relied. At length a colonel, named Dardof, forced his way through the Calmucks, with a single company of his regiment, and arrived time enough to save the king. The rest of the Swedes put the Tartars to the sword. The army recovered its ranks; Charles mounted his horse, and, fatigued as he was, pursued the Russians for two leagues.

The conqueror was still in the great road to the capital of Muscovy. The distance from Smolensko, near which the battle was fought, to Moscow, is about an hundred French leagues; and the army began to be in want of provision. The officers earnestly entreated the king to wait till general Levenhaupt, who was coming up with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, should arrive. The king, who seldom indeed took counsel of any one, not only rejected this wholesome advice, but, to the great astonishment of all the army, quitted the road to Moscow, and began to march southwards towards the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, lying between Little Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy. This country extends about an hundred French leagues from south to north, and almost as many from east to west. It is divided into two parts, almost equal, by the Boristhenes, which runs from the north-west to the south-east. The chief town is called Bathurin, and is situated upon the little river Sem,

Sem. The northern part of the Ukraine is rich and well cultivated. The southern, lying in the forty-eighth degree of latitude, is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and yet one of the most desolate. Its bad form of government stifles in embryo, as it were, all the blessings which nature, if properly encouraged, would shower down upon the inhabitants. The people of these cantons neither sow nor plant, because the Tartars of Budziack, Precop, and Moldavia, all of them free-booters and banditti, would rob them of their harvests.

Ukrania hath always aspired to liberty; but being surrounded by Muscovy, the dominions of the grand seignior, and Poland, it has been obliged to chuse a protector, and consequently a master, in one of these three states. The Ukrainians at first put themselves under the protection of the Poles, who treated them with great severity. They afterwards submitted to the Russians, who governed them with despotic sway. They had originally the privilege of electing a prince under the name of general; but they were soon deprived of that right; and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow.

The person who then filled that station was a Polish gentleman, named Mazeppa, and born in the palatinate of Podolia. He had been brought up as a page to John Casimir, and had received some tincture of learning in his court. An intrigue which he had had in his youth with the lady of a Polish gentleman, having been discovered, the husband caused him to be bound stark-naked upon a wild horse, and let him go in that condition. The horse, who had been brought out of Ukrania, returned to his own country, and carried

carried Mazeppa along with him, half-dead with hunger and fatigue. Some of the country-people gave him assistance; and he lived among them for a long time, and signalized himself in several excursions against the Tartars. The superiority of his knowledge gained him great respect among the Cossacks; and his reputation daily encreasing, the czar found it necessary to make him prince of Ukrania.

While he was one day at table with the czar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him to discipline the Cossacks, and to render them more dependent. Mazeppa replied, that the situation of Ukrania, and the genius of the nation, were insuperable obstacles to such a scheme. The czar, who began to be over-heated with wine, and who had not always the command of his passions, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him empaled.

Mazeppa, on his return to Ukrania, formed the design of a revolt; and the execution of it was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, which soon after appeared on his frontiers. He resolved to render himself independent, and to erect Ukrania and some other ruins of the Russian empire into a powerful kingdom. Brave, enterprizing, and indefatigable, though advanced in years, he entered into a secret league with the king of Sweden, to hasten the downfall of the czar, and to convert it to his own advantage.

The king appointed the rendezvous near the river Desna. Mazeppa promised to meet him there at the head of thirty thousand men, with ammunition and provisions, and all his treasures, which were immense. The Swedish army therefore continued its march on that side, to the great grief
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of all the officers, who knew nothing of the king's treaty with the Cossacks. Charles sent orders to Levenhaupt to bring his troops and provisions with all possible dispatch into Ukrania, where he proposed to pass the winter, that, having once secured that country, he might the more easily conquer Muscovy in the ensuing spring; and, in the mean time, he advanced towards the river Desna, which falls into the Boristhenes at Kiou.

The obstructions they had hitherto found in their march were but trifling, in comparison of what they met with in this new road. They were obliged to cross a marshy forest fifty leagues in length. General Lagercron, who marched before with five thousand soldiers and pioneers, led the army astray to the eastward, thirty leagues from the right road. It was not till after a march of four days that the king discovered the mistake. With great difficulty they regained the main road; but almost all their artillery and waggons were lost, being either stuck fast, or quite sunk in the mud.

At last, after a march of twelve days, attended with so many vexatious and untoward circumstances, during which they had consumed the small quantity of biscuit that was left, the army, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, arrived on the banks of the Desna, in the very spot which Mazeppa had marked out as the place of rendezvous; but instead of meeting with that prince, they found a body of Muscovites advancing towards the other bank of the river. The king was astonished, but resolved immediately to pass the Desna and attack the enemy. The banks of the river were so steep, that they were obliged to let the soldiers down with ropes. They crossed it in
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their usual manner, some on floats which were made in haste, and others by swimming. The body of Muscovites which arrived at the same time did not exceed eight thousand men; so that it made but little resistance, and this obstacle was also surmounted.

Charles advanced farther into this desolate country, alike uncertain of his road and of Mazeppa's fidelity. That Cossack appeared at last, but rather like a fugitive than a powerful ally. The Muscovites had discovered and defeated his design; they had fallen upon the Cossacks and cut them in pieces. His principal friends being taken sword in hand, had, to the number of thirty, been broke upon the wheel; his towns were reduced to ashes; his treasures plundered; the provisions he was preparing for the king of Sweden seized; and it was with great difficulty that he himself made his escape with six thousand men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. However he gave the king some hopes that he should be able to assist him by his intelligence in that unknown country, and by the affection of all the Cossacks, who being enraged against the Russians, flocked to the camp and supplied the army with provisions.

Charles hoped that general Levenhaupt at least would come and repair this misfortune. He was to bring with him about fifteen thousand Swedes, who were better than an hundred thousand Cossacks, together with ammunition and provisions. At length he arrived, in much the same condition with Mazeppa.

He had already passed the Boristhenes above Mohilou, and advanced twenty leagues beyond it, on the road to the Ukraine. He was bringing the king a convoy of eight thousand waggons,
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with the money which he had levied in his march through Lithuania. As he approached the town of Lesno, near the conflux of the rivers Pronia and Soffa, which fall into the Boristhenes far below, the czar appeared at the head of near forty thousand men.

The Swedish general, who had not sixteen thousand complete, scorned to shelter himself in a fortified camp. A long train of victories had inspired the Swedes with so much confidence, that they never informed themselves of the number of their enemies, but only of the place where they lay. Accordingly, on the seventh of October 1708, in the afternoon, Levenhaupt advanced against them with great resolution. In the first attack the Swedes killed fifteen hundred Russians. The czar's army was thrown into confusion, and fled on all sides. The emperor of Russia saw himself upon the point of being entirely defeated. He was sensible that the safety of his dominions depended upon the success of this day, and that he would be utterly ruined, should Levenhaupt join the king of Sweden with a victorious army.

The moment he saw his troops begin to flinch, he ran to the rear guard, where the Cossacks and Calmucks were posted. "I charge you, said he to them, to fire upon every one that runs away, and even to kill me, should I be so cowardly as to fly." From thence he returned to the van guard, and rallied his troops in person, assisted by the princes Menzikoff and Gallicksin. Leyeuhaupt, who had received strict orders to rejoin his master, chose rather to continue his march than renew the battle, imagining he had done enough to prevent the enemy from pursuing him.

Next

Next morning, about eleven o'clock, the czar attacked him near a morass, and extended his lines with a view to surround him. The Swedes faced about on all sides; and the battle was maintained for the space of two hours with equal courage and obstinacy. The loss of the Muscovites was three times greater than that of the Swedes; the former, however, still kept their ground, and the victory was left undecided.

At four in the afternoon general Beyer brought the czar a reinforcement of troops. The battle was then renewed for the third time with more fury and eagerness than ever, and lasted till night put an end to the combat. At last superior numbers prevailed, the Swedes were broke, routed, and driven back to their baggage. Levenhaupt rallied his troops behind the waggons. The Swedes were conquered, but disdained to fly. They were still about nine thousand in number, and not so much as one of them deserted. The general drew them up with as much ease as if they had not been vanquished. The czar, on the other side, remained all night under arms; and forbad his officers, under pain of being cashiered, and his soldiers under pain of death, to leave their ranks for the sake of plunder.

Next morning at day-break, he ordered a fresh assault. Levenhaupt had retired to an advantageous situation, at the distance of a few miles, after having nailed up part of his cannon, and set fire to his waggons.

The Muscovites arrived time enough to prevent the whole convoy from being consumed by the flames. They seized about six thousand waggons, which they saved. The czar, desirous of completing the defeat of the Swedes, sent one
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of his generals, named Phlug, to attack them again for the fifth time. That general offered them an honourable capitulation. Levenhaupt refused it, and fought a fifth battle, as bloody as any of the former. Of the nine thousand soldiers he had left, he lost about one half in this action, and the other remained unbroken. At last, night coming on, Levenhaupt, after having sustained five battles against forty thousand men, passed the Sossa with about five thousand soldiers that remained. The czar lost about ten thousand men in these five engagements, in which he had the glory of conquering the Swedes, and Levenhaupt that of disputing the victory for three days, and of effecting a retreat, without being obliged to surrender. Thus he arrived in his master's camp with the honour of having made such a noble defence; but bringing with him neither ammunition nor an army.

By these means Charles found himself destitute of provisions, cut off from all communication with Poland, and surrounded with enemies, in the heart of a country where he had no resource but his own courage.

In this extremity, the memorable winter of 1709, which was still more terrible in those quarters of the world than in France, destroyed part of his army. Charles resolved to brave the seasons, as he had done his enemies; and ventured to make long marches with his troops during this mortal cold. It was in one of these marches that two thousand men fell dead with cold before his eyes. The dragoons had no boots, and the foot soldiers were without shoes, and almost without cloaths. They were forced to make stockings of the skins of wild beasts, in the best

manner they could. They were frequently in want of bread. They were obliged to throw almost all their cannon into the marshes and rivers, for want of horses to draw them; so that this army, which was once so flourishing, was reduced to twenty-four thousand men ready to perish with hunger. They no longer received any news from Sweden, nor were able to send any thither. In this condition only one officer complained. "What, said the king to him, are you uneasy at being so far from your wife? If you are a good soldier, I will lead you to such a distance, that you shall hardly be able to receive news from Sweden once in three years."

The marquis de Brancas, afterwards ambassador in Sweden, told me, that a soldier ventured, in presence of the whole army, to present to the king, with an air of complaint, a piece of bread that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, which was the only food they then had, and of which they had not even a sufficient quantity. The king received the bit of bread without the least emotion, eat it up, and then said coldly to the soldier, "It is not good, but it may be eaten." This incident, trifling as it is, if indeed any thing that increases respect and confidence can be said to be trifling, contributed more than all the rest to make the Swedish army support those hardships, which would have been intolerable under any other general.

While he was in this situation, he at last received a packet from Stockholm, by which he was informed of the death of his sister, the dutchess of Holstein, who was carried off by the small pox, in the month of December 1708, in the twenty-seventh year of her age. She was
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a prince as mild and gentle as her brother was imperious in his disposition, and implacable in his revenge. He had always entertained a great affection for her; and was the more afflicted with her death, that now beginning to taste of misfortunes himself, he was of course become the more susceptible of tender impressions.

By this packet he was likewise informed, that his they had raised money and troops, in obedience to orders; but nothing could reach his camp, as between him and Stockholm there were near five hundred leagues to travel, and an enemy superior in number to engage.

The czar, who was as active as the king of Sweden, after having sent some fresh troops to the assistance of the confederates in Poland, who under the command of general Siniaufki, exerted their joint efforts against Stanislaus, immediately advanced into the Ukraine in the midst of this severe winter, to make head against his Swedish majesty. Then he continued to pursue the political scheme he had formed of weakening his enemy by petty rencounters, wisely judging that the Swedish army must in the end be entirely ruined, as it could not possibly be recruited. The cold must certainly have been very severe, as it obliged the two monarchs to agree to a suspension of arms. But on the first of February they renewed their military operations, in the midst of frost and snow.

After several slight skirmishes, and some losses, the king perceived in the month of April, that he had only eighteen thousand Swedes remaining. Mazeppa, the prince of the Cossacks, supplied them with provisions; without his assistance, the army must have perished with want and hunger. At

this conjuncture, the czar made proposals to Mazeppa for submitting again to his authority. But whether it was that the terrible punishment of the wheel, by which his friends had perished, made the Cossack apprehend the same danger for himself, or that he was desirous of revenging their death, he continued faithful to his new ally.

Charles, with his eighteen thousand Swedes, had neither laid aside the design nor the hopes of penetrating to Moscow. Towards the end of May he laid siege to Pultowa, upon the river Voriskla, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine, and thirty leagues from the Boristhenes. This country is inhabited by the Zaporavians, the most remarkable people in the universe. They are a collection of ancient Russians, Poles, and Tartars, professing a species of Christianity, and exercising a kind of free-booting, somewhat a-kin to that of the buccaneers. They chuse a chief, whom they frequently depose or strangle. They allow no women to live among them; but they carry off all the children for twenty or thirty leagues around, and bring them up in their own manners. The summer they always pass in the open fields; in winter they shelter themselves in large barns, containing four or five thousand men. They fear nothing; they live free; they brave death for the smallest booty, with as much intrepidity as Charles XII. did, in order to obtain the power of bestowing crowns. The czar gave them sixty thousand florins, hoping by this means to engage them in his interest. They took his money; and, influenced by the powerful eloquence of Mazeppa, declared in favour of Charles XII. but their service was of very little consequence,

as they think it the most egregious folly to fight for any thing but plunder. It was no small advantage, however, that they were prevented from doing harm. The number of their troops was, at most, but about two thousand. One morning ten of their chiefs were presented to the king; but it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to remain sober, as they commonly begin the day by getting drunk. They were brought to the intrenchments, where they shewed their dexterity in firing with long carbines; for being placed upon the mounds, they killed such of the enemy as they picked out at the distance of two hundred paces. To these banditti Charles added some thousands of Walachians, whom he had hired from the cham of Little Tartary; and thus laid siege to Pultowa, with all these troops of Zaporavians, Cossacks, and Walachians, which joined to his eighteen thousand Swedes, composed an army of about thirty thousand men; but an army in a wretched condition, and in want of every thing. The czar had formed a magazine in Pultowa. If the king should take it, he would open himself a way to Muscovy; and be able at least, amidst the great abundance he would then possess, to wait the arrival of the succours which he still expected from Sweden, Livonia, Pomerania, and Poland. His only resource therefore being in the conquest of Pultowa, he pressed the siege of it with great vigour. Mazeppa, who carried on a correspondence with some of the citizens, assured him that he would soon be master of it; and this assurance revived the hopes of the soldiers, who considered the taking of Pultowa as the end of all their miseries.

The king perceived, from the beginning of the siege, that he had taught his enemies the art of war. In spite of all his precautions, prince Menzikoff threw some fresh troops into the town; by which means the garrison was rendered almost five thousand strong.

They made several sallies, and sometimes with success; they likewise sprung a mine; but what saved the town from being taken was the approach of the czar, who was advancing with seventy thousand men. Charles went to reconnoitre them on the twenty-seventh of May, which happened to be his birth-day, and beat one of their detachments; but as he was returning to his camp, he received a shot from a carbine, which pierced his boot and shattered the bone of his heel. There was not the least alteration observable in his countenance, from which it could be suspected that he had received a wound. He continued to give his orders with great composure, and after this accident remained almost six hours on horseback. One of his domesticks observing that the sole of the king's boot was bloody, made haste to call the surgeons; and the pain was now become so exquisite, that they were obliged to assist him in dismounting, and to carry him to his tent. The surgeons examined the wound, and were of opinion that the leg must be cut off, which threw the army into the utmost consternation. But one of the surgeons, named Newman, who had more skill and courage than the rest, affirmed, that by making deep incisions he could save the king's leg. "Fall to work then presently, said the king to him: cut boldly, and fear nothing." He himself held the leg with both his hands, and beheld the incisions that were made

in it, as if the operation had been performed upon another person.

As they were laying on the dressing, he ordered an assault to be made the next morning; but he had hardly given these orders, when he was informed that the whole army of the enemy was advancing against him; in consequence of which he was obliged to alter his resolution. Charles, wounded and incapable of acting, saw himself cooped up between the Boristhenes and the river that runs to Pultowa, in a desert country, without any places of security, or ammunition, in the face of an army, which at once cut off his retreat, and prevented his being supplied with provisions. In this extremity, he did not assemble a council of war, as, considering the perplexed situation of his affairs, he ought to have done; but on the seventh or eighth of July, in the evening, he sent for velt-mareschal Renschild to his tent; and without deliberation, or the least discomposure, ordered him to make the necessary dispositions for attacking the czar next day. Renschild made no objections, and went to carry his orders into execution. At the door of the king's tent he met count Piper, with whom he had long lived on very bad terms, as frequently happens between the minister and the general. Piper asked him if he had any news: No, said the general coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as count Piper had entered the tent; "Has Renschild told you nothing?" said the king: "Nothing," replied Piper: "Well then, resumed he, I tell you, that we shall give battle to-morrow." Count Piper was astonished at such a desperate resolution; but well knowing that it was impossible to make his master change his mind,

mind, he expressed his surprize only by his silence, and left Charles to sleep till break of day.

It was on the eighth of July 1709, that the decisive battle of Pultowa was fought between the two most famous monarchs that were then in the world. Charles XII. illustrious for nine years of victories ; Peter Alexiowitz for nine years of pains taken to form troops equal to those of Sweden : the one glorious for having given away dominions ; the other for having civilized his own : Charles, fond of dangers, and fighting for glory alone : Alexiowitz scorning to fly from danger, and never making war but from interested views : the Swedish monarch liberal from an innate greatness of soul * ; the Muscovite never granting favours but in order to serve some particular people : the former a prince of uncommon sobriety and continence, naturally magnanimous, and never cruel but once ; the latter having not yet worn off the roughness of his education, or the barbarity of his country, as much the object of terror to his subjects as of admiration to strangers, and too prone to excesses, which even shortened his days. Charles had the title of " Invincible," of which a single

* We cannot perceive the least tincture of liberality or greatness of soul in Charles. He might indeed have made himself king of Poland by dint of violence ; but the consequence of that violence would have disabled him from gratifying his revenge, which seems to have been the predominant passion of his soul. Had he ascended the throne of Poland, he must have maintained an army of Swedes in that kingdom, consequently he could not have advanced to the banks of the Boristhenes in pursuit of Peter Alexiowitz. We find in Charles an insensibility of danger, a contempt of wealth, a clownishness of manners, a brutality of disposition, an implacable thirst of revenge and dominion ; without taste, sentiment, or humanity.

moment might deprive him; the neighbouring nations had already given Peter Alexiowitz the name of "Great;" which, as he did not owe it to his victories, he could not forfeit by a defeat.

In order to form a distinct idea of this battle, and the place where it was fought, we must figure to ourselves Pultowa on the north, the camp of the king of Sweden on the south, stretching a little towards the east, his baggage about a mile behind him, and the river of Pultowa on the north of the town, running from east to west.

The czar had passed the river about a league from Pultowa, towards the west, and was beginning to form his camp.

At break of day the Swedes appeared before the trenches with four iron cannons for their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp, with about three thousand men, and four thousand remained with the baggage: so that the Swedish army which advanced against the enemy, consisted of about one and twenty thousand men, of which about sixteen thousand only were regular troops.

The generals Renschild, Roos, Levenhaupt, Slipenbak, Hoorn, Sparre, Hamilton, the prince of Wirtemberg, the king's relation, and some others, who had most of them seen the battle of Narva, put the subaltern officers in mind of that day, when eight thousand Swedes defeated an army of eighty thousand Muscovites in their intrenchments. The officers exhorted the soldiers by the same motive, and as they advanced they all encouraged one another.

Charles, carried in a litter at the head of his infantry, conducted the march. A party of horse
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advanced by his orders to attack that of the enemy; and the battle began with this engagement at half an hour past four in the morning. The enemy's horse was posted towards the west, on the right side of the Russian camp. Prince Menzikoff and count Gallowin had placed them at certain distances between redoubts lined with cannon. General Slipenbak, at the head of the Swedes, rushed upon them. All those who have served in the Swedish troops are sensible that it is almost impossible to withstand the fury of their first attack. The Muscovite squadrons were broken and routed. The czar ran up to rally them in person; his hat was pierced with a musket ball; Menzikoff had three horses killed under him; and the Swedes cried out, Victory.

Charles did not doubt but the battle was gained. About midnight he had sent general Creuts with five thousand horse or dragoons to take the enemy in flank, while he attacked them in front; but as his ill fortune would have it, Creuts mistook his way, and did not make his appearance. The czar, who thought he was ruined, had time to rally his cavalry, and in his turn fell upon that of the king, which, not being supported by the detachment of Creuts, was likewise broken. Slipenbak was taken prisoner in this engagement. At the same time seventy-two pieces of cannon played from the camp upon the cavalry; and the Russian foot opening their lines, advanced to attack Charles's infantry.

After this the czar detached prince Menzikoff to go and take post between Pultowa and the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff executed his master's orders with dexterity and expedition. He not only cut off the communication between the Swe-

dish army and the camp before Pultowa; but having met with a corps de reserve, he surrounded them and cut them in pieces. If Menzikoff performed this exploit of his own accord, Russia is indebted to him for its preservation: if it was by the orders of the czar, he was an adversary worthy of Charles XII. Mean while the Russian infantry came out of their lines, and advanced into the plain in order of battle. On the other hand, the Swedish cavalry rallied within a quarter of a league from the enemy; and the king, assisted by velt-mareschal Renschild, made the necessary dispositions for a general engagement.

He ranged the few troops that were left him in two lines, his infantry occupying the center and his cavalry forming the two wings. The czar disposed his army in the same manner. He had the advantage of numbers, and of seventy-two pieces of cannon, while the Swedes had no more than four to oppose to him, and began to be in want of powder.

The emperor of Muscovy was in the center of his army, having then only the title of major-general, and seemed to obey general Zermetoff. But he rode from rank to rank in the character of emperor, mounted on a Turkish horse, which had been given him in a present by the grand signor, animating the captains and soldiers, and promising rewards to them all.

At nine in the morning the battle was renewed. One of the first discharges of the Russian cannon carried off the two horses of Charles's litter. He caused two others to be immediately put to it. A second discharge broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. Of four and twenty Drabants, who mutually relieved each other in carrying

rying him, one and twenty were killed. The Swedes, struck with consternation, began to stagger; and the cannon of the enemy continuing to mow them down, the first line fell back upon the second, and the second began to fly. In this last action it was only a single line of ten thousand Russian infantry that routed the Swedish army: so much were matters changed!

All the Swedish writers alledge, that they would have gained the battle, if they had not committed several blunders; but all the officers affirm that it was a great blunder to give battle at all, and a greater still to shut themselves up in a desert country, against the advice of the most prudent generals, in opposition to a warlike enemy, three times stronger than Charles, both in number of men, and in the many resources from which the Swedes were entirely cut off. The remembrance of Narva was the chief cause of Charles's misfortune at Pultowa.

The prince of Wirtemberg, general Renschild, and several principal officers were already made prisoners; the camp before Pultowa was stormed; and all was thrown into a confusion which it was impossible to rectify. Count Piper, with some officers of the chancery, had left the camp, and neither knew what to do, nor what was become of the king; but ran about from one corner of the field to another. A major, called Bere, offered to conduct them to the baggage; but the clouds of dust and smoke which covered the plain, and the dissipation of mind so natural amidst such a desolation, brought them straight to the counterescarp of the town, where they were all made prisoners by the garrison.

The king scorned to fly, and yet was unable to defend himself. General Poniatowsky happened to be near him at that instant. He was a colonel of Stanislaus's Swedish guards, a man of extraordinary merit, and had been induced, from his strong attachment to the person of Charles, to follow him into the Ukraine, without any post in the army. He was a man, who, in all the occurrences of life, and amidst those dangers when others would at most have displayed their courage, always took his measures with dispatch, prudence, and success. He made a sign to two Drabants, who took the king under the arm, and placed him on his horse, notwithstanding the exquisite pain of his wounds.

Poniatowsky, though he had no command in the army, became on this occasion a general thro' necessity, and drew up five hundred horse near the king's person; some of them Drabants, others officers, and a few private troopers. This body being assembled and animated by the misfortune of their prince, forced their way through more than ten Russian regiments, and conducted Charles through the midst of the enemy for the space of a league, to the baggage of the Swedish army.

Charles, being closely pursued in his flight, had his horse killed under him; and colonel Gieta, though wounded and spent with loss of blood, gave him his. Thus in the course of the flight they twice put this conqueror on horseback, though he had not been able to mount a horse during the engagement.

This surprising retreat was of great consequence in such distressful circumstances; but he was obliged to fly to a still greater distance. They found count Piper's coach among the baggage;
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for the king had never used one since he left Stockholm: they put him into this vehicle, and fled towards the Boristhenes with great precipitation. The king, who, from the time of his being set on horseback till his arrival at the baggage, had not spoke a single word, at length enquired, what was become of count Piper? They told him he was taken prisoner, with all the officers of the chancery. "And general Renschild and the duke of Wirtemberg?" added the king. "Yes," says Poniatowsky. "Prisoners to the Russians!" resumed Charles, shrugging up his shoulders; "Come then, let us rather go to the Turks." They could not perceive, however, the least mark of dejection in his countenance; and had any one seen him at that time, without knowing his situation, he would never have suspected that he was conquered and wounded.

While he was getting off, the Russians seized his artillery in the camp before Pultowa, his baggage, and his military-chest, in which they found six millions in specie, the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Nine thousand men, partly Swedes and partly Cossacks, were killed in the battle, and about six thousand taken prisoners. There still remained about sixteen thousand men, including the Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, who fled towards the Boristhenes, under the conduct of general Levenhaupt. He marched one way with these fugitive troops; and the king took another road with some of his horse. The coach in which he rode broke down by the way, and they again set him on horseback: and, to complete his misfortune, he wandered all night in a wood; where, his courage being no longer able to support his exhausted spirits, the pain of his wound becoming

more intolerable through fatigue, and his horse falling under him through excessive weariness, he lay some hours at the foot of a tree, in danger of being surprised every moment by the conquerors, who were searching for him on all sides.

At last, on the 9th or 10th of July, at night, he found himself on the banks of the Boristhenes. Levenhaupt had just arrived with the shattered remains of the army. It was with an equal mixture of joy and sorrow that the Swedes again beheld their king, whom they thought to be dead. The enemy was, approaching. The Swedes had neither a bridge to pass the river, nor time to make one, nor powder to defend themselves, nor provisions to support an army, which had eat nothing for two days. But the remains of this army were Swedes, and the conquered king was Charles XII. Most of the officers imagined, that they were to halt there for the Russians, without flinching; and that they would either conquer or die on the banks of the Boristhenes. Charles would undoubtedly have taken this resolution, had he not been exhausted with weakness. His wound was now come to a suppuration, attended with a fever; and it hath been remarked, that men of the greatest intrepidity, when seized with the fever that is common in a suppuration, lose that impulse to valour, which, like all other virtues, requires the direction of a clear head. Charles was no longer himself. This, at least, is what I have been well assured of, and what indeed is extremely probable. They carried him along like a sick person in a state of insensibility. Happily there was still left a sorry calash, which by chance they had brought along with them: this they put on board of a little boat; and the king and general

neral Mazeppa embarked in another. The latter had saved several coffers full of money; but the current being rapid, and a violent wind beginning to blow, the Cossack threw more than three fourths of his treasures into the river to lighten the boat. Mullern, the king's chancellor, and count Poniatowsky, a man more necessary to the king than ever, on account of his admirable dexterity in finding expedients for all difficulties, crossed over in other barks with some officers. Three hundred troopers of the king's guards, and a great number of Poles and Cossacks, trusting to the goodness of their horses, ventured to pass the river by swimming. Their troop keeping close together, resisted the current, and broke the waves; but all those who attempted to pass separately, a little below, were carried down by the stream, and sunk in the river. Of all the foot who attempted to pass, there was not a single man that reached the other side.

While the shattered remains of the army were in this extremity, prince Menzikoff came up with ten thousand horsemen, having each a foot-soldier behind him. The carcases of the Swedes who had died by the way, of their wounds, fatigue, and hunger, shewed prince Menzikoff but too plainly the road which the fugitive army had taken. The prince sent a trumpet to the Swedish general, to offer him a capitulation. Four general officers were presently dispatched by Levenhaupt to receive the commands of the conqueror. Before that day, sixteen thousand soldiers of king Charles would have attacked the whole forces of the Russian empire, and would have perished to a man rather than surrender. But after the loss of
a battle,

a battle, and a flight of two days, deprived of the presence of their prince, who was himself constrained to fly, the strength of every soldier being exhausted, and their courage no longer supported by the least prospect of relief, the love of life overcame their natural intrepidity. Colonel Troutfetre alone, observing the Muscovites approach, began to advance with one Swedish battalion to attack them, hoping by this means to induce the rest of the troops to follow his example. But Levenhaupt was obliged to oppose this unavailing ardour. The capitulation was settled, and the whole army were made prisoners of war. Some soldiers, reduced to despair at the thoughts of falling into the hands of the Muscovites, threw themselves into the Boristhenes. Two officers of the regiment commanded by the brave Troutfetre, killed each other, and the rest were made slaves. They all filed off in presence of prince Menzikoff, laying their arms at his feet, as thirty thousand Muscovites had done nine years before at those of the king of Sweden, at Narva. But whereas the king sent back all the Russians, whom he did not fear, the czar retained the Swedes that were taken at Pultowa.

These unhappy creatures were afterwards dispersed through the czar's dominions, particularly in Siberia, a vast province of Great Tartary, which extends eastward to the frontiers of the Chinese empire. In this barbarous country, where even the use of bread was unknown, the Swedes, who were become ingenious through necessity, exercised the trades and employments of which they had the least notion. All the distinctions which fortune makes among men were there banished.

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The officer, who could not follow any trade, was obliged to cleave and carry wood for the soldier, now turned taylor, clothier, joiner, mason, or goldsmith, and who got a subsistence by his labour. Some of the officers became painters, and others architects. Some of them taught the languages and mathematics. They even established some public schools, which in time became so useful and famous, that the citizens of Moscow sent their children thither for education.

Count Piper, the king of Sweden's first minister, was for a long time confined in prison at Petersburg. The czar was persuaded, as well as the rest of Europe, that this minister had sold his master to the duke of Marlborough, and drawn on Muscovy the arms of Sweden, which might have given peace to Europe; for which reason he rendered his confinement the more severe. Piper died in Muscovy a few years after, little assisted by his own family, which lived in opulence at Stockholm, and vainly lamented by his sovereign, who would never condescend to offer a ransom for his minister, which he feared the czar would not accept of, for no cartel of exchange had ever been settled between them.

The emperor of Muscovy, elated with a joy which he was at no pains to conceal, received upon the field of battle the prisoners, whom they brought to him in crowds; and asked every moment, "Where then is my brother Charles?"

He did the Swedish generals the honour of inviting them to dine with him. Among other questions which he put to them, he asked general Renschild, what might be the number of his master's troops before the battle? Renschild answered,

ed, That the king always kept the muster-roll himself, and would never shew it to any one; but that, for his own part, he imagined the whole might be about thirty thousand, of which eighteen thousand were Swedes, and the rest Cossacks. The czar seemed to be surprised, and asked how they durst venture to penetrate into so distant a country, and lay siege to Pultowa with such a handful of men? "We were not always consulted," (replied the Swedish general;) but, like faithful servants, we obeyed our master's orders, without ever presuming to contradict them." The czar, upon receiving this answer, turned about to some of his courtiers, who were formerly suspected of having engaged in a conspiracy against him: "Ah! (says he) see how a king should be served;" and then taking a glass of wine, "To the health (says he) of my masters in the art of war." Renschild asked him who were the persons whom he honoured with so high a title? "You, gentlemen, the Swedish generals," replied the czar. "Your majesty then (resumed the count) is very ungrateful, to treat your masters with so much severity." After dinner the czar caused their swords to be restored to all the general officers, and behaved to them like a prince who had a mind to give his subjects a lesson of generosity and politeness, with which he was well acquainted. But this same prince, who treated the Swedish generals with so much humanity, caused all the Cossacks that fell into his hands to be broke upon the wheel.

Thus the Swedish army, which left Saxony in such a triumphant manner, was now no more. One half of them had perished with hunger, and the other half were either massacred or made slaves.

slaves. Charles XII. had lost in one day the fruit of nine years labour, and of almost an hundred battles. He made his escape in a wretched calash, attended by major-general Hoord, who was dangerously wounded. The rest of his little troop followed, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in waggons, through a desert, where neither huts, tents, men, beasts, nor roads were to be seen. Every thing was wanting, even to water itself. It was now the beginning of July; the country lay in the forty-seventh degree of latitude; the dry sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun the more insupportable; the horses fell by the way; and the men were ready to die with thirst. A brook of muddy water which they found towards evening was all they met with; they filled some bottles with this water, which saved the lives of the king's little troop. After a march of five days, he at last found himself on the banks of the river Hypanis, now called Bogh by the barbarians, who have spoiled not only the general face, but even the very names of those countries, which once flourished so nobly in the possession of the Greek colonies. This river joins the Boristhenes some miles lower, and falls along with it into the Black Sea.

On the other side of the Bogh, towards the south, stands the little town of Oczakou, a frontier of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants seeing a body of soldiers approach, to whose dress and language they were entire strangers, refused to carry them over the river, without an order from Mehemet Basha, governor of Oczakou. The king sent an express to the governor, demanding a passage; but the Turk not knowing what to do, in a country

country where one false step frequently costs a man his life, durst not venture to take any thing upon himself, without having first obtained permission of the seraskier of the province, who resides at Bender in Bessarabia. While they were waiting for this permission, the Russians who had made the king's army prisoners had crossed the Boristhenes, and were approaching to take him also. At last the basha of Oczakou sent word to the king, that he would furnish him with one small boat, to transport himself and two or three of his attendants. In this extremity the Swedes took by force what they could not obtain by gentle means: some of them went over to the further side in a small skiff, seized on some boats, and brought them to the hither bank of the river. And happy was it for them that they did so; for the masters of the Turkish barks, fearing they should lose such a favourable opportunity of getting a good freight, came in crouds to offer their service. At that very instant arrived the favourable answer of the seraskier of Bender; and the king had the mortification to see five hundred of his men seized by the enemy, whose insulting bravadoes he even heard. The basha of Oczakou, by means of an interpreter, asked his pardon for the delays which had occasioned the loss of these five hundred men, and humbly entreated him not to complain of it to the grand seignior. Charles promised him that he would not; but at the same time gave him a severe reprimand, as if he had been speaking to one of his own subjects.

The commander of Bender, who was likewise seraskier, a title which answers to that of general, and basha of the province, which signifies governor

vernor and intendant, forthwith sent an aga to compliment the king, and to offer him a magnificent tent, with provision, baggage, waggons, and all the conveniencies, officers, and attendant, necessary to conduct him to Bender in a splendid manner; for it is the custom of the Turks, not only to defray the charges of ambassadors to the place of their residence, but likewise to supply, with great liberality, the necessities of those princes who take refuge among them, during the time of their stay.

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T H E C O N T E N T S .

State of the OTTOMAN PORTE. CHARLES resides near BENDER : His Employments : His Intrigues at the PORTE : His Designs. AUGUSTUS restored to his Throne. The King of DENMARK makes a Descent upon SWEDEN. All the other Dominions of CHARLES are invaded. The Czar enters Moscow in Triumph. Affair of PRUTH. History of the Czarina, who from a Country-girl became Empress.

A CHMET III. was at that time emperor of the Turks. He had been placed upon the throne in 1703, by a revolution not unlike to that which transferred the crown of England from James II. to his son-in-law William. Mustapha being governed by his mufti, who was hated by all the Turks, provoked the whole empire to rise against him. His army, by the assistance of which he hoped to punish the malecontents, went over
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to the rebels. He was seized, and deposed in form; and his brother taken from the seraglio and advanced to the throne, almost without spilling a single drop of blood. Achmet shut up the deposed sultan in the seraglio at Constantinople, where he lived for several years, to the great astonishment of Turkey, which had been wont to see the dethronement of her princes always followed by their death.

The new sultan, as the only recompence for a crown which he owed to the ministers, to the generals, to the officers of the janissaries, and in a word to those who had had any hand in the revolution, put them all to death, one after another, for fear they should one day attempt a second revolution. By sacrificing so many brave men, he weakened the strength of the nation; but established his throne, at least for some years. The next object of his attention was to amass riches. He was the first of the Ottoman race that ventured to make a small alteration in the current coin, and to impose new taxes; but he was obliged to drop both these enterprizes, for fear of an insurrection. The rapacity and tyranny of the grand seignior are seldom felt by any but the officers of the empire, who, whatever they may be in other respects, are domestic slaves to the sultan; but the rest of the Mussulmans live in profound tranquillity, secure of their liberty, their lives, and fortunes*.

Such

* We are surprised to hear our author still harping upon this string, namely, the liberty and security which the Turks enjoy; as it is well known that these miserable creatures are every day subject to be pillaged and massacred by the

Such was the Turkish emperor to whom the king of Sweden fled for refuge. As soon as he set foot on the sultan's territories, he wrote him a letter, which bears date the 13th of July 1709. Several copies of this letter were spread abroad, all of which are now held to be spurious; but of all those I have seen, there is not one but what sufficiently marks the natural haughtiness of the author, and is more suitable to his courage than his condition. The sultan did not return him an answer till towards the end of September. The pride of the Ottoman Porte made Charles sensible what a mighty difference there was between a Turkish emperor and a king of part of Scandinavia, a conquered and fugitive Christian. For the rest, all these letters, which kings seldom write themselves, are but vain formalities, which neither serve to discover the characters of princes, nor the state of their affairs.

Though Charles XII. was in reality no better than a prisoner honourably treated in Turkey, he yet formed the design of arming the Ottoman empire against his enemies. He flattered himself that he should be able to reduce Poland under the yoke, and subdue Russia. He had an envoy at Constantinople; but the person that served him most effectually in his vast projects, was the count de Poniatowsky, who went to Constantinople without a commission, and soon rendered himself necessary to the king, agreeable to the Porte, and at last dangerous even to the grand viziers *.

the soldiery; to be oppressed, stripped, and often punished with death by the officers of justice, even without form of trial.

* It was from this nobleman I received not only the remarks which have been published, and of which the chaplain Norberg hath made use, but likewise several other manuscripts relating to this history.

One of those who seconded his designs with the greatest activity, was the physician Fonseca, a Portuguese Jew, settled at Constantinople, a man of knowledge and address, well qualified for the management of business, and perhaps the only philosopher of his nation. His profession procured him a free access to the Ottoman Porte, and frequently gained him the confidence of the viziers. With this gentleman I was very well acquainted at Paris; and all the particulars I am going to relate were, he assured me, unquestionable truths. Count Poniatowsky hath informed me, both by letters and by word of mouth, that he had the address to convey some letters to the sultaneſs Valide, the mother of the reigning emperor, who had formerly been ill-used by her son, but now began to recover her influence in the seraglio. A Jewess, who was often admitted to this princess, was perpetually recounting to her the exploits of the king of Sweden, and charmed her ear by these relations. The sultaneſs, moved by that secret inclination with which most women feel themselves inspired in favour of extraordinary men, even without having seen them, openly espoused the king's cause in the seraglio. She called him by no other name than that of her lion: "And when will you (would she sometimes say to the sultan her son,) when will you help my lion to devour this czar?" She even dispensed with the rules of the seraglio, so far as to write several letters with her own hand to count Poniatowsky, in whose custody they still are, at the time of my writing this history.

Mean while the king was honourably conducted to Bender, thro' the desert that was formerly called the Wilderness of the Getæ. The Turks took

took care that nothing should be wanting on the road, to render his journey agreeable. A great many Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped from the Muscovites, came by different ways to increase his train on the road. By the time he reached Bender he had eighteen hundred men, who were all maintained and lodged, both they and their horses, at the expence of the grand seignior.

The king chose to encamp near Bender, rather than lodge in the town. The seraskier Jussuf basha caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him; and tents were likewise provided for all the lords of his retinue. Some time after, Charles built a house in this place; the officers followed his example; and the soldiers raised barracks; so that his camp insensibly became a little town. As the king was not yet cured of his wound, he was obliged to have a carious bone extracted from his foot. But as soon as he could mount a horse, he resumed his wonted labours, always rising before the sun, tiring three horses a-day, and exercising his soldiers. By way of amusement, he sometimes played at chess; and, as the characters of men are often discovered by the most trifling incidents, it may not be improper to observe, that he always advanced the king first at that game, and made greater use of him than of any of the other men; by which he was always a loser.

At Bender he had all the necessaries of life in great abundance, a felicity that seldom falls to the lot of a conquered and fugitive prince; for besides the more than sufficient quantity of provisions, and the five hundred crowns a-day, which he received from the Ottoman munificence, he drew some money from France, and borrowed of the

the merchants at Constantinople. Part of this money was employed in forwarding his intrigues in the seraglio, in buying the favours of the viziers, or procuring their ruin. The rest he squandered away with great profusion among his own officers and the janissaries who composed his guards at Bender. The dispenser of these acts of liberality was Grothusen, his favourite, a man, who, contrary to the custom of persons in that station, was as fond of giving as his master. He once brought him an account of sixty thousand crowns in two lines; ten thousand crowns given to the Swedes and janissaries by the generous orders of his majesty, and the rest eat up by myself: "It is thus (says the king) that I would have my friends to give in their accompts. Mullern makes me read whole pages for the sum of ten thousand livres. I like the laconic stile of Grothusen much better." One of his old officers, who was suspected of being somewhat covetous, complained that his majesty gave all to Grothusen: "I give money (replies the king) to none but those who know how to use it." This generosity frequently reduced him to such a low ebb, that he had not wherewithal to give. A better oeconomy in his acts of generosity would have been as much for his honour, and more for his interest; but it was the failing of this prince to carry all the virtues beyond the due bounds.

Great numbers of strangers went from Constantinople to see him. The Turks and the neighbouring Tartars came thither in crouds: all respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting twice a-day at public prayers, made them

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say that he was a true Muffulman, and inspired them with an ardent desire of marching along with him to the conquest of Muscovy.

During his abode at Bender, which was much longer than he expected, he insensibly acquired a taste for reading. Baron Fabricius, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke of Holstein, a young man of an amiable character, who possessed that gaiety of temper, and easy turn of wit, which is so agreeable to princes, was the person who engaged him in these literary amusements. He had been sent to reside with him at Bender in the character of envoy, to take care of the interests of the young duke of Holstein; and he succeeded in his negotiations by his open and agreeable behaviour. He had read all the best French authors. He persuaded the king to read the tragedies of Peter Corneille, those of Racine, and the works of Despreaux. The king had no relish for the satires of the last author, which indeed are far from being his best pieces; but he was very fond of his other writings. When he read that passage of the eighth satire, where the author treats Alexander as a fool and a madman, he tore out the leaf.

Of all the French tragedies, Mithridates pleased him most, because the situation of that monarch, who, though vanquished, still breathed vengeance, was so similar to his own. He shewed Mr. Fabricius the passages that struck him; but would never read any of them aloud, nor ever hazard a single word in French. Nay, when he afterwards saw Mr. Desaleurs, the French ambassador at the Porte, a man of distinguished merit, but acquainted only with his mother-tongue, he answered him
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in Latin; and when Mr. Desaleurs protested that he did not understand four words of that language, the king, rather than talk French, sent for an interpreter.

Such were the occupations of Charles XII. at Bender, where he waited till a Turkish army should come to his assistance. His envoy presented memorials in his name to the grand vizier; and Poniatowsky supported them with all his interest. This gentleman's address succeeded in every thing; he was always dressed in the Turkish fashion, and he had free access to every place. The grand seignior presented him with a purse of a thousand ducats, and the grand vizier said to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other; I will lead him to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men." The name of this grand vizier was Chourlouli Ali Bassa; he was the son of a peasant of the village of Chourlou. Such an extraction is not reckoned a disgrace among the Turks, who have no ranks of nobility, neither that which is annexed to certain employments, nor that which consists in titles. With them the dignity and importance of a man's character depends entirely upon his personal services. This is a custom which prevails in most of the eastern countries; a custom extremely natural, and which might be productive of the most beneficial effects, if posts of honour were conferred on none but men of merit; but the viziers for the most part are no better than the creatures of a black eunuch, or a favourite female slave.

The first minister soon changed his mind. The king could do nothing but negotiate, and the czar could give money, which he distributed with

great profusion ; and he even employed the money of Charles XII. on this occasion. The military-chest which he took at Pultowa furnished him with new arms against the vanquished king ; and it was no longer the question at court, whether war should be made upon the Russians ? The interest of the czar was all-powerful at the Porte, which granted such honours to his envoy as the Muscovite ministers had never before enjoyed at Constantinople. They allowed him to have a *feraglio*, that is, a palace in the quarter of the Franks, who converse with the foreign ministers. The czar thought he might even demand that general Mazeppa should be put into his hands, as Charles XII. had caused the unhappy Patkul to be delivered up to him. Chourlouli Ali Basha could refuse nothing to a prince who backed his demands with millions. Thus that same grand vizier, who had formerly promised in the most solemn manner to lead the king of Sweden into Muscovy with two hundred thousand men, had the assurance to make him a proposal of consenting to the sacrifice of general Mazeppa. Charles was enraged at this demand. It is hard to say how far the vizier might have pushed the affair, had not Mazeppa, who was now seventy years of age, died exactly at this juncture. The king's grief and indignation were greatly encreased, when he understood that Tolstoy, now become the czar's ambassador at the Porte, was served in public by the Swedes that had been made slaves at Pultowa, and that the brave soldiers were daily sold in the market at Constantinople. Nay, the Russian ambassador made no scruple of declaring openly, that the Mussulman troops at Bender were

were placed there rather with a view to secure the king's person, than to do him any honour.

Charles, abandoned by the grand vizier, and vanquished by the czar's money in Turkey, as he had been by his arms in the Ukraine, saw himself deceived and despised by the Porte, and almost a prisoner among the Tartars. His attendants began to despair. Himself alone remained firm, and never appeared in the least dejected. Convinced that the sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of Chourlouli Ali, his grand vizier, he resolved to acquaint him with them; and Poniatowsky undertook the execution of this hazardous enterprize. The grand seignior goes every Friday to the mosque, surrounded by his solaks, a kind of guards, whose turbans are adorned with such high feathers as to conceal the sultan from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to present to the grand seignior, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the petition aloft. Sometimes the sultan condescends to receive it himself; but for the most part he orders an aga to take charge of it, and upon his return from the mosque causes the petition to be laid before him. There is no fear of any one's daring to importune him with useless memorials and trifling petitions, inasmuch as they write less at Constantinople in a whole year than they do at Paris in one day. There is still less danger of any memorials being presented against the ministers, to whom he commonly remits them unread. Poniatowsky had no other way of conveying the king of Sweden's complaint to the grand seignior. He drew up a heavy charge against the grand vizier. Mr.

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de Feriol, who was then the French ambassador, and who gave me an account of the whole affair, got the memorial translated into the Turkish tongue. A Greek was hired to present it: this Greek mingling with the guards of the grand seignior, held the paper so high for so long a time, and made such a noise, that the sultan observed him and took the memorial himself.

This method of presenting memorials to the sultan against his viziers was frequently employed. A Swede, called Leloing, gave in another petition a few days after. Thus in the Turkish empire Charles XII. was reduced to the necessity of using the same expedients with an oppressed subject.

Some days after this, the sultan sent the king of Sweden, as the only answer to his complaints, five and twenty Arabian horses, one of which, that had carried his highness, was covered with a saddle and housings enriched with precious stones, with stirrups of massy gold. This present was accompanied with an obliging letter, but conceived in general terms, and such as gave reason to suspect that the minister had done nothing without the sultan's consent. Chourlouli too, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, sent the king five very curious horses. But Charles, with a lofty air, said to the person that brought them; "Go back to your master, and tell him that I don't receive presents from my enemies."

Poniatowsky having already ventured to present a petition against the grand vizier, he next formed the bold design of deposing him. Understanding that the vizier was disagreeable to the
ful-

sultaness mother, and that he was hated by Kissar Aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, and by the aga of the janissaries, he prompted them all three to speak against him. It was something very surprising to see a Christian, a Pole, an uncommissioned agent of the king of Sweden, who had taken refuge among the Turks, caballing almost openly at the Porte against a viceroy of the Ottoman empire, who, at the same time, was both an able minister and a favourite of his master. Poniatowsky could never have succeeded, and the bare attempt would have cost him his life, had not a power superior to all those that operated in his favour given a finishing stroke to the fortune of the grand vizier Chourlouli.

The sultan had a young favourite, who afterwards governed the Ottoman empire, and was killed in Hungary in 1716, at the battle of Peterwaradin, which prince Eugene of Savoy gained over the Turks. His name was Coumourgî Ali-Basha: his birth was much the same with that of Chourlouli; being the son of a coal-heaver, as Coumourgî imports, Coumour in the Turkish tongue signifying coal. The emperor Achmet II. uncle of Achmet III. having met Coumourgî, while yet an infant, in a little wood near Adrianople, was struck with his extraordinary beauty, and caused him to be conducted to the seraglio. Mustapha, the eldest son and successor of Mahomet, was very fond of him; and Achmet III. made him his favourite. He had then no other place but that of *selictar-aga*, or sword-bearer to the crown. His extreme youth did not allow him to make any open pretensions to the post of grand vizier; and yet he had the ambition to aspire to

it. The Swedish faction could never draw over this favourite to their side. He had never been a friend to Charles, or to any other Christian prince, or to any of their ministers; but on this occasion he served king Charles XII. without intending to do so. He joined with the sultaneſſe Valide and the great officers of the Porte, to haſten the ruin of Chourlouli, who was equally hated by them all. This old miniſter, who had ſerved his maſter for a long time, and with great fidelity, fell a victim to the caprice of a boy, and the intrigues of a foreigner. He was ſtripped of his dignity and riches. His wife, who was the daughter of the late ſultan Muſtapha, was taken from him; and himſelf was baniſhed to Caſſa, formerly called Theodoſia, in Crim Tartary. The bull, that is to ſay, the ſeal of the empire, was given to Numan Couprougli, grandſon to the great Couprougli, who took Candia. This new vizier was, what ill-formed Chriſtians can hardly believe it poſſible for a Turk to be, a man of incorruptible virtue, a ſcrupulous obſerver of the law, and one who frequently oppoſed the rigid rules of juſtice to the wayward will of the ſultan. He could not endure to hear of a war againſt Muſcovy, which he conſidered as alike unjuſt and unneceſſary; but the ſame attachment to his law, that prevented his making war upon the czar, contrary to the faith of treaties, made him obſerve the rights of hoſpitality towards the king of Sweden. “The law forbids you, would he ſay to his maſter, to attack the czar, who has done you no injury; but it commands you to ſuccour the king of Sweden, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions.” He ſent his ma-
jeſty

jeſty eight hundred purſes, (every purſe containing five hundred crowns,) and adviſed him to return peaceably to his own dominions, either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in ſome of the French veſſels which then lay in the harbour of Conſtantinople, and which Mr. de Feriol, the French ambaffador at the Porte, offered to Charles to conduct him to Marſeilles. Count Poniatowsky carried on his negotiations with greater activity than ever, and acquired ſuch a ſuperiority with an incorruptible vizier, as the gold of the Muſcovites was unable to counterbalance. The Ruſſian faction thought it would be their wiſeſt courſe to poiſon ſuch a dangerous negociator. They gained one of his domeſtics, who was to give him the poiſon in a diſh of coffee; but the crime was diſcovered before it was carried into execution. The poiſon was found in the hands of the domeſtick, contained in a ſmall vial, which was carried to the grand ſeignior. The poiſoner was tried in a full divan, and condemned to the gallies; the juſtice of the Turks never inſlicting death for thoſe crimes that have not been perpetrated.

Charles, who could not be perſuaded but that, ſooner or later, he ſhould be able to engage the Turkiſh empire in a war againſt Muſcovy, rejected every propoſal that was made for his peaceable return home. He was continually repreſenting to the Turks the formidable power of that ſame czar, whom he had ſo long deſpiſed. His emiſſaries were perpetually inſinuating that Peter Alexiowitz wanted to make himſelf maſter of the navigation of the Black Sea; and that after having ſubdued the Coſſacks, he would carry his arms into Crim Tartary. Sometimes theſe re-

presentations aroused the Porte, at others the Russian ministers destroyed all their effect.

While Charles XII. made his fate depend upon the caprice of viziers, and while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from a foreign power, presenting petitions to the sultan, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert, all his enemies, awakened from their former lethargy, invaded his dominions.

The battle of Pultowa was the first signal to a revolution in Poland. Augustus returned to that country, protesting against his abdication, and the peace of Altranstad, and publicly accusing Charles XII. whom he no longer feared, of robbery and cruelty. He imprisoned Fingsten and Imhoff, his plenipotentiaries, who had signed his abdication, as if in so doing they had exceeded their orders, and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had been the pretext of his dethronement, conducted him back to Warsaw, accompanied by most of the Polish palatines, who having formerly sworn fidelity to him, had afterwards done the same to Stanislaus, and were now come to do it again to Augustus. Siniawski himself rejoined his party, and laying aside the ambitious hopes of raising himself to the royal dignity, was content to remain grand-general of the crown. Fleming, his first minister, who had been obliged to leave Saxony, for fear of being delivered up with Patkul, now contributed by his address to bring back to his master's interest a great part of the Polish nobility.

The pope absolved the people from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to Stanislaus. This step of the holy father, seasonably taken,
and

and supported by the forces of Augustus, was of considerable weight. It strengthened the credit of the court of Rome in Poland, the natives of which had no inclination at that time to dispute with the sovereign pontiffs their chimerical right of interfering in the temporal concerns of princes. Every one was ready to submit anew to the authority of Augustus, and willingly received an absolution, which, however useless in itself, the nuncio took care to represent as absolutely necessary.

The power of Charles and the grandeur of Sweden, were now drawing towards their last period. Above ten crowned heads had long beheld with fear and envy the Swedish power extending itself far beyond its natural bounds, on the other side of the Baltic sea, from the Duna to the Elbe. The fall of Charles, and his absence, revived the interested views, and re-kindled the jealousies of all these princes, which had for a long time been laid asleep by treaties, and by their inability to break them.

The czar, who was more powerful than all of them put together, improving his late victory, took Vibourg, and all Carelia, over-run Finland, laid siege to Riga, and sent a body of forces into Poland to aid Augustus in recovering his throne. The czar was, at that time what Charles had been formerly, the arbiter of Poland and the North; but all his measures were directed to the promotion of his own interest: whereas Charles had never been prompted by any other motive than those of revenge and glory. The Swedish monarch had succoured his allies and crushed his enemies, without reaping any fruit from his vic-

tories. The czar behaving more like a prince, and less like a hero, would not assist the king of Poland, but on condition that Livonia should be ceded to him; and that that province, for which Augustus had kindled the war, should remain for ever in the possession of the Muscovites.

The king of Denmark, forgetting the treaty of Travendal, as Augustus had that of Altranstad, began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of the dutchies of Holstein and Bremen, to which he renewed his pretensions. The king of Prussia had ancient claims upon Swedish Pomerania, which he now resolved to revive. The duke of Mecklenburg was vexed to see that the Swedes were still in possession of Wismar, the finest town in the dutchy. This prince was to marry a niece of the Russian emperor; and the czar wanted only a pretext for establishing himself in Germany, after the example of the Swedes. George, elector of Hanover, was likewise desirous of enriching himself with Charles's spoils. The bishop of Munster too would have been willing enough to avail himself of some of his claims, had he been able to support them.

About twelve or thirteen thousand Swedes defended Pomerania, and the other countries which Charles possessed in Germany; and it was there that the war was most likely to begin. This storm alarmed the emperor and his allies. It is a law of the empire, that whoever invades one of its provinces shall be reputed an enemy to the whole Germanic body.

But there was a still greater difficulty. All these princes, except the czar, were then united against Lewis XIV. whose power, for a long time, had

had been as formidable to the empire as that of Charles.

At the beginning of this century, Germany found itself hard pressed from south to north by the armies of France and Sweden. The French had passed the Danube, and the Swedes the Oder, and had their forces, victorious as they then were, been joined together, the empire had been utterly undone. But the same fatality that ruined Sweden had likewise humbled France. Sweden, however, had still some resources left; and Lewis XIV. carried on the war with vigour, though without success. Should Pomerania and the dutchy of Bremen become the theatre of the war, it was to be feared that the empire would suffer by such an event; and that being weakened on that side, it would be less able to withstand the arms of Lewis XIV. To prevent this danger, the emperor, the princes of the empire, Anne queen of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces concluded at the Hague, about the end of the year 1709, one of the most singular treaties that ever was signed.

It was stipulated by these powers, that the war against the Swedes should not be in Pomerania, nor in any of the German provinces; and that the enemies of Charles XII. should be at liberty to attack him any where else. Even the czar and the king of Poland acceded to this treaty, in which they caused to be inserted an article as extraordinary as the treaty itself, viz. that the twelve thousand Swedes who were in Pomerania should not be allowed to leave it in order to defend their other provinces.

To secure the execution of the treaty, and to maintain this imaginary neutrality, it was proposed

posed to assemble an army, which should encamp on the banks of the Oder. An unheard-of novelty sure, to levy an army in order to prevent a war! nay, the very princes who were to pay the army, were most of them concerned to commence the war which they thus affected to prevent. The treaty imported that the army should be composed of the troops of the emperor, of the king of Prussia, of the elector of Hanover, of the landgrave of Hesse, and of the bishop of Munster.

The issue of this project was such as might naturally have been expected: it was not carried into execution. The princes who were to have furnished their contingents for completing the army, contributed nothing. There were not two regiments formed. Every body talked of a neutrality, but no body observed it; and the princes of the North, who had any quarrel with the king of Sweden, were left at full liberty to dispute with each other the spoils of that prince.

During these transactions, the czar having quartered his troops in Lithuania, and given orders for pushing the siege of Riga, returned to Moscow to shew his people a sight as new as any thing he had hitherto done in the kingdom. This was a triumph of nearly the same nature with that of the ancient Romans. He made his entry into Moscow on the first of January, 1710, under seven triumphant arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing which the climate could furnish, or which a flourishing commerce (rendered such by his care) could import. The procession began with a regiment of guards, followed

lowed by the pieces of artillery taken from the Swedes at Lesno and Pultowa, each of which was drawn by eight horses, covered with scarlet housings hanging down to the ground. Next came the standards, kettle-drums, and colours won at these two battles, carried by the officers and soldiers who had taken them. All these spoils were followed by the finest troops of the czar. After they had filed off, there appeared in a chariot, made on purpose*, the litter of Charles XII. found in the field of battle at Pultowa, all shattered with two cannon shot. Behind the litter marched all the prisoners two and two, among whom was count Piper, first minister of Sweden, the famous mareschal Renschild, the count de Levenhaupt, the generals Slipenback, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, and all the officers, who were afterwards dispersed through Great Russia. Immediately after these appeared the czar himself, mounted on the same horse which he rode at the battle of Pultowa: a little after him came the generals who had had a share in the success of the day. Next followed a regiment of guards; and the whole was closed by the waggons loaded with the Swedish ammunition.

This grand procession was accompanied with the ringing of all the bells in Moscow, with the sound of drums, kettle-drums, trumpets, and an infinite number of musical instruments, which played

* Here Mr. Norberg, the confessor of Charles XII. finds fault with the author, and affirms that the litter was carried by the soldiers. With regard to these circumstances (which are of great importance to be sure) we appeal to those who saw them.

in concert, together with the volleys of two hundred pieces of cannon, amidst the acclamations of five hundred thousand men, who, at every stop the czar made in this triumphal entry, cried out, "Long live the emperor our father."

This dazzling exhibition augmented the people's veneration for his person, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes than all the solid advantages they had derived from his labours. Mean while he continued the blockade of Riga; and the generals made themselves masters of the rest of Livonia and part of Finland. At the same time the king of Denmark came with his whole fleet to make a descent upon Sweden, where he landed seventeen thousand men, and left them under the command of the count de Reventlau.

Sweden was, at that time, governed by a regency, composed of some senators, who were appointed by the king before he left Stockholm. The body of the senate, imagining that the government of right belonged to them, became jealous of the regency; and the state suffered by these divisions. But, when after the battle of Pultowa, the first news was brought to Stockholm, that the king was at Bender, at the mercy of the Turks and Tartars, and that the Danes had invaded Schonen, and taken the town of Helsingburg, all their jealousies immediately vanished, and they bent their whole attention towards the preservation of the kingdom. Sweden was now drained, in a great measure, of regular troops; for though Charles had always made his great expeditions at the head of small armies, yet the innumerable battles he had fought in the space of
nine

nine years, the necessity he was under of recruiting his forces with continual supplies, and maintaining his garrisons, and the standing army he was constantly obliged to keep in Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden; all these particulars had cost Sweden, during the course of the war, above two hundred and fifty thousand men; so that there were not eight thousand of the ancient troops remaining, which, together with the new-raised militia, was the only resources Sweden had to trust to for the defence of her territories.

The nation is naturally warlike; and all subjects insensibly imbibe the spirit of their sovereign. From one end of the country to the other nothing was talked of but the prodigious achievements of Charles and his generals, and of the old regiments that fought under them at Narva, Duna, Clissa, Pultusk, and Hollofin. Hence the very lowest of the Swedes were fired with a spirit of emulation and glory; and this heroic impulse was greatly augmented by their affection for their king, their pity for his misfortunes, and their implacable hatred to the Danes. In several other countries the peasants are slaves, or treated as such; but here they compose a part of the state, are considered as citizens, and, of consequence, are capable of more exalted sentiments; so that these new-raised militia became, in a short time, the best troops of the North.

General Steinbock, by order of the regency, put himself at the head of eight thousand of the ancient troops, and about twelve thousand of these new militia, to go in pursuit of the Danes, who ravaged all the country about Elsinburg,
and

and had already extorted contributions from some of the more inland provinces.

There was neither time nor opportunity to give regimental cloaths to the new militia. Most of these boors came in their flaxen frocks, having pistols tied to their girdles with cords. Steinbock, at the head of this strange army, overtook the Danes about three leagues from Elsinburg on the tenth of March, 1710. He had designed to give his troops a few days rest, to raise intrenchments, and to allow his new soldiers a sufficient time to habituate themselves to the face of the enemy; but all the peasants called out for battle the very day on which they arrived.

I have been assured by some of the officers who were present, that they saw almost every individual soldier foaming with rage and choler; so great is the national hatred of the Swedes to the Danes. Steinbock availed himself of this ardour of spirit, which, in the day of battle, is of as much consequence as military discipline. He attacked the Danes; and there one might have seen a thing, to which, perhaps, the whole history of mankind cannot furnish above two similar examples; the new-raised militia, in their first assault, equalled the intrepidity of veteran soldiers. Two regiments of these undisciplined peasants cut in pieces the regiment of the king of Denmark's guards, of which there remained only ten men alive.

The Danes, being entirely routed, retired under the cannon of Elsinburg. The passage from Sweden to Zealand is so short, that the king of Denmark received the news of the defeat of his army in Sweden the same day on which it happened;
and

and sent his fleet to bring off the shattered remains of his army. The Danes quitted Sweden with precipitation five days after the battle; but unable to carry off their horses, and unwilling to leave them to the enemy, they killed them all in the suburbs in Elfsburg, and set fire to their provisions, burning their corn and baggage, and leaving in Elfsburg four thousand wounded, the greatest part of whom died of the infection, occasioned by so many dead horses and for want of provision, of which even their countrymen deprived them, in order to prevent the Swedes from enjoying any share of it.

Mean while, the peasants of Dalecarlia having heard in the heart of their forests, that their king was a prisoner among the Turks, sent a deputation to the regency of Stockholm, and offered to go at their own expence, to the number of twenty thousand men, to rescue their master from the hands of his enemies. This proposal, which was better calculated to express their courage and loyalty, than to produce any real advantage, was received with pleasure, though it was not accepted; and the senators took care to acquaint the king with it, at the same time that they sent him a circumstantial account of the battle of Elfsburg.

Charles received this agreeable news in his camp near Bender, in July, 1710. And another event that happened soon after contributed still more to strengthen his hopes.

The grand vizier, Couprougli, who opposed all his designs, was dismissed from his office, after having filled it for two months. The little court of Charles XII. and those who still adhered to him

him in Poland, gave out that Charles made and unmade the viziers, and governed the Turkish empire from his retreat at Bender. But he had no hand in the disgrace of that favourite. The rigid probity of the vizier was said to have been the sole cause of his fall. His predecessor had paid the Janissaries not out of the Imperial treasury, but with the money which he procured by extortion. Couprougli paid them out of the treasury. Achmet reproached him with preferring the interests of the subject to that of the emperor: "Your predecessors, said he, well knew how to find other means of paying my troops." "If, replied the grand vizier, he had the art of enriching your highness by rapine, it is an art of which I am proud to say I am entirely ignorant."

The profound secrecy that prevails in the seraglio, seldom allows such particulars to transpire to the publick; but this fact was published along with Couprougli's disgrace. The vizier's boldness did not cost him his head, because true virtue is sometimes respected, even while it displeases. He was permitted to retire to the island of Negropont. These particulars I learned from the letters of Mr. Bru, my relation, first druggist to the Ottoman Porte, and I have retold them in order to display the true spirit of that government.

After this the grand seignior recalled from Aleppo Baltagi Mehemet, basha of Syria, who had been grand vizier before Chourlouli. The baltagis of the seraglio so called from *balt*, which signifies an axe, are slaves employed to cut wood for the use of the princes of the Ottoman blood,

blood, and the sultanas. This vizier had been a baltagi in his youth, and had ever since retained the name of that office, according to the custom of the Turks, who are not ashamed to take the name of their first profession, or of that of their father, or even of the place of their birth.

While Baltagi Mehemet was a valet in the seraglio, he was so happy as to perform some little services to prince Achmet, who was then a prisoner of state in the reign of his brother Mustapha. The princes of the Ottoman blood are allowed to keep for their pleasure a few women, who are past the age of child-bearing, (and that age arrives very early in Turkey) but still agreeable enough to please. As soon as Achmet became sultan, he gave one of these female slaves, for whom he had had a great affection, in marriage to Baltagi Mehemet. This woman by her intrigues made her husband grand vizier; another intrigue displaced him; and a third made him grand vizier again.

When Baltagi Mehemet received the bull of the empire, he found the party of the king of Sweden prevailing in the seraglio. The sultaness Valide, Ali Coumourgi, the grand seignior's favourite, the kissar aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janissaries were all for a war against the czar: the sultan was fixed in the same resolution; and the first order he gave the grand vizier was to go and attack the Muscovites with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi had never made a campaign; yet was he not an idiot, as the Swedes, who were dissatisfied with his conduct, affected to represent him. Upon receiving

ceiving from the grand seignior a sabre, adorned with precious stones, he addressed him in the following terms: "Your highness knows, said he, that I was brought up to handle an axe and cleave wood, not to wield a sword and command your armies. Nevertheless, I will endeavour to serve you to the best of my power; but should I fail of success, remember I have entreated you beforehand not to impute the blame to me." The sultan assured him he might depend upon his friendship; and the vizier prepared to carry his orders into execution.

The first step of the Ottoman Porte was to imprison the Russian ambassador in the castle of the Seven Towers. 'Tis the custom of the Turks to begin by arresting the ministers of those princes against whom they declare war. Strict observers of hospitality in every thing else, in this they violate the most sacred law of nations. This injustice, however, they commit under the pretext of equity, believing themselves, or, at least, desirous to make others believe, that they never undertake any but just wars, because they are consecrated by the approbation of their musti. Upon this principle they take up arms (as they imagine) to chastise the violators of treaties; and think they have a right to punish the ambassadors of those kings with whom they are at enmity, as being accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

Add to this the ridiculous contempt they affect to entertain for Christian princes, and their ambassadors, the latter of whom they commonly consider in no other light than as the consuls of merchants.

The

The han of Crim Tartary, whom we call the kam, received orders to hold himself in readiness with forty thousand Tartars. This prince is sovereign of Nagai, Budziack, part of Circassia, and all Crim Tartary, a province anciently known by the name of Taurica Chersonesus, into which the Greeks carried their arms and commerce, and founded powerful cities; and into which, in after times, the Genoese penetrated, when they were masters of the trade of Europe. In this country are to be seen the ruins of some Greek cities, and some monuments of the Genoese, which still subsist in the midst of desolation and barbarity.

The kam is called emperor by his own subjects; but with this grand title, he is, nevertheless, the slave of the Porte. The Ottoman blood, from which the kams are sprung, and the right they pretend to have to the empire of the Turks, upon the failure of the grand seignior's race, render their family respectable, and their persons formidable even to the sultan himself. 'Tis for this reason that the grand seignior dares not venture to destroy the race of the kams of Tartary; though indeed he seldom allows any of these princes to live to a great age. Their conduct is closely inspected by the neighbouring basha's: their dominions are surrounded with janissaries; their inclinations thwarted by the grand viziers; and their designs always suspected. If the Tartars complain of the kam, the Porte deposes him under that pretext. If he is too popular, it is still a higher crime, for which he suffers a more severe punishment. Thus almost all of them are driven from sovereign power into exile, and end their days at Rhodes,

Rhodes, which is commonly their prison and their grave.

The Tartars, their subjects, are the most thievish people on earth, and, what is hardly to be credited, are, at the same time, the most hospitable. They will go fifty leagues from home to attack a caravan, or pillage a town; and yet when any stranger happens to travel through their country, he is not only received, lodged, and maintained every where, but through whatever place he passes, the inhabitants dispute with each other the honour of having him for their guest; and the master of the house, his wife, and daughters, are ambitious to serve him. This inviolable regard to hospitality they have derived from their ancestors the Scythians; and they still preserve it, because the small number of strangers that travel among them, and the low price of all sorts of provisions, render the practice of such a virtue no ways burthenfome.

When the Tartars go to war, in conjunction with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the grand seignior, but the booty they get is their only pay; and hence it is that they are much fitter for plundering than fighting.

The kam, won over to the king of Sweden's interest by presents and promises, at first obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the troops at Bender, and even under the eye of Charles XII. in order the more effectually to convince that monarch, that the war was undertaken solely for his sake.

The new vizier, Baltagi Mehemet, who did not lie under the same engagements, would not flatter a foreign prince so highly. He changed the order

order; and Adrianople was the place fixed for the rendezvous of this great army. 'Tis always in the vast and fertile plains of Adrianople that the Turks assemble their armies, when they are going to make war upon the Christians: there the troops that arrive from Asia and Africa repose and refresh themselves for a few weeks; but the grand vizier, in order to anticipate the preparations of the czar, allowed the army but three days rest, and then marched to the Danube, from whence he advanced into Bessarabia.

The Turkish troops now-a-days are not near so formidable as they were in ancient times, when they conquered so many kingdoms in Asia, Africa, and Europe; when, by their great strength of body, their valour, and numbers, they triumphed over enemies less robust and worse disciplined than themselves. But now that the Christians are more expert in the art of war, they seldom fail to beat the Turks in a pitched battle, and even with unequal numbers. If the Ottoman empire hath made some conquests in latter times, it hath only been over the republic of Venice, esteemed more wise than warlike, defended by strangers, and little succoured by the Christian princes, who are perpetually at variance among themselves.

The janissaries and spahis always attack in a confused and disorderly manner: they are incapable of obeying the commands of their general, or of recovering their ranks. Their cavalry, which, considering the goodness and fleetness of their horses, ought to be excellent, is unable to sustain the shock of the German cavalry. Their infantry cannot, even to this day, make use of

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fixed

fixed bayonets to any purpose. Add to this that the Turks have not had an able general since the time of Couprougli, who conquered the isle of Candia. A slave brought up in the indolence and silence of a seraglio, made a vizier by interest, and a general against his will, led a raw army, without discipline or experience, against Russian troops, hardened by twelve campaigns, and proud of having conquered the Swedes.

The czar, in all appearance, must have vanquished Baltagi Mehemet; but was guilty of the same fault, with regard to the Turks, which the king of Sweden had committed with regard to him: he despised his enemy too much. Upon the first news of the Turkish preparations, he left Moscow, and, having given orders for turning the siege of Riga into a blockade, assembled a body of eighty thousand men on the frontiers of Poland*. With this army he took the road
through

* The chaplain Norberg alledges, that the czar compelled every fourth man in his dominions, able to bear arms, to follow him to the field. Had that been the case, his army would have amounted, at least, to two millions of men†.

† Our author seems to have forgot himself on this occasion. In civilized and populous countries, one fifth of the inhabitants is computed as the proportion of men able to carry arms. M. de Voltaire says, the number of people in Muscovy does not exceed fourteen or fifteen millions. The fifth part of fifteen amounts to three; every fourth man, therefore, if chose fit for war, would bring the number to seven hundred and fifty thousand. But great part of the czar's subjects consisted of people who never served in war; such as the Laplanders, the Samoiedes, and the clergy: so that we must understand Norberg as
meaning

through Moldavia and Walachia, formerly the country of the Dacee, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, who are tributaries to the grand seignior.

Moldavia was, at that time, governed by prince Cantemir, a Grecian by birth, and who united in his person the talents of the ancient Greeks, the knowledge of letters and of arms. He was supposed to have sprung from the famous Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. This extraction appeared more honourable than a Greek origin; and the reality of the descent is proved by the name of the conqueror. Timur, it is said, resembles Temir: the title of Can, which Timur possessed before he conquered Asia, is included in the word Cantemir: therefore prince Cantemir is descended from Tamerlane. Such are the foundations of most genealogies!

From whatever family Cantemir was sprung, he owed all his fortune to the Ottoman Porte. Hardly had he received the investiture of his principality, when he betrayed his benefactor the Turkish emperor to the czar, from whom he expected greater advantages. He fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily triumph over a vizier of so little reputation, who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his Kiaia, or lieutenant, the superintendant of the customs in Turkey. He made no question but all his subjects would readily follow his standard, as the Greek patriarchs encouraged him in

meaning no more than that Peter enlisted every fourth man of the peasants actually found in the country, properly called Muscovy.

his revolt. The czar, therefore, having made a secret treaty with this prince, and received him into his army, advanced farther into the country ; and in June 1711, arrived on the northern banks of the river Hierasus, now Pruth, near Jazy, the capital of Moldavia.

As soon as the grand vizier heard that Peter Alexiowitz was advancing on that side, he immediately decamped, and following the course of the Danube, resolved to cross the river on a bridge of boats, near a town called Saccia, at the same place where Darius formerly built the bridge that long went by his name. The Turkish army proceeded with so much expedition, that it soon came in sight of the Muscovites, the river Pruth being between them.

The czar, sure of the prince of Moldavia, never dreamed that the Moldavians would fail him. But it frequently happens that the interest of the prince and that of the subjects are extremely different. The Moldavians liked the Turkish government, which is never fatal to any but the grandees, and affects a great lenity and mildness to its tributary states. They dreaded the Christians, and especially the Muscovites, who had always treated them with inhumanity. They carried all their provisions to the Ottoman army.

The undertakers who had engaged to furnish the Russians with provisions, performed that contract with the grand vizier which they had made with the czar. The Walachians, who border upon the Moldavians, discovered the same attachment to the Turks ; so much had the remembrance of the Russian cruelty alienated all their affections.

The

The czar thus baulked of his hopes, which perhaps he had too rashly entertained, saw his army on a sudden destitute of forage and provisions. The soldiers deserted in troops; and the army was soon reduced to less than thirty thousand men, ready to perish with hunger. The czar experienced the same misfortunes upon the banks of the Pruth, in having delivered himself up to Cantemir, that Charles XII. had done at Pultowa, in relying upon Mazeppa. The Turks mean while passed the river, hemmed in the Russians, and formed an entrenched camp before them. It is somewhat surprising that the czar did not dispute the passage of the river, or, at least, repair this error by attacking the Turks immediately after the passage, instead of giving them time to destroy his army by hunger and fatigue. It would seem, indeed, that Peter did every thing in this campaign to hasten his own ruin. He found himself without provision; the river Pruth behind him; an hundred and fifty thousand Turks before him; while forty thousand Tartars were continually harrassing his army on the right and left. In this extremity, he made no scruple of acknowledging in public, that he was at least reduced to as bad a condition as his brother Charles had been at Pultowa.

Count Poniatowsky, an indefatigable agent of the king of Sweden, was in the grand vizier's army, together with some Poles and Swedes, all of whom considered the ruin of the czar as inevitable.

As soon as Poniatowsky saw that the armies must infallibly come to an engagement, he sent an express to the king of Sweden, who immedi-

ately set out from Bender, accompanied with forty officers, anticipating the mighty pleasure he should have in fighting the emperor of Muscovy. After many losses, and several marches in which he suffered severely, the czar was driven back to the Pruth, without any other defence than a chevaux de frize, and a few waggons. A part of the janissaries and spahis attacked his army in this disadvantageous situation; but their attack was disorderly, and the Russians defended themselves with a firmness and resolution, which nothing but despair and the presence of their prince could inspire.

The Turks were twice repulsed. Next day Mr. Poniatowsky advised the grand vizier to starve the Russian army, which being in want of every thing, would, together with its emperor, be obliged in a day's time to surrender at discretion.

The czar, since that time, hath more than once acknowledged, that, in the whole course of his life, he never felt any thing so exquisitely tormenting as the perturbation of mind in which he passed that night. He revolved in his thoughts all that he had been doing for so many years, to promote the glory and happiness of his country. He reflected that so many grand undertakings, which had always been interrupted by wars, were now, perhaps, going to perish with him, before they were fully accomplished. And he plainly perceived, that he must either be destroyed by famine, or attack about an hundred and eighty thousand men with feeble and dispirited troops, diminished one half in their number, the cavalry almost entirely dismounted, and the infantry exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

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He sent for general Czeremetof in the evening, and, without the least hesitation, or even so much as asking any one's advice, ordered him to have every thing in readiness next morning for attacking the Turks with fixed bayonets.

He likewise gave express orders that all the baggage should be burnt, and that no officer should keep above one waggon; that so, in case of a defeat, the enemy might not obtain the booty they expected.

Having settled every thing with the general relating to the battle, he retired to his tent, oppressed with grief, and racked with convulsions, a disease which often attacked him, and always recurred with redoubled violence, when he was under any perturbation of mind. He gave peremptory orders that no one should presume, under any pretext whatsoever, to enter his tent in the night; not chusing to receive any remonstrances against a resolution, which, however desperate, was absolutely necessary, and still less that any one should be a witness of the melancholy condition in which he was.

Mean while the greatest part of the baggage was burnt, according to his orders. All the army followed the example, though with much reluctance; and several buried their most valuable effects in the earth. The general officers were already giving orders for the march, and endeavouring to inspire the army with that courage which themselves did not possess. The soldiers, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, advanced without spirit and without hope. The women, with which the army was but too much crowded, set up the most lamentable shrieks and cries.

which contributed still more to enervate the men; and next morning every one expected death or slavery, as the only alternative. This picture is by no means exaggerated: it is exactly agreeable to the accounts that were given by some officers who served in the army.

There was, at that time, in the Russian camp, a woman as extraordinary, perhaps, as the czar himself. As yet she was known only by the name of Catharine. Her mother was a poor country-woman, called Erb-Magden, of the village of Ringen in Estonia, a province where the people held by villenage, and which was then subject to the Swedes. She never knew her father; but was baptized by the name of Martha. The vicar of the parish, out of pure charity, brought her up to the age of fourteen; after which she went to service at Marienburg, and hired herself to a Lutheran minister of that country, called Gluk.

In 1702, being then eighteen years of age, she married a Swedish dragoon. The day immediately succeeding her marriage, a party of the Swedish troops having been defeated by the Muscovites, the dragoon, who was in the action, disappeared, and was never heard of more; but whether or not he was taken prisoner, his wife could never learn, nor indeed from that time could she ever procure the least intelligence about him.

A few days after, being made a prisoner herself by general Baur, she entered into his service, and afterwards into that of mareschal Czeremetof, by whom she was given to Menzikoff, a man who experienced the greatest vicissitudes of fortune, having from a pastry-cook's boy been raised

raised to the rank of a general and a prince, and at last stripped of every thing and banished into Siberia, where he ended his days in misery and despair.

The first time the emperor saw her was one evening as he was at supper with prince Menzikoff, when he instantly fell in love with her. He married her privately in 1707: not seduced into this step by the artifices of the woman, but because he found her possessed of a strength and firmness of mind capable of seconding his schemes, and even of continuing them after his death. He had long before divorced his first wife Ottokesa, the daughter of a boyard, who was accused of opposing the alterations which he was introducing into his dominions. This crime, in the eyes of the czar, was the most heinous of all others. He would have no body in his family whose thoughts did not exactly correspond with his. He imagined he could discern in this foreign slave the qualities of a sovereign, though she had none of the virtues of her sex. For her sake he disdained and broke through the prejudices that would have fettered a man of an ordinary capacity. He caused her to be crowned empress. The same talents which made her the wife of Peter Alexiowitz, procured her the empire after the death of her husband; and Europe hath beheld with surprize a woman who could neither read* nor write, com-

* The *Sieur de la Motraye* pretends that she had a good education, and could both read and write with great facility. The contrary of this, however, is known to all the world. The peasants of Livonia are never allowed to learn

compensating the want of education, and the weakness of her sex, by her invincible courage and resolution, and filling with glory the throne of a legislator.

When she married the czar, she renounced the Lutheran religion, in which she had been born, and embraced that of Muscovy. She was rebaptized, according to the rules of the Russian church, and instead of Martha, she took the name of Catharine, by which she was ever after known. This woman, being at the camp at Pruth, held a council with the general officers and the vice-chancellor, Schaffirof, while the czar was in his tent.

The result of their deliberations was, that they must necessarily sue for a peace to the Turks, and endeavour to persuade the czar to agree to such a measure. The vice-chancellor wrote a letter to the grand vizier in his master's name. This letter the czarina carried to the emperor's tent, notwithstanding his prohibition; and having with tears and intreaties prevailed upon him to sign it, she forthwith collected all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects, together with what money she could borrow from the general officers, and having by these means made up a considerable present, she sent it, with the czar's

learn either to read or write, owing to an ancient privilege, which is termed the benefit of clergy, formerly established among the barbarians who were converted to Christianity, and still subsisting in this country. The memoirs from which we have extracted this anecdote, farther add, that the princess Elizabeth, afterwards empress, always signed for her mother, from the time she could write.

letter

letter, to Osman Aga, lieutenant to the grand vizier. Mehemet Baltagi replied with the lofty air of a vizier and a conqueror, "Let the czar send me his prime minister, and I shall then consider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor, Schaffirof, immediately repaired to the Turkish camp, with some presents which he publicly offered to the grand vizier, sufficient to shew him that they stood in need of his clemency, but too inconsiderable to corrupt his integrity.

The vizier at first demanded, that the czar, with his whole army, should surrender at discretion. The vice-chancellor replied, that his master was going to attack him in a quarter of an hour, and that the Russians would perish to a man, rather than submit to such dishonourable conditions. Schaffirof's application was strongly seconded by the remonstrances of Osman.

Mehemet Baltagi was no warrior: he saw that the janissaries had been repulsed the day before; so that Osman easily prevailed upon him not to risk such certain advantages upon the fate of a battle. He accordingly granted a suspension of arms for six hours, in which time the terms of the treaty might be fully settled.

During the parley, there happened a trifling incident, which plainly shews that the Turks often keep their word with a more scrupulous exactness than we imagine. Two Italian gentlemen, relations of M. Brillo, lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of grenadiers in the czar's service, having gone to some distance in quest of forage, were taken prisoners by some Tartars, who brought them to the camp, and offered to sell them to an officer of the janissaries. The Turk

en-

enraged at their presumption, in having thus violated the truce, arrested the Tartars, and carried them himself before the grand vizier, together with the two prisoners.

The vizier sent back the two gentlemen to the czar's camp, and ordered the Tartars, who had been chiefly concerned in carrying them off, to be beheaded.

Mean while the Kam of Tartary opposed the conclusion of the treaty, which would deprive him of all hopes of plunder; and Poniatowsky seconded the Kam with the strongest arguments. But Osman carried his point against the importunity of the Tartar, and the insinuations of Poniatowsky.

The vizier thought, that by concluding an advantageous peace, he should sufficiently consult the honour and interest of his master. He insisted that the Russians should restore Azoph, burn the galleys which lay in that harbour, demolish the important citadels built upon the Palus Mæotis, and deliver all the cannon and ammunition of these fortresses into the hands of the grand seignior; that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther disturbance to the few Cossacks that were under the protection of the Poles, nor to those who were subject to the Turks; and that for the future he should pay the Tartars an annual subsidy of forty thousand sequins; an odious tribute long since imposed, but from which the czar had delivered his country.

At last the treaty was going to be signed, without so much as making mention of the king of Sweden. All that Poniatowsky could obtain of the vizier was to insert an article, by which the
czar

czar bound himself not to incommode the king in his return. And what is very remarkable, it was stipulated in this article, that the czar and Charles should make peace if they thought proper, and could agree upon the terms.

On these conditions the czar was permitted to retire with his army, cannon, artillery, colours, and baggage. The Turks supplied him with provisions, and he had plenty of every thing in his camp two hours after the signing of the treaty, which was begun, concluded, and signed the twenty-first of July 1711.

Just as the czar, now extricated from this terrible dilemma, was marching off with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the fight, and happy in the thoughts of having his enemy in his power. He had rid post above fifty leagues from Bender to Jazy. He arrived the very moment that the Russians were beginning to retire in peace; but he could not penetrate to the Turkish camp, without passing the Pruth by a bridge, three leagues distant. Charles XII. who never did any thing like other men, swam across the river, at the hazard of being drowned, and traversed the Russian camp at the risk of being taken. At length he reached the Turkish army, and alighted at the tent of Poniatowsky, who informed me of all these particulars, both by letter and word of mouth. The count came to him with a sorrowful countenance, and told him that he had lost an opportunity, which perhaps he would never be able to recover.

The king, enflamed with resentment, flew straight away to the tent of the grand vizier, and

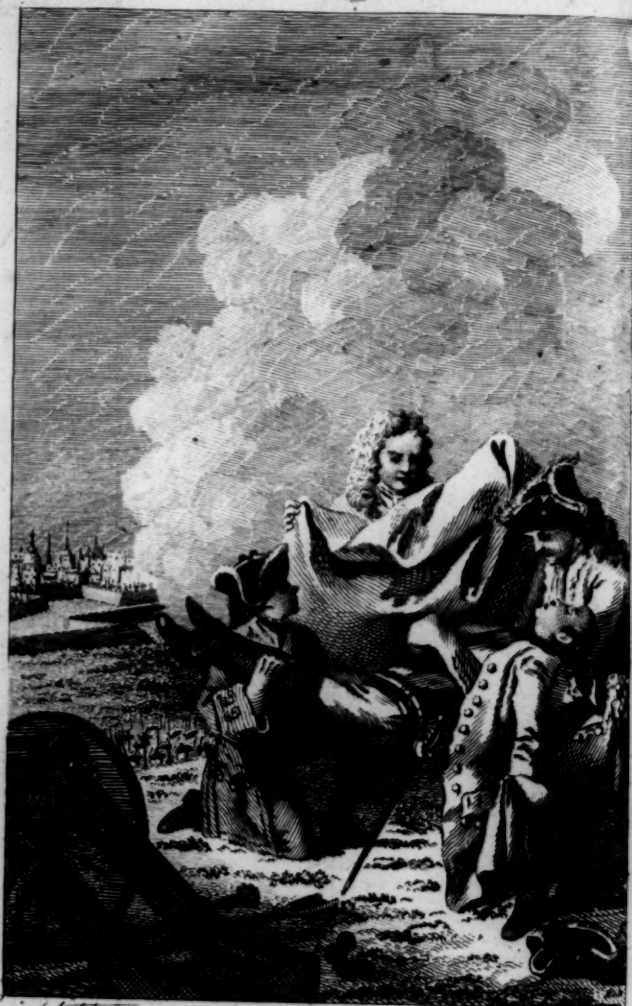
and with a stern air, reproached him with the treaty he had made. "I have a right, says the grand vizier, with a calm aspect, either to make peace or war." "But, adds the king, have not you the whole Russian army in your power?" "Our law commands us, replies the vizier with great gravity, to grant peace to our enemies, when they implore our mercy." "And does it command you, resumes the king in a passion, to make a bad treaty, when you may impose what laws you please? had not you a fair opportunity, if you would have embraced it, of leading the czar a prisoner to Constantinople?"

The Turk, driven to this extremity, replied very coldly, "And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all kings should leave their dominions." Charles made no other answer, than by a smile of indignation. He then threw himself down upon a sofa, and eying the vizier with an air of contempt and resentment, stretched out his leg, and entangling his spur in the Turk's robe, purposely tore it: after which, he rose up, remounted his horse, and with a sorrowful heart returned to Bender. Poniatowsky continued some time longer with the grand vizier, to try if he could not prevail upon him by more gentle means, to extort greater concessions from the czar; but the hour of prayer being come, the Turk, without answering a single word, went to wash and attend divine service.

END of the FIFTH BOOK.

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Gwin/det.
Charles the 12.th Killed at Fredericksburg *Shall*

THE *14th ed.*
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE ELEVENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII.

THE

WORKS

OF

MATTHEW T. LEE

Traveller and Explorer

WITH

JOHN H. LEE

AND

THE LEE FAMILY

IN THE

WESTERN

AND

THE

INDIAN

AND

THE

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B O O K VI.

T H E C O N T E N T S .

Intrigues at the Porte. The Kam of TARTARY and the Basha of BENDER endeavour to force CHARLES to depart. He defends himself with forty domestics against the whole army. He is taken, and treated as a prisoner.

THE fortune of the king of Sweden, now so different from what it had formerly been, harrassed him even in the most trifling circumstances. On his return, he found his little camp at Bender, and all his apartment overflowed by the waters of the Neister. He retired to the distance of a few miles, near the village of Varnitza ; and, as if he had had a secret foreboding of what was to befall him, he there built a large

B

house

house of stone, capable, on occasion, to sustain an assault for a few hours. He even furnished it in a magnificent manner, contrary to his usual custom, in order the more effectually to attract the respect of the Turks.

He likewise built two other houses, one for his chancery, and the other for his favourite Grothusen, who kept a table at the king's expence. While Charles was thus employed in building near Bender, as if he had been always to remain in Turkey, Baltagi Mehemet, dreading more than ever the intrigues and complaints of this prince at the Porte, had sent the resident of the emperor of Germany into Vienna to demand a free passage for the king of Sweden through the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. The envoy, in the space of three weeks, brought back a promise from the imperial regency, importing that they would pay Charles XII. all due honours, and conduct him safely into Pomerania.

Application was made to the regency of Vienna, because Charles, the emperor of Germany, who had succeeded Joseph, was then in Spain disputing the crown of that kingdom with Philip V. While the German envoy was executing this commission at Vienna, the grand vizer sent three bashas to acquaint the king of Sweden, that he must quit the Turkish dominions.

The king, being previously apprized of the orders with which they were charged, caused intimation to be given them, that if they presumed to make him any proposals contrary to his honour, or to the respect that was due to his character, he would forthwith have them all strung up on a gallows. The basha of Thessalonica, who delivered the message, disguised the harshness of the

com-

commission, under the most respectful terms. Charles put an end to the audience, without deigning to give them an answer. His chancellor, Mullern, who staid with the three bashas, briefly explained to them his master's refusal, which indeed they had sufficiently understood by his profound silence.

The grand vizier was not to be diverted from his purpose; he ordered Ismael Basba, the new serasquier of Bender, to threaten the king with the sultan's indignation, if he did not immediately come to a resolution. This serasquier was a man of a mild temper and engaging address, which had gained him the good will of Charles, and the friendship of all the Swedes. The king entered into a conference with him; but it was only to tell him, that he would not depart till Achmet had granted him two favours; the punishment of his grand vizier, and an hundred thousand men to conduct him back to Poland.

Baltagi Mehemet was sensible that Charles remained in Turkey only to ruin him. He therefore took care to place guards in all the roads from Bender to Constantinople, to intercept the king's letters. He did more; he retrenched his "Thaïm," that is to say, the provision which the Porte allows those princes to whom she grants an asylum. That of the king of Sweden was immense, consisting of five hundred crowns a-day in money, and a profusion of every thing necessary to maintain a court in splendor and affluence.

As soon as the king was informed that the vizier had presumed to retrench his allowance, he turned to the steward of his household and said,

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"Hi-

"Hitherto you have only had two tables, I command you to have four for the future."

The officers of Charles XII. had been used to find nothing impossible which their master ordered; at present, however, they had neither money nor provisions. They were forced to borrow at twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. of the officers, domesticks, and janissaries, who were grown rich by the king's profusion. M. Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein, Jeffreys, the English minister, and their secretaries and friends, gave all that they had. The king, with his usual statefulness, and without any concern about the morrow, lived on these presents, which could not have sufficed him long. It was necessary to elude the vigilance of the guards, and to send privately to Constantinople to borrow money of the European merchants. But every body refused to lend a king who seemed to have put himself out of a condition of ever being able to repay them. One English merchant alone, called Cook, ventured to lend him about forty thousand crowns, content to lose that sum if the king of Sweden should happen to die. This money was brought to the king's little camp, just as they began to be in want of every thing, and even to give over all hopes of any farther relief.

During this interval, M. Poniatowsky wrote, even from the camp of the grand vizier, an account of the campaign at Pruth, in which he accused Baltagi Mehemet of perfidy and cowardice. An old janissary, provoked at the vizier's weakness, and gained moreover by Poniatowsky's liberality, undertook the delivery of the letter; and having obtained leave, presented it with his own hand to the sultan.

A few

A few days after, Poniatowsky left the camp, and repaired to the Porte to form cabals, as usual, against the grand vizier.

Every thing favoured his project. The czar, being now at liberty, was in no haste to perform his engagements. The keys of Azoph were not yet come: the grand vizier was answerable for them, and justly dreading the indignation of his master, durst not venture to appear in his presence.

At that time the seraglio was filled more than ever with intrigues and factions. These cabals, which prevail in all courts, and which in ours commonly end in the dismissal, or, at most, in the banishment of the minister, never fail at Constantinople to occasion the loss of more than one head. The present plot proved fatal to the old vizier Chourlouli, and to Osman, the lieutenant of Baltagi Mehemet, who had been the principal author of the peace of Pruth, and had afterwards obtained a considerable post at the Porte. Among Osman's treasures was found the Czarina's ring, and twenty thousand pieces of gold, of Saxon and Russian coin; a plain proof that money alone had extricated the czar from his dangerous situation, and ruined the fortunes of Charles. The vizier Baltagi Mehemet was banished to the isle of Lemnos, where he died three years after. The sultan did not seize his effects, either at his banishment or his death. He was far from being rich; and his poverty was a sufficient vindication of his character.

This grand vizier was succeeded by Jussuf, or Joseph, whose fortune was as singular as that of his predecessors. Born on the frontiers of Muscovy, and taken prisoner at six years of age, with

his family, he had been sold to a janissary. He was long a servant in the seraglio, and at last became the second person in the empire where he had been a slave; but he was only the shadow of a minister. The young felictar, Ali Coumourgi, raised him to that slippery post, in hopes of one day filling it himself; and Jussuf, his creature, had nothing to do but to set the seals of the empire to whatever the favourite desired. From the very beginning of this vizier's ministry, the politics of the Ottoman court seemed to undergo a total alteration. The czar's plenipotentiaries, who resided at Constantinople, either as ministers or hostages, were treated with greater civility than ever. The grand vizier confirmed with them the peace of Pruth: but what mortified the king of Sweden more than all the rest was, to hear that the secret alliance made with the czar at Constantinople, was brought about by the mediation of the English and Dutch ambassadors.

Constantinople, from the time of Charles's retreat to Bender, was become what Rome hath often been, the center of the negotiations of Christendom. Count Desaleurs, the French ambassador at the Porte, supported the interests of Charles and Stanislaus: the emperor of Germany's minister opposed them; and the factions of Sweden and Muscovy clashed, as those of France and Spain have long done at the court of Rome.

England and Holland seemed to be neuter, but were not so in reality. The new trade which the czar had opened at Petersburg attracted the attention of these two commercial nations.

The

The English and the Dutch will always side with that prince who favours their trade the most*: there were many advantages to be derived from a connection with the czar; and therefore it is no wonder that the ministers of England and Holland should serve him privately at the Porte. One of the conditions of this new alliance was, that Charles should be immediately obliged to quit the Turkish dominions, whether it was that the czar hoped to seize him on the road, or that he thought him less formidable in his own kingdom than in Turkey, where he was always on the point of arming the Ottoman troops against the Russian empire.

Charles was perpetually soliciting the Porte to send him back through Poland with a numerous army. The divan was resolved to send him back with a simple guard of seven or eight thousand men, not as a king whom they meant to assist, but as a guest of whom they wanted to get rid. For this purpose the sultan Achmet, wrote him the following letter.

“Most powerful among the kings that adore Jesus, redresser of wrongs and injuries in the ports and republicks of the South and North, shining in majesty, lover of honour and glory, and of our sublime Porte, Charles, king of Sweden, whose enterprizes may God crown with success.

“As soon as the most illustrious Achmet, formerly Chiaoux Pachi, shall have the honour to

* We could wish this observation was true; but of the contrary we are feelingly convinced. The English have no commerce with Muscovy, but such as is prejudicial to the true interest of their country.

deliver you this letter, adorned with our imperial seal, be persuaded and convinced of the truth of our intentions therein contained, viz. that though we had proposed once more to march our ever-victorious army against the czar; yet that prince, in order to avoid the just resentment which we had conceived at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterwards renewed at our sublime Porte, having surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Azoph, and endeavoured by the mediation of the English and Dutch ambassadors, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, after having received his from their hands.

“ We have given to the most honourable and valiant Delvet Gherai, kam of Budziack, Crim Tartary, Nagay, and Circassia, and to our most sage counsellor and noble serasquier of Bender, Ismael, (whom God preserve and increase their magnificence and wisdom.) our inviolable and salutary orders for your return through Poland, according to your first intention, which hath again been represented to us in your name. You must, therefore, prepare to set out next winter under the protection of providence, and with an honourable guard, in order to return to your own territories, taking care to pass through those of Poland in a friendly manner.

“ Whatever is necessary for your journey shall be furnished you by my sublime Porte, as well in money as in men, horses, and waggons. Above all things, we advise and exhort you to give the most distinct and express orders to all the Swedes,
and

and other persons in your retinue, to commit no outrage, nor to be guilty of any action that may tend either directly or indirectly to break this peace and alliance.

“By these means you will preserve our goodwill, of which we shall endeavour to give you as great and as frequent proofs as we shall have opportunities. The troops designed to attend you shall receive orders agreeable to our imperial intentions.”

Given at our sublime Porte of Constantinople,
the fourteenth of the moon Rebyul Eurech,
1214, which answers to the nineteenth of
April, 1712.

This letter did not deprive the king of Sweden of all hopes. He wrote to the sultan, that he should ever retain a grateful remembrance of the favours his highness had bestowed upon him; but that he believed the sultan was too just to send him back with the simple guard of a flying camp into a country that still swarmed with the czar's troops. And indeed the emperor of Russia, notwithstanding the first article of the treaty of Pruth, by which he was obliged to withdraw all his troops from Poland, had sent fresh ones into that kingdom; and it is somewhat surprising that the grand signior should be ignorant of this particular.

The bad policy of the Porte, in being so much guided by the motives of vanity as to allow Christian princes to have ambassadors at Constantinople, without ever sending a single agent to any Christian court, gives the latter an opportunity of discovering, and sometimes of directing the

most secret resolutions of the sultan, and keeps the diyan in a profound ignorance of what passes in the Christian world.

The sultan, shut up in his seraglio among his women and eunuchs, can only see with the eyes of his grand vizier. That minister, as inaccessible as his master, his time wholly engrossed with the intrigues of his seraglio, and having no foreign correspondence, is commonly deceived himself, or else deceives the sultan, who deposes or causes him to be strangled for the first offence, in order to chuse another minister as ignorant or as perfidious, who behaves like his predecessors, and soon shares the same fate.

So great, for the most part, is the inactivity and supine negligence of this court, that were the Christian princes to combine against it, their fleets might be at the Dardanelles, and their land forces at the gates of Adrianople, before the Turks would think of taking any measures for their defence; but their jarring interests, that must ever divide the Christian world, will preserve the Turks from a fate to which they seem at present exposed, by their want of policy, and by their ignorance of the art of war, both by sea and land.

So little was Achmet acquainted with what passed in Poland, that he sent an aga to enquire whether, in reality, the czar's troops were still in that country. The aga was accompanied by two secretaries of the king of Sweden, who understood the Turkish language, and were to serve as evidences against him, in case he should give in a false report.

The aga saw the Russian forces with his own eyes, and informed the sultan of every particular.

Achmet, fired with indignation, was going to strangle the grand vizier; but the favourite, who protected him, and who thought he should have farther occasion for him, obtained his pardon, and supported him some time longer in the ministry.

The cause of the Russians was openly espoused by the vizier, and secretly favoured by Ali Courmurgi, who had changed sides. But the sultan was so provoked, the infraction of the treaty was so manifest, and the janissaries, who often make the ministers, the favourites, and even the sultans tremble, called out for war with so much importunity, that no one in the seraglio durst offer a more moderate proposal.

The grand seignior immediately committed to the Seven Towers the Russian ambassadors, who were already as much accustomed to go to prison as to an audience. War was declared afresh against the czar, the horses tails were displayed, and orders were given to all the bashas to assemble an army of two hundred thousand men. The sultan himself quitted Constantinople, and fixed his court at Adrianople, that he might be so much the nearer to the seat of the war.

Mean while a solemn embassy, sent to the grand seignior by Augustus and the republic of Poland, was upon the road to Adrianople. The palatine of Massovia was at the head of this embassy, with a retinue of above three hundred persons.

All the members of the embassy were seized and imprisoned in one of the suburbs of the city. Never was the king of Sweden's party more highly flattered than on this occasion; and yet these great preparations were rendered abortive, and all their hopes were again disappointed.

If we may believe a public minister, a man of sagacity and penetration, who then resided at Constantinople, young Coumourgi had already formed other designs than that of disputing a desert country with the czar, by a war, the event of which must have been so uncertain. He had resolved to strip the Venetians of Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, and to make himself master of Hungary.

These grand projects he proposed to carry into execution, as soon as he should have attained the post of prime vizier, from which he was still excluded on account of his youth. In this view it was more for his advantage to be the ally than the enemy of the czar. It was neither his interest nor his inclination to keep the king of Sweden any longer; and much less to arm the Turkish empire in his favour. He not only resolved to dismiss that prince, but he openly declared that, for the future, no Christian minister should be allowed to reside at Constantinople; that all the common ambassadors were, at best, but honourable spies, who corrupted or betrayed the viziers, and had too long influenced the intrigues of the seraglio; and that the Franks settled at Pesa and in the sea-ports of the Levant, were merchants, who needed a consul only, and not an ambassador. The grand vizier, who owed his post and even his life to the favourite, and who besides stood greatly in awe of him, complied with his intentions with so much the more alacrity, as he had sold himself to the Russians, and hoped by this means to be revenged on the king of Sweden, who had endeavoured to ruin him. The musti, a creature of Ali Coumourgi, was likewise an absolute slave to his will. He had been a keen
advocate

advocate for a war with Russia, when the favourite was of that opinion; but the moment Coumourgi changed his mind, he pronounced it to be unjust. Thus the army was hardly assembled when they began to listen to proposals of peace. The vice-chancellor, Shaffirof, and young Czere-metof, the czar's hostages and plenipotentiaries at the Porte, promised, after several negotiations, that their master should withdraw his troops from Poland. The grand vizier, who well knew that the czar would never execute this treaty, made no scruple to sign it; and the sultan, satisfied with having, though only in appearance, imposed laws upon the Russians, continued still at Adrianople. Thus, in less than six months, peace was ratified with the czar, war declared, and peace renewed again.

The chief article of all these treaties was to oblige the king of Sweden to depart. The sultan was unwilling to endanger his own honour, and that of the Ottoman empire, by exposing the king to the risk of being taken by his enemies on the road. It was stipulated that he should depart; but only on condition that the ambassadors of Poland and Muscovy should be responsible for the safety of his person. Accordingly these ambassadors swore, in name of their masters, that neither the czar nor the king of Poland should molest him in his journey; and Charles was to engage, on his side, that he would not attempt to excite any commotions in Poland. The divan having thus settled the fate of Charles, Ismael, serasquier of Bender, repaired to Vernitza, where the king was encamped, and acquainted him with the resolutions of the Porte, insinuating to him with great
polite-

politeness, that there was no time for any longer delay, but that he must necessarily depart.

Charles made no other answer than this, that the grand seignior had promised him an army, and not a guard; and that kings ought to keep their word.

Mean while general Fleming, the minister and favourite of Augustus, maintained a secret correspondence with the kam of Tartary and the serasquier of Bender. La Mare, a French gentleman, a colonel in the service of Saxony, had made several journies from Bender to Dresden; and all these journies were strongly suspected.

At this very time, the king of Sweden caused a courier, whom Fleming had sent to the Tartarian prince, to be arrested on the frontiers of Wallachia. The letters were brought to him, and decyphered; and from them it clearly appeared that a correspondence was carried on between the Tartars and the court of Dresden; but the letters were conceived in such ambiguous and general terms, that it was difficult to discover, whether the intention of Augustus was only to detach the Turks from the interest of Sweden, or if he meant that the kam should deliver Charles to the Saxons, as he conducted him back to Poland.

We can hardly imagine that a prince so generous as Augustus, would, by seizing the person of the king of Sweden, endanger the lives of his ambassadors, and of three hundred Polish gentlemen, who were detained at Adrianople as pledges for Charles's safety.

But it is well known, on the other hand, that Fleming, the minister of Augustus, and who had an absolute power over his master, was a man devoid

devoid of every principle of virtue or honour. The injuries which the elector had received from the king of Sweden might seem to excuse any kind of revenge; and it might be thought, that, if the court of Dresden could buy Charles from the kam of Tartary, they would find it no difficult matter to purchase the liberty of the Polish hostages at the Ottoman Porte.

These reasons were carefully canvassed by the king, Mullern his privy chancellor, and Grothusen his favourite. They read the letters again and again; and their unhappy condition making them more suspicious, they resolved to believe the worst.

A few days after the king was confirmed in his suspicions by the sudden departure of count Sapieha, who had taken refuge with him, and now left him abruptly, in order to go to Poland to throw himself into the arms of Augustus. Upon any other occasion he would have considered Sapieha only as a malecontent; but in his present delicate situation he at once concluded him to be a traitor. The repeated importunities with which he was pressed to depart converted his suspicions into certainty. The inflexible obstinacy of his temper co-operating with these circumstances, confirmed him in the opinion that they intended to betray him and deliver him up to his enemies, though this plot hath never been fully proved.

Perhaps he was mistaken in supposing that Augustus had made a bargain with the Tartars for his person; but he was much more deceived in relying on the assistance of the Ottoman court. Be that as it will, he resolved to gain time.

He told the basha of Bender, that he could not depart till he had received money to discharge his debts;

debts; for though his thaïm had for a long time been duly paid, his unbounded liberality had always obliged him to borrow. The basha asked him how much he wanted? The king replied, at a venture, a thousand purses, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand livres, full weight. The basha acquainted the Porte with his request. The sultan, instead of a thousand purses which Charles had required, granted him twelve hundred, and wrote the basha the following letter:

The Grand Seignior's Letter to the Basha of
BENDER.

"The design of this imperial letter is to acquaint you, that upon your representation and request, and upon that of the most noble Delvet Gherai Kam, to our sublime Porte, our imperial munificence hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender under the care and conduct of the most illustrious Mehemet Basha, formerly Chiaoux Pachi, to remain in your custody till the departure of the king of Sweden, whose steps may God direct, and then to be given him, together with two hundred purses more, as an overplus of our imperial liberality, above what he demands.

"With regard to the route of Poland, which he is resolved to take, you and the kam, who are to attend him, shall be careful to pursue such wise and prudent measures, as may, during the whole journey, prevent the troops under your command, as well as those of the king of Sweden, from committing any outrage, or being guilty of any action that may be deemed a violation of the peace which still subsists between our sublime Porte and the kingdom

kingdom and republic of Poland ; so that the king may pass in a friendly manner under our protection.

“ By doing this, (which you must expressly require him to do) he will receive from the Poles all the honour and respect that is due to his majesty ; as we have been assured by the ambassadors of Augustus and the republic, who, on this condition, have even offered themselves, together with several others of the Polish nobility, if required, as hostages for the security of his passage.

“ When the time which you and the most noble Delvet Gherai shall fix for the march, is come, you shall put yourself at the head of your brave soldiers, among whom shall be the Tartars, headed by the kam, and you shall conduct the king of Sweden and his men.

“ And may it please the only God, the Almighty, to direct your steps and theirs. The basha of Aulos shall continue at Bender with a regiment of Spahis and another of janissaries, to defend it in your absence. And in following our imperial orders and intentions, in all these points and articles, you will deserve the continuance of our imperial favour, as well as the praise and recompence due to all those who observe them.

“ Done at our imperial residence of Constantinople, the 2d of the moon Cheval, 1214 of the Hegira.”

While they were waiting for this answer from the grand seignior, Charles wrote to the Porte, complaining of the treachery of which he suspected the kam of Tartary to be guilty ; but all the passages were well guarded, and besides, the minister

nister was against him, so that his letters never reached the sultan. Nay, the vizier would not allow M. Desaleurs to come to Adrianople, where the Porte then was, lest that minister, who was an agent of the king of Sweden, should endeavour to disconcert the plan he had formed for obliging him to depart.

Charles, enraged to see himself thus hunted, as it were, from the grand seignior's dominions, resolved not to quit them at all.

He might have desired to return through Germany, or to take shipping on the Black Sea, in order to sail to Marseilles by the Mediterranean, but he rather chose to ask nothing, and to wait the event.

When the twelve hundred purses were arrived, his treasurer Grothusen, who, during his long abode in Turkey, had learned the language of the country, went to wait upon the basha without an interpreter, hoping to draw the money from him, and afterwards to form some new intrigue at the Porte, foolishly supposing, as he always did, that the Swedish party would at last be able to arm the Ottoman empire against the czar.

Grothusen told the basha, that the king could not get ready his equipages without money: "But (said the basha) we shall defray all the expences of your departure; your master shall be at no charge while he continues under my protection."

Grothusen replied, that the difference between the equipages of the Turks and those of the Franks was so great, that they were obliged to apply to the Swedish and Polish artificers at Varnitza.

He

He assured him that his master was willing to depart, and that this money would facilitate and hasten his departure. The too credulous basha gave the twelve hundred purses, and a few days after came to the king, and, in a most respectful manner, begged to receive his orders for his departure.

He was extremely surprised when the king told him he was not yet ready to go, and that he wanted a thousand purses more. The basha, confounded at this answer, stood speechless for a moment; then retiring to a window, he was observed to shed some tears. At last, addressing himself to the king; "I shall lose my head (says he) for having obliged your majesty: I have given you the twelve hundred purses against the express orders of my sovereign." So saying, he took his leave with a dejected countenance.

The king stopped him, and said that he would make an excuse for him to the sultan. "Ah! (replied the Turk, as he was going away) my master can punish faults, but cannot excuse them."

Ismael Basha carried this piece of news to the kam, who having received the same orders with the basha, not to suffer the twelve hundred purses to be given to the king before his departure, and having consented to the delivery of the money, was as apprehensive as the basha, of the grand seignior's indignation. They both wrote to the Porte in their own vindication, protesting they did not give the twelve hundred purses, but upon a solemn promise from the king's minister that he would depart without delay, and beseeching his highness not to impute the king's refusal to their disobedience.

Charles

Charles, still persisting in the belief that the kam and basha meant to deliver him up to his enemies, ordered M. Funk, who was then his envoy at the Ottoman court, to lay his complaints against them before the sultan, and to ask a thousand purses more. His great generosity, and the little account he made of money, hindered him from perceiving the meanness of this proposal. He did it with a view to be refused, and in order to find a fresh pretext for delaying his departure. But a man must be reduced to strange extremities, to stand in need of such artifices. Savari, his interpreter, an artful and enterprising man, carried the letter to Adrianople, in spite of all the care which the grand vizier had taken to guard the passes.

Funk was obliged to present this dangerous request. All the answer he received was to be thrown into prison. The sultan, in a passion, convoked an extraordinary divan, and, what very seldom happens, spoke himself on the occasion. His speech, according to the translation which was then made of it, was conceived in the following terms:

“ I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden but by his defeat at Pultowa, and by the application he made to me to grant him an asylum in my dominions. I have not, I believe, any need of him, nor any reason either to love or fear him. Nevertheless, without consulting any other motives than the hospitality of a Mussulman, and my own generosity, which sheds the dew of its favours upon the great as well as the small, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have received and assisted him, his ministers, officers, and soldiers,
and,

and, for the space of three years and an half, have continued to load him with presents.

“ I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to defray some expences, tho’ I pay them all. Instead of a thousand, I granted him twelve hundred. After having got these out of the hands of the serasquier of Bender, he asks a thousand purses more, and refuses to depart, under pretence that the guard is too small, whereas, in fact, it is but too large to pass thro’ the country of a friend.

“ I ask you then, whether it be a violation of the laws of hospitality, to send back this prince; and whether foreign powers ought to accuse me of cruelty and injustice, in case I should be obliged to compel him to depart.” All the members of the divan answered, that such a conduct would be consistent with the strictest rules of justice.

The musti declared that Mussulmans were not bound to shew any hospitality to infidels, and much less to the ungrateful; and he gave his fetfa, a kind of mandate which commonly accompanies the important orders of the grand seignior. These fetfas are revered as oracles, though the persons by whom they are given are as much slaves to the sultan as any others.

The order and the fetfa were carried to Bender by the bouyouk Imraour, grand-master of the horse, and a Chiaou basha, first usher. The basha of Bender received the order at the lodgings of the kam of Tartary; from whence he immediately repaired to Varnitza, to ask the king whether he would depart in a friendly manner, or lay him under the necessity of executing the sultan’s orders.

Charles

Charles XII. being thus menaced, could not restrain his passion. "Obey your master, if you dare, (says he to the basha) and leave my presence immediately." The basha, fired with indignation, returned at full gallop, contrary to the common custom of the Turks; and meeting Fabricius by the way, he called out to him, without halting; "The king will not listen to reason; you will see strange things presently." The same day he discontinued the supply of the king's provisions, and removed the guard of janissaries. He caused intimation to be made to the Poles and Cossacks at Varnitza, that, if they had a mind to have any provisions, they must quit the king of Sweden's camp, repair to Bender, and put themselves under the protection of the Porte. These orders were readily obeyed by all, and the king was left without any other attendants than the officers of his household, and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to make head against twenty thousand Tartars, and six thousand Turks.

There was now no provision in the camp either for man or horse. The king ordered twenty of the fine Arabian horses, which had been sent him by the grand seignior, to be shot without the camp, adding, "I will have none of their provisions nor their horses." This was an excellent feast to the Tartars, who, as all the world knows, think horse flesh delicious fare. Mean while the Turks and Tartars invested the king's little camp on all sides.

Charles, without the least discomposure, ordered his three hundred Swedes to raise regular intrenchments, in which work he himself assisted; as did likewise his chancellor, his treasurer, his secretaries, his valets de chambre, and all his domesticks.

ticks. Some barricadoed the windows, and others fastened beams behind the doors, in the form of buttresses.

After the house was sufficiently barricadoed, and the king had rode round his pretended fortifications, he sat down to chess with his favourite Grothusen, with as much tranquillity as if every thing had been perfectly safe and secure. Happily M. Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein, did not lodge at Varnitza, but at a small village between Varnitza and Bender, where Mr. Jeffreys, the English envoy to the king of Sweden, likewise resided. These two ministers, seeing the storm ready to burst, undertook the office of mediators between the king and the Turks. The kam, and especially the basha of Bender, who had no inclination to offer any violence to the Swedish monarch, received the offers of these two ministers with great satisfaction. They had two conferences at Bender, in which the usher of the seraglio, and the grand master of the horse, who had brought the sultan's order, and the musti's fetfa assisted.

M. Fabricius * declared to them that his Swedish majesty had good reason to believe that they designed to deliver him up to his enemies in Poland. The kam, the basha, and all the rest, swore by their heads, and called God to witness, that they detested such a horrible piece of treachery; and that they would shed the last drop of their blood rather than suffer even the least disrespect to be shewn to the king in Poland; adding, that they had in their hands the Russian and Polish ambassadors, whose lives should be answerable for any

* The whole of this account is related by M. Fabricius in his letters.

affront that should be offered to the king of Sweden. In fine, they complained bitterly that the king should entertain such injurious suspicions of those who had received and treated him with so much humanity and politeness.

Though oaths are frequently the language of treachery, Fabricius could not help being convinced of their sincerity. He thought he could discern in their protestations such an air of veracity as falsehood can, at best, but imperfectly imitate. He was sensible there had been a secret correspondence between the kam of Tartary and Augustus ; but he was firmly persuaded, that the only end of their negotiation was to oblige Charles XII. to quit the dominions of the grand seignor. Whether Fabricius was mistaken or not, he assured them, he would represent to the king the injustice of his suspicions. " But, adds he, do you intend to compel him to depart ? " " Yes, says the Basha, for such are the orders of our master." He then entreated them to consider seriously whether that order implied that they should shed the blood of a crowned head. " Yes, replies the kam, in a passion, if that crowned head disobeys the grand seignor in his own dominions."

In the mean time, every thing being ready for the assault, the death of Charles XII. seemed inevitable. But as the sultan had not given them positive orders to kill him in case of resistance, the basha prevailed upon the kam to let him dispatch an express to Adrianople, where the grand seignor then resided, to receive the last orders of his highness.

Mr. Jeffreys, and M. Fabricius having procured this short respite, hastened to acquaint the king with

with it. They came with all the eagerness of people who bring good news; but were received very coldly. He called them unsolicited mediators, and still persisted in the belief that the sultan's order and the musti's fetfa were both forged, inasmuch as they had sent to the Porte for fresh orders.

The English minister retired, with a firm resolution to interfere no more in the affairs of a prince so very obstinate and inflexible. M. Fabricius, beloved by the king, and more accustomed to his humour than the English minister, remained with him, and earnestly entreated him not to hazard so precious a life on such an unnecessary occasion.

For answer, the king shewed him his fortifications, and begged he would employ his good offices in procuring him some provisions. The Turks were easily prevailed upon to allow provisions to be conveyed to the king's camp, until the return of the courier from Adrianople. The kam himself had strictly enjoined his Tartars, who were eager for pillage, not to make any attempt against the Swedes till the arrival of fresh orders; so that Charles XII. went sometimes out of his camp with forty horse, and rode through the midst of the Tartars, who, with great respect, left him a free passage. He even marched directly up to their lines, which, instead of resisting, readily opened and allowed him to pass.

At last, the order of the grand seignior being come, to put to the sword all the Swedes that should make the least resistance, and not even to spare the life of the king, the basha had the complaisance to shew the order to M. Fabricius, with a view of inducing him to make his last ef-

fort to bend, if possible, the obstinacy of Charles. Fabricius went immediately to acquaint him with these sad tidings. "Have you seen the order you mention, said the king?" "I have," replied Fabricius. "Well then, go tell them in my name, that this second order is another forgery of theirs, and that I will not depart." Fabricius threw himself at his feet, fell into a passion, and reproached him with his obstinacy; but all to no purpose. "Go back to your Turks, said the king to him, smiling; if they attack me, I know how to defend myself." The king's chaplains likewise fell upon their knees before him, conjuring him not to expose to certain death the unhappy remains of Pultowa, and especially his own sacred person; assuring him, at the same time, that resistance in such a case was altogether unjustifiable; and that it was a direct violation of all the laws of hospitality, to resolve to continue with strangers against their will; especially with those strangers who had so long and so generously supported him." The king, who had heard Fabricius with great patience, fell into a passion with his priests, and told them, that he had taken them to pray for him, and not to give him advice.

The generals Hord and Dardoff, who had always declared against hazarding a battle which could not fail to be attended with fatal consequences, shewed the king their breasts covered with wounds, which they had received in his service; and assuring him that they were ready to lay down their lives for his sake, begged that it might be, at least, upon a more necessary occasion. "I know, says Charles XII. by your wounds and by my own, that we have fought valiantly together.

gether. You have hithertodone your duty, do it to-day likewise." Nothing now remained but to pay an implicit obedience to the king's command. Every one was ashamed not to court death with their sovereign. Charles, being now prepared for the assault, enjoyed in secret the pleasing thoughts that he should have the honour of sustaining with three hundred Swedes the united efforts of a whole army. He assigned to every man his post. His chancellor, Mullern, and the secretary, Empreus, and his clerks, were to defend the chancery-house; Baron Fief, at the head of the officers of the kitchen, was stationed in another post. A third place was to be guarded by the grooms of the stable, and the cooks; for with him every one was a soldier. He rode from the intrenchments to his house, promising rewards to every one, creating officers, and assuring them that he would exalt the very meanest of his servants who should fight with courage and resolution, to the dignity of captains.

It was not long before they beheld the combined army of the Turks and Tartars advancing to attack this little camp with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars. The horses tails waved in the air; the clarions sounded; the cries of "Alla, Alla," were heard on all sides. Baron Grothusen observing that the Turks did not mix in their cries any injurious reflections on the king, but only called him "Demirbashi," i. e. head of Iron, he instantly resolved to go out of the camp alone and unarmed; and having accordingly advanced to the lines of the janissaries, most of whom had received money from him: "What then, my friends, says he to them, in their own language, are you come to massacre three hundred

fenceless Swedes? you brave janissaries, who pardoned an hundred thousand Russians upon their crying "Aminan," i. e. pardon, have you forgot the many favours you have received from us? and would you assassinate that great king of Sweden for whom you have so great a regard, and from whom you have received so many presents? All he asks, my friends, is but the space of three days; and the sultan's orders are not so strict as you are made to believe."

These words produced an effect which Grothusen himself could little have expected. The janissaries swore by their beards that they would not attack the king, but would grant him the three days he demanded. In vain was the signal given for the assault. The janissaries were so far from obeying, that they threatened to fall upon their leaders, unless they would consent to grant three days to the king of Sweden. They came to the basha of Bender's tent, crying out that the sultan's orders were fictitious. To this unexpected sedition the basha had nothing to oppose but patience.

He affected to be pleased with the generous resolution of the janissaries, and ordered them to return to Bender. The kam of Tartary, a man of headstrong and impetuous passions, would have given the assault immediately with his own troops: but the basha, unwilling that the Tartars should have all the honour of taking the king, while himself perhaps might be punished for the disobedience of the janissaries, persuaded the kam to wait till the next day.

On his return to Bender, the basha assembled all the officers of the janissaries, and the oldest soldiers, to whom he both read and shewed the ful-

sultan's positive orders, and the musti's fetfa. Sixty of the oldest of them, with venerable grey beards, who had received a thousand presents from the king's hands, proposed to go to him in person, to intreat him to put himself into their hands, and to permit them to serve him as guards.

The basha agreed to the proposal, as indeed there was no expedient he would not willingly have tried, rather than be reduced to the necessity of killing the king. Accordingly these sixty veterans repaired next morning to Varnitza, having nothing in their hands but long white rods, the only arms which the janissaries wear, unless when they are going to fight; for the Turks consider the Christian custom of carrying swords in time of peace, and of entering armed into churches and the houses of their friends, as a barbarous practice.

They addressed themselves to baron Grothusen, and chancellor Mullern. They told them that they were come with a view to serve as faithful guards to the king; and that if he pleased they would conduct him to Adrianople, where he might have a personal interview with the grand seignor. While they were making this proposal, the king read the letters which were brought from Constantinople, and which Fabricius, who could no longer attend him in person, had sent him privately by a janissary. These letters were from count Poniatowsky, who could neither serve him at Bender nor Adrianople, having been detained at Constantinople by order of the Porte, ever since the time of his making the imprudent demand of a thousand purses. He told the king that the sultan's orders to seize or massacre his

royal person in case of resistance, were but too true; that indeed the sultan was imposed upon by his ministers; but the more he was imposed upon, he would, for that very reason, be the more faithfully obeyed: that he must submit to the times, and yield to necessity: that he took the liberty to advise him to try every expedient with the ministers by way of negotiations; not to be inflexible in a matter which required the gentlest management; and to expect from time and good policy a cure of that evil, which by rash and violent measures would be only rendered incurable.

But neither the proposal of the old janissaries, nor Poniatowsky's letters could convince the king that it was consistent with his honour to yield. He rather chose to perish by the hands of the Turks, than in any respect to be made a prisoner. He dismissed the janissaries without condescending to see them, and sent them word, that if they did not immediately depart, he would shave their beards for them; an affront which in the eastern countries is considered as the most intolerable of all others.

The old men, filled with the highest indignation, returned home, crying out as they went, "Ah this head of iron! since he will perish, let him perish." They gave the basha an account of their commission, and informed their comrades at Bender of the strange reception they had met with; upon which they all swore to obey the basha's orders without delay, and were as impatient to go to the assault as they had been averse to it the day before.

The word of command was immediately given. The Turks marched up to the fortifications: the
Tar-

Tartars were already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The janissaries on the one side, and the Tartars on the other, instantly forced the little camp. Hardly had twenty Swedes time to draw their swords when the whole three hundred were surrounded and taken prisoners without resistance. The king was then on horseback, between his house and his camp, with the generals Hord, Dardoff, and Sparre; and seeing that all his soldiers had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners before his eyes, he said, with great composure, to these three officers, "Come, let us go and defend the house; we will fight, adds he, with a smile, *pro aris & focis*."

Accordingly, accompanied by these three generals, he forthwith gallops up to the house, in which he had placed about forty domesticks as centinels, and which he had fortified in the best manner he could.

The generals, accustomed as they were, to the dauntless intrepidity of their master, could not help being surpris'd to see him resolve in cold blood, and even with an air of pleasantry, to defend himself against ten pieces of cannon, and a whole army: nevertheless they followed him, with some guards and domesticks, making in all about twenty persons.

When they came to the door, they found it beset by the janissaries. Besides, two hundred Turks and Tartars had already entered by a window, and made themselves masters of all the apartments, except a large hall where the king's domesticks had retired. Happily this hall was near the door at which the king designed to enter with his little troop of twenty persons. He threw

himself off his horse with pistol and sword in hand, and his followers did the same.

The janissaries fell upon him on all sides. They were animated with the promise which the basha had made, of eight ducats of gold to every man who should only touch his cloaths, in case they could take him. He wounded and killed all those who came near him. A janissary whom he wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, and had he not been jostled by the arm of a Turk, owing to the croud that moved backwards and forwards, like waves, the king had certainly been killed. The ball grazed upon his nose, and carried off part of his ear, and then broke the arm of general Hord, whose constant fate it was to be wounded by his master's side.

The king plunged his sword in the janissary's breast. At the same time, his domestics, who were shut up in the great hall, open the door to him. The king, with his little troop, springs in like an arrow. They instantly shut the door, and barricade it with whatever they can find. Thus was Charles XII. shut up in this hall with all his attendants, consisting of about sixty men, officers, guards, secretaries, valets de chambre, and domesticks of every kind.

The janissaries and Tartars pillaged the rest of the house, and filled the apartments. "Come, says the king, let us go and drive out these barbarians;" and putting himself at the head of his men, he with his own hands opens the door of the hall that leads to his bed-chamber, rushes into the room and fires upon the plunderers.

The Turks, loaded with spoil, and terrified at the sudden appearance of the king, whom they had ever been accustomed to respect, threw down

down their arms, leap out of the window, or fly to the cellars. The king taking advantage of their confusion, and his own men being animated by the success of this attempt, they pursue the Turks from chamber to chamber; kill or wound those who had not made their escape; and in a quarter of an hour clear the house of the enemy.

In the heat of the fight the king perceived two janissaries who lay concealed under his bed, one of them he stabbed with his sword, the other asked pardon, by crying "Amman." "I give you your life, says the king to him, on this condition, that you go and give the basha a faithful account of what you have seen." The Turk readily promised to do as he was bid, and was allowed to leap out at the window like the rest.

The Swedes, having at last made themselves masters of the house, again shut and barricadoed the windows. They were in no want of arms. A ground-room full of muskets and powder had escaped the tumultuary search of the janissaries. These they employed to good purpose. They fired through the windows almost close upon the Turks, of whom, in less than half a quarter of an hour, they killed two hundred. The cannon still played upon the house; but the stones being very soft, there were only some holes made in the walls, and nothing was demolished.

The kam of Tartary, and the basha, who were desirous of taking the king alive, being ashamed to lose so many men, and to employ a whole army against sixty persons, thought it most adviseable to set fire to the house, in order to oblige the king to surrender. They ordered some arrows twisted about with lighted matches, to be shot

the roof, and against the doors and windows. In a moment the house was in flames. The roof all on fire was ready to tumble upon the Swedes. The king, with great calmness, gave orders to extinguish the fire. Finding a small barrel full of liquor, he took it up, and being assisted by two Swedes, threw it upon the place where the fire was most violent. At last he recollected that the barrel was full of brandy; but the hurry inseparable from such a scene of confusion, hindered him from thinking of it in time. The fire now raged with double fury. The king's apartment was reduced to ashes. The great hall where the Swedes were was filled with a terrible smoke, mixed with sheets of flame, that darted in at the doors of the neighbouring apartments. One half of the roof sunk within the house, the other fell on the outside, cracking amidst the flames.

In this extremity, a centinel called Walberg, ventured to cry, that there was a necessity for surrendering. "What a strange man is this, says the king, to imagine that it is not more glorious to be burnt than taken prisoner!" Another centinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the chancery-house, which was not above fifty paces distant, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and then defend themselves to the last extremity. "There is a true Swede for you," cries the king, and embracing the centinel, he made him a colonel upon the spot. "Come on, my friends, says he, take as much powder and ball with you as you can, and let us take possession of the chancery, sword in hand.

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The Turks, who all the while surrounded the house, were struck with fear and admiration, to see the Swedes continue in it, notwithstanding it was all in flames; but their astonishment was greatly increased when they saw the doors opened, and the king and his followers rushing out upon them like so many madmen. Charles and his principal officers were armed with sword and pistol. Every man fired two pistols at once, the moment the doors were opened; and in the twinkling of an eye, throwing away their pistols, and drawing their swords, they made the Turks recoil above fifty paces. But in a moment after, this little troop was surrounded. The king, who was booted, as usual, entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. One and twenty janissaries at once spring upon him. He throws up his sword into the air, to save himself the mortification of surrendering it. The Turks bear him to the basha's quarters, some taking hold of his arms, and others of his legs, in the same manner as sick persons are wont to be carried, in order to prevent their being hurt.

No sooner did the king see himself in their hands, than the violence of his temper, and the fury which such a long and desperate fight must have naturally inspired, gave place at once to a mild and gentle behaviour: not one word of impatience dropped from his lips; not one angry look was to be seen in his face. He eyed the janissaries with a smiling countenance, and they carried him off crying "Alla," with a mixture of respect and indignation. His officers were taken at the same time and stripped by the Turks and Tartars. It was on the

twelfth of February 1713, that this strange event happened; an event that was followed with very remarkable consequences*.

* M. Norberg, who was not present at this adventure, hath in this particular part of his history, only copied the account of M. de Voltaire; but he has mangled it: he hath suppressed some interesting circumstances, and has not been able to justify the temerity of Charles XII. All that he hath been able to advance against M. de Voltaire with regard to the affair of Bender, is reduceable to the adventure of the sieur Fredericus, valet de chambre to the king of Sweden, who, according to some, was burnt in the king's house, and according to others, was cut in two by the Tartars. La Motraye alledges likewise, that the king of Sweden did not use these words, "We will fight *pro aris & focis*." But M. Fabricius, who was present, affirms, that the king did pronounce these words; that La Motraye was not near enough to hear them; and that if he had, he was not capable of comprehending their meaning, as he did not understand a word of Latin.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
C H A R L E S XII.
K I N G of S W E D E N.

B O O K VII.

T H E C O N T E N T S.

The TURKS convey CHARLES to DEMIRTASH. King STANISLAUS is taken at the same time. Bold Undertaking of M. de VILLELONGUE. Revolutions in the Seraglio. Battle in POMERANIA. ALTENA burnt by the SWEDES. CHARLES at last sets out on his Return to his own Dominions : His strange Manner of travelling : His Arrival at STRALSUND : His Misfortunes. Successes of PETER the GREAT : His triumphant Entry into PETERSBURG.

THE basha of Bender, with great gravity, waited for Charles in his tent, attended by one Marco, an interpreter. He received his majesty in a most respectful manner, and entreated him to repose himself on a sofa ; but the king, who did not so much as take notice of the Turk's civilities, continued standing.

“ Blessed be the Almighty (says the basha) that your majesty is alive: I am extremely sorry that your majesty obliged me to execute the orders of his highness.” The king, who was only vexed that his three hundred soldiers should have suffered themselves to be taken in their entrenchments, said to the basha; “ Ah! had they defended themselves as they ought, you would not have been able to force our camp in ten days.” “ Alas! (says the Turk) that so much courage should be so ill employed!” He ordered the king to be conducted back to Bender on a horse richly caparisoned. All the Swedes were either killed or taken prisoners. All his equipage, his goods, his papers, and most necessary utensils, were either plundered or burnt. One might have seen in the public roads the Swedish officers, almost naked, and chained together in pairs, following the Tartars or janissaries on foot. The chancellor and the general officers did not meet with a milder fate: they were the slaves of the soldiers to whose share they had fallen.

Ismael Basha having conducted Charles to his seraglio at Bender, gave him his own apartment, and ordered him to be served like a king; but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of janissaries at the chamber door. A bed was prepared for him; but he threw himself down upon a sofa, booted as he was, and fell fast asleep. An officer, that stood near him in waiting, covered his head with a cap; but the king, upon awaking from his first sleep, threw it off; and the Turk was surprised, to see a sovereign prince sleeping in his boots and bare-headed. Next morning, Ismael introduced Fabricius into the king's chamber. Fabricius found his majesty with his cloaths
torn;

torn ; his boots, his hands, and his whole body, covered with dust and blood, and his eye-brows burnt ; but still maintaining, in this terrible condition, a placid and chearful look. He fell upon his knees before him, without being able to utter a word ; but soon recovering from his surprize, by the free and easy manner in which the king addressed him, he resumed his wonted familiarity with him, and they began to talk of the battle of Bender with great humour and pleasantry. “ It is reported (says Fabricius) that your majesty killed twenty janissaries with your own hand.” “ Well, well, (replies the king) a story, you know, never loses in the telling.” During this conversation, the basha presented to the king his favourite Grothusen, and colonel Ribbins, whom he had had the generosity to redeem at his own expence. Fabricius undertook to ransom the other prisoners.

Jeffreys, the English envoy, joined his endeavours with those of Fabricius, in order to procure the money necessary for this purpose. A Frenchman, who had come to Bender out of mere curiosity, and who hath wrote a short account of these transactions, gave all that he had ; and these strangers, assisted by the interest, and even by the money, of the basha, redeemed not only the officers, but likewise their cloaths, from the hands of the Turks and Tartars.

Next day, the king was conducted as a prisoner, in a chariot covered with scarlet, towards Adrianople. His treasurer Grothusen was with him. Chancellor Mullern and some officers followed in another carriage. Several were on horseback ; and when they cast their eyes on the king’s chariot, they could not refrain from tears. The basha was at the head of the convoy : Fabricius told

told him that it was a shame the king should want a sword, and begged he would give him one. "God forbid, (says the basha) he would cut our beards for us, if he had a sword." However, he gave him one a few hours after.

While they were conducting this king, disarmed and a prisoner, who, but a few years before, had given law to so many states, and had seen himself the arbiter of the North and the terror of Europe, there appeared in the same place another instance of the frailty of human greatness.

King Stanislaus had been seized in the Turkish dominions, and they were now carrying him a prisoner to Bender, at the very time that they were removing Charles from it.

Stanislaus, being no longer supported by the hand which had raised him to the throne, and finding himself destitute of money, and consequently of interest in Poland, had retired at first into Pomerania; and, unable to preserve his own kingdom, he had done all that lay in his power to defend that of his benefactor: he had even gone to Sweden, in order to hasten the reinforcements that were so much wanted in Livonia and Pomerania. In a word, he had done every thing that could be expected from the friend of Charles XII. About this time, the first king of Prussia, a prince of great prudence, being justly apprehensive of danger from the too near neighbourhood of the Muscovites, thought proper to enter into a league with Augustus and the republic of Poland, in order to send back the Russians to their own country, and he hoped to engage the king of Sweden himself in this project. From this plan, three great events were expected to result; the peace of the North, the return of Charles to his own kingdom, and the establishment of a strong barrier against the

Russians, whose power was already become formidable to Europe. The preliminary article of this treaty, upon which the public tranquillity depended, was the abdication of Stanislaus; who not only accepted the proposal, but even undertook to use his endeavours in bringing about a peace which deprived him of his crown. To this step he was prompted by necessity, the public good, the glory of the sacrifice, and the interest of Charles XII. He wrote to Bender. He explained to the king of Sweden the desperate situation of his affairs, and the only effectual remedy that could be applied. He conjured him not to oppose an abdication which was rendered necessary by the strange conjunctures of the times, and honourable by the noble motive from which it proceeded. He entreated him not to sacrifice the interests of Sweden to those of an unhappy friend, who cheerfully preferred the public good to his own private happiness. Charles XII. received these letters at Varnitza. He said to the courier in a passion, in presence of several witnesses; "If my friend will not be a king, I can easily find another that will."

Stanislaus was obstinately bent on making the sacrifice which Charles opposed. These times seem to have been destined by providence to produce strange sentiments, and still stranger actions. Stanislaus resolved to go himself, and endeavour to prevail upon Charles; and thus he ran a greater risk in abdicating the throne, than ever he had done in obtaining it. One evening about six o'clock, he stole from the Swedish army, which he commanded in Pomerania, and set out, in company with baron Sparr and another colonel, the former of whom hath since been an ambassador
in

in France and England. He assumed the name of a French gentleman, called Haran, who was then a major in the Swedish army, and lately died commander of Dantzick. He passed close by the whole army of the enemy; was sometimes stopped, and as often released by virtue of a passport which he got in the name of Haran. At length, after many perils and dangers, he arrived on the frontiers of Turkey.

As soon as he had reached Moldavia, he sent back baron Sparr to the army, and entered Yassy, the capital of Moldavia, thinking himself perfectly secure in a country where the king of Sweden had been treated with so much respect, and never entertaining the least suspicion of what had happened.

The Moldavians asked him who he was? He said he was major of a regiment in the service of Charles XII. At the bare mention of that name he was seized, and carried before the hospodar of Moldavia, who, having already learned from the Gazettes that Stanislaus had privately withdrawn from his army, began to suspect that this was probably the man. He had heard the king's figure described so exactly, that it was very easy to discover the resemblance; an open and engaging countenance, and a very uncommon air of sweetness.

The hospodar examined him, put to him a great many captious questions, and at last asked him what commission he bore in the Swedish army. Their conversation was carried on in Latin. *Major sum*, says Stanislaus. *Imo maximus es*, replies the Moldavian; and immediately presenting him with a chair of state, he treated him like a king; but still like a king who was a prisoner, placing a
strict

strict guard about a Greek convent, in which he was obliged to remain, till such time as the sultan's orders should arrive. At length these orders came, importing, that Stanislaus should be carried to Bender, from which Charles XII. had been just removed.

The news of this event was brought to the basha, at the time he was accompanying the king of Sweden's chariot. The basha communicated the particulars to Fabricius, who, coming up to Charles's chariot, told him he was not the only king that was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks; and that Stanislaus was but a few miles off, under a guard of soldiers. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius, (says Charles, without being in the least disconcerted,) tell him never to make a peace with Augustus, and assure him that our affairs will soon take another turn." So much was Charles wedded to his own opinions, that, abandoned as he was in Poland, attacked in his own dominions, a captive in a Turkish litter, and led a prisoner without knowing whither they were carrying him, he still reckoned on the favour of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman Porte would assist him with an hundred thousand men. Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janissary, having first obtained leave from the basha. At a few miles distance he met the body of soldiers that conducted Stanislaus. He addressed himself to a person that rode in the midst of them, clad in a French dress, and but indifferently mounted; and asked him in the German tongue, where the king of Poland was. The person to whom he spoke happened to be Stanislaus himself, whose features he could not recollect under this disguise. "What! (says the king) don't

don't you know me?" Fabricius then informed him of the wretched condition in which the king of Sweden was; but added, that his resolutions, however unsuccessful, were as determined as ever.

As Stanislaus was drawing near to Bender, the basha, who had returned thither after having accompanied Charles for some miles, sent the king of Poland an Arabian horse, with a magnificent harness.

He was received at Bender amidst a discharge of the artillery; and, excepting his confinement, from which he was not as yet delivered, he had no great cause to complain of his treatment*. Mean while Charles was on his way to Adrianople. Nothing was talked of in that town but his late battle. The Turks at once condemned and admired him; but the divan was so provoked, that they threatened to confine him in one of the islands of the Archipelago.

Stanislaus, king of Poland, from whom I had the honour to receive the greatest part of these particulars, assured me likewise, that a proposal was made in the divan for confining him in one of the islands of Greece; but the grand seignior being mollified, a few months after allowed him to depart.

M. Desaleurs, who could have taken his part, and could have prevented the Turks from offer-

* The good chaplain, Norberg, alledges that we are here guilty of a manifest contradiction, in supposing, that king Stanislaus was at once detained a prisoner, and treated as a king, at Bender. What! had not the poor man discernment enough to perceive that it is very possible for a person, at one and the same time, to be loaded with honours and deprived of his liberty?

ing such an affront to all Christian kings, was at Constantinople; as was likewise M. Poniatowsky, whose fertile and enterprising genius the divan had always dreaded. Most of the Swedes at Adrianople were in prison; and the sultan's throne seemed to be inaccessible to any complaints of the king of Sweden.

The marquis de-Fierville, who had resided with Charles at Bender as a private agent of France, was then at Adrianople. He undertook to do that prince a piece of service, at a time when he was abandoned or oppressed by all the world besides. In this design he was happily assisted by a French gentleman, of an ancient family in Champagne, called Villelongue, a man of great courage, but who, not having a fortune equal to his spirit, and charmed with the fame of the king of Sweden, had repaired to Turkey with a view of entering into the service of that prince.

With the assistance of this young man, M. de Fierville wrote a memorial in the king of Sweden's name, in which he made his majesty demand satisfaction of the sultan for the insult, which, in his person, had been offered to all crowned heads, and for the treachery, real or supposed, of the kam and basha of Bender.

In this memorial he accused the vizier and other ministers of having received bribes from the Russians, imposed upon the grand seignior, intercepted the king's letters to his highness, and of having, by their artifices, extorted from the sultan an order so contrary to the hospitality of Mussulmans, by which, in direct violation of the laws of nations, and in a manner so unworthy of a great emperor, they had attacked, with twenty thousand men, a king who had none but his domestic

messics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sultan.

When this memorial was drawn up, it was to be translated into the Turkish language, and written in a particular hand, and upon a certain kind of paper, which is always used in addressees to the sultan.

For this purpose, they applied to several French interpreters in the town; but the affairs of the king of Sweden were in such a desperate situation, and the vizier was so much his declared enemy, that not a single interpreter would undertake the task. At last they found a stranger, whose hand was not known at the Porte, who, having received a handsome gratuity, and being fully assured of the most profound secrecy, translated the memorial into the Turkish tongue, and wrote it upon the right kind of paper. Baron d'Arvidson, a Swedish officer, counterfeited the king's subscription. Fierville, who had the royal signet, appended it to the writing; and the whole was sealed with the arms of Sweden. Villelongue undertook to deliver it into the hands of the grand seignior, as he went to the mosque, according to his usual custom. The like methods had been frequently employed for presenting memorials to the sultan against his ministers; but that very circumstance rendered the success of this enterprise the more precarious, and the danger of the attempt the more imminent.

The vizier, who plainly foresaw that the Swedes would demand justice of the sultan, and who, from the unhappy fate of his predecessors, had but too many warnings to provide for his own safety, had given peremptory orders to allow no one to approach the grand seignior's person, but to
seize

seize all such as should be about the mosque with petitions in their hands.

Villelongue was well apprized of this order, and at the same time knew, that, by breaking it, he run the risk of losing his head. He therefore laid aside his Frank's dress, and put on a Grecian habit; and concealing the letter in his bosom, repaired betimes to the neighbourhood of the mosque to which the grand seignior resorted. He counterfeited the madman, and dancing between two files of janissaries, through which the sultan was to pass, he purposely let some pieces of money drop from his pockets, as if by chance, in order to amuse the guards:

When the sultan was drawing near, the guards endeavoured to remove Villelongue out of the way; but he fell on his knees and struggled with the janissaries. At last his cap fell off, and he was discovered by his long hair to be a Frank. He received several blows, and was very roughly handled. The grand seignior, who was at no great distance, heard the scuffle, and asked the cause of it. Villelongue cried out with all his might, *Amman! Amman!* Mercy! pulling the letter at the same time out of his bosom. The sultan ordered the guards to let him approach. Villelongue instantly runs up to him, embraces his stirrup, and presents the memorial, saying, *Sued crall dan*, "The king of Sweden gives it thee." The sultan put the letter in his bosom, and proceeded to the mosque. Mean time Villelongue was secured, and imprisoned in one of the exterior apartments of the seraglio.

The sultan having read the letter upon his leaving the mosque, resolved to examine the prisoner himself. This perhaps will appear somewhat

what incredible: nothing, however, is here advanced, but what is vouched by the letters of M. de Villelongue; and surely, when so brave an officer affirms any thing upon his honour, he merits, at least, some credit. He assured me then that the sultan laid aside his imperial garb and turban, and disguised himself like an officer of the janissaries, a thing which he frequently does. He brought along with him an old man, of the island of Malta, as an interpreter. By favour of this disguise, Villelongue enjoyed an honour which no Christian ambassador ever obtained. He had a private conference with the Turkish emperor for a quarter of an hour. He did not fail to represent the wrongs which the king of Sweden had suffered, to accuse the ministers, and to demand satisfaction; and all this with so much the more freedom, as in talking to the sultan he was only supposed to be talking to his equal. He could easily discover, notwithstanding the darkness of the prison, that it was no other than the grand seignior himself; but this discovery only made him speak with the greater boldness. The pretended officer of the janissaries said to Villelongue; "Christian, be assured, that the sultan, my master, has the soul of an emperor; and that your king of Sweden, if he has reason on his side, shall obtain justice." Villelongue was soon set at liberty; and in a few weeks after a sudden change took place in the seraglio, owing, as the Swedes affirm, to this conference alone. The musti was deposed; the kam of Tartary was banished to Rhodes; and the serasquier basha of Bender was confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago.

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The Ottoman Porte is so subject to these revolutions, that it is hard to say, whether the sultan really meant to gratify the king of Sweden by these sacrifices. From the treatment which that prince received, it cannot surely be inferred that the Porte had any great inclination to oblige him.

The favourite, Ali Coumourgi, was suspected of having brought about all these changes, in order to serve his own particular views. The kam of Tartary and the serasquier of Bender were said, to have been banished for giving the king the twelve hundred purses, in contradiction to the express orders of the grand seignior. Coumourgi raised to the throne of Tartary the brother of the deposed kam, a young man of his own age, who had little regard for his brother, and upon whom the favourite depended greatly in prosecuting the wars he had already planned. With respect to the grand vizier Jussuff, he was not deposed till some weeks after; and the title of prime vizier was bestowed on Soliman Basha.

Truth obliges me to declare, that M. de Villelongue and several Swedes assured me, that all these great revolutions at the Porte were entirely owing to the letter which was presented to the sultan in the king's name; whereas M. de Fierville is of a quite contrary opinion. I have sometimes found the like contradictions in such memorials as have been submitted to my perusal. In all these cases, it is the duty of an historian honestly to narrate the plain matter of fact, without endeavouring to dive into the motives; and to confine himself to the relation of what he does know, instead of indulging his fancy in vague conjectures, about what he does not know.

Mean while Charles XII. was conducted to the little castle of Demirtash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. An innumerable multitude of people had crowded to this place to see the arrival of his majesty, who was carried from his chariot to the castle on a sofa; but Charles, in order to conceal himself from the view of the populace, put a cushion upon his head.

The Porte was strongly solicited to allow him to reside at Demotica, a little town six leagues from Adrianople, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Merizza; but it was not till after several days that they granted his request. "Go," (says Coumourgi to the grand vizier Soliman) and tell the king of Sweden, that he may stay at Demotica all his life long, if he pleases; but I will answer for him, that, in less than a year, he will want to be gone of his own accord; take care, however, not to give him any money."

Thus was the king conveyed to the little town of Demotica, where the Porte allotted him a considerable quantity of provisions for himself and his retinue. But all the money they would grant him was five and twenty crowns a-day, to buy pork and wine, two kinds of provisions which the Turks never furnish to others. The allowance of five hundred crowns a-day, which he had enjoyed at Bender, was entirely withdrawn.

Hardly had he reached Demotica with his little court, when the grand vizier Soliman was deposed; and his place filled by Ibrahim Molla, a man of a high spirit, of great courage, and unpolished manners. It may not be amiss to give a short sketch of his history, that so the reader may be the better acquainted with the characters of all those

those viceroys of the Ottoman empire upon whom the fortune of Charles so long depended.

He had been a common sailor till the accession of the sultan Achmet III. This emperor frequently disguised himself in the habit of a private man, of a priest, or a dervise ; and slipped in the evening into the coffee-houses and other public places of Constantinople, to hear what the people said of him, and what were their opinions concerning the affairs of state. One day he overheard this Molla complaining that the Turkish ships never took any prizes, and swearing that if he were captain of a ship, he would never enter the port of Constantinople without bringing some vessel of the infidels along with him. Next day the grand seignior gave him the command of a ship, and sent him on a cruize. The new captain returned in a few days, with a Maltese bark and a galley of Genoa. In two years time he was appointed captain-general of the navy, and at last grand vizier. As soon as he had attained his new post, he thought he could easily dispence with the interest of the favourite. In order to render himself the more necessary, he formed a scheme for commencing a war against the Russians ; and with this view pitched a tent not far from the place where the king of Sweden resided.

He invited his majesty to come and see him, with the new kam of Tartary, and the French ambassador. The king, whose pride rose with his misfortunes, considered it as a most intolerable affront for a subject to send him an invitation. He ordered his chancellor Mullern to go in his place ; and, lest the Turks should not pay him that respect which was due to his royal person, or oblige him to condescend to any thing beneath

his dignity, Charles, who was ever in extremes, took to his bed, which he resolved not to leave during his abode at Demotica. This resolution he kept for ten months, under pretence of sickness; chancellor Mullern, Grothusen, and colonel Dubens, being the only persons that were admitted to his table. They had none of the conveniences with which the Franks are usually provided: all these they had lost at Bender; consequently it could not be expected that their meals were served with much pomp or elegance. In effect, they were obliged to serve themselves; and, during the whole time, chancellor Mullern was cook in ordinary.

While Charles XII. was thus passing his time in bed, he received the disagreeable news of the desolation of all his provinces, that lay without the limits of Sweden.

General Steinbock, who had rendered himself illustrious by chasing the Danes out of Scania, and beating their best troops with a parcel of peasants, still maintained the glory of the Swedish arms. He defended Pomerania, Bremen, and the king's possessions in Germany, as long as he was able; but could not hinder the combined army of the Danes and Saxons from besieging Stade, a town of great strength and importance, situated on the banks of the Elbe, in the dutchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded and reduced to ashes; and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before Steinbock could come to their assistance.

This general, who had about twelve thousand men, of whom the one half were cavalry, pursued the enemy, who were twice as numerous, and at last overtook them in the dutchy of Mecklenburg,

at a place called Gadesbush, near a river of the same name. It was on the 20th of December 1712, that he came in sight of the Danes and Saxons. He was separated from them by a morass. The enemy were so posted as to have this morass in front, and a wood in their rear: they had the advantage of number and situation; and their camp was utterly inaccessible, except across the morass, which the Swedes could not pass without being exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Steinbock passed the morass at the head of his troops, advanced against the enemy in order of battle, and began one of the most desperate and bloody engagements which ever happened between these rival nations. After a sharp conflict for three hours, the Danes and Saxons were entirely routed, and obliged to quit the field of battle.

It was in this battle that a son of Augustus, by the countess of Königsmark, known by the name of count Saxe, served his apprenticeship in the art of war. This is the same count Saxe, who had afterwards the honour to be chosen duke of Courland, and who wanted nothing but power to put himself in possession of the most incontestible right which any man can have to sovereignty, I mean the unanimous consent of the people. In fine, this is the man who hath since acquired a more solid glory by saving France at the battle of Fontenoy, conquering Flanders, and meriting the character of the greatest general of the age. He commanded a regiment at Gadesbush, and had a horse killed under him. I have heard him say, that all the Swedes kept their ranks; and that, even after the victory was gained, and the first

lines of these brave troops saw their enemies lying dead at their feet, there was not so much as a single Swede that durst stoop to strip them, till prayers had been read in the field of battle; so inflexibly did they adhere to that strict discipline which their king had taught them.

After the victory, Steinbock, remembring that the Danes had laid Stade in ashes, resolved to retaliate on Altena, a town belonging to the king of Denmark. Altena stands below Hamburg, on the banks of the Elbe, which can convey ships of considerable burthen into its harbour. The king of Denmark had indulged this town with many privileges, hoping to make it, one day, a place of great trade; and indeed the industry of the inhabitants, encouraged by the prudent measures of the king, had already raised them to such opulence, that Altena began to be reckoned in the number of rich and commercial cities. Hamburg grew jealous of this rival in trade, and earnestly wished for its destruction. When Steinbock came in sight of Altena, he sent a trumpet to acquaint the inhabitants that they might retire with as many of their effects as they could carry off, for that he meant to raze their town to the foundation.

The magistrates came and threw themselves at his feet, and offered him an hundred thousand crowns by way of ransom. Steinbock demanded two hundred thousand. The inhabitants begged that they might have time at least, to send to their correspondents at Hamburg, assuring him that next day the money should be paid him; but the Swedish general replied, that they must give it instantly, or he would immediately set Altena in flames.

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His troops were already in the suburbs, with torches in their hands. The town had no other defence but a poor wooden gate, and a ditch already filled up. The wretched inhabitants were therefore obliged to leave their houses at midnight, on the ninth of January 1713. The rigour of the season, which was then excessive, was still further increased by a strong north-wind, which served at once to spread the flames through the town with greater violence, and to render the miseries of the poor people, who were exposed in the open fields, the more intolerable. Men and women, weeping and wailing, and bending under their heavy loads, fled to the neighbouring hills, which were covered with snow. The palsied old men were transported on the shoulders of the young. Some women, newly delivered, fled with their tender babes in their arms, and perished together on the naked rock, turning their languishing eyes towards their dear country, which was now wrapt in flames. The Swedes set fire to the town, before the inhabitants had entirely left it. The conflagration continued from midnight till ten in the morning. The houses being mostly of wood, were entirely consumed; and next day there was not the least vestige of a town remaining.

The aged, the sick, and women of tender constitutions, who had lodged on the snow while their houses were in flames, at last made a shift to crawl to the gates of Hamburg, where they besought the inhabitants to receive them within the walls, and thereby to save their lives. But this favour was denied them, because some contagious distempers were known lately to have raged in Altena; and the Hamburgers had not so great a regard for the inhabitants, as to run the risk

of having their own town infected by admitting such dangerous guests. Thus the greatest part of these unhappy people expired under the walls of Hamburg, calling on heaven to witness the barbarity of the Swedes, and the still greater inhumanity of the Hamburgers.

All Germany exclaimed against this outrage. The ministers and generals of Poland and Denmark wrote to count Steinbock, reproaching him with an act of cruelty, committed without necessity, and incapable of any excuse, which could not fail to provoke heaven and earth against him.

Steinbock replied, that he never would have pushed matters to such extremities, had it not been with a view to teach the enemies of the king his master not to make war, for the future, like barbarians, but to pay some regard to the laws of nations; that they had filled Pomerania with their cruelties, laid waste that beautiful province, and sold near an hundred thousand of its inhabitants to the Turks; and that the torches which had laid Altena in ashes were no more than just reprisals for the red-hot bullets which had destroyed Stade.

Such was the implacable resentment with which the Swedes and their enemies carried on the war. Had Charles appeared in Pomerania at this time, he might possibly have retrieved his ruined fortune. His armies, though removed at so great a distance from his person, were still animated by his spirit; but the absence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and hinders his subjects from making the proper use of their victories. Steinbock lost by piece-meal what he had gained by

by those signal actions, which, at a happier juncture, would have been decisive.

Victorious as he was, he could not prevent the junction of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons. The combined army of these allies seized upon his quarters. He lost some troops in several little skirmishes. Two thousand of his men were drowned in passing the Eider, as they were going to their winter-quarters in Holstein; and all these losses, in a country surrounded on every side by powerful enemies, were utterly irreparable.

He endeavoured to defend the dutchy of Holstein against the Danes; but, notwithstanding all his prudent measures and vigorous efforts, the country was lost, his whole army ruined, and himself taken prisoner.

Pomerania, all but Stralsund, the isle of Rugen, and some neighbouring places, being left defenceless, became a prey to the allies, and was sequestered in the hands of the king of Prussia. Bremen was filled with Danish garrisons. At the same time, the Russians over-ran Finland and beat the Swedes, who, being now dispersed and inferior in point of number, began to lose that superiority over their enemies which they had possessed at the commencement of the war.

To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, the king resolved to stay at Demotica, and still flattered himself with the delusive hopes of obtaining assistance from the Turks, in whom he ought no longer to have reposed any confidence.

Ibrahim Molla, that bold vizier, who had been so obstinately bent on a war with the Russians, in opposition to the favourite, was strangled in one of the passages of the seraglio.

The place of vizier was become so dangerous, that no one would venture to accept of it; and of consequence it continued vacant for six months. At last the favourite, Ali Coumourgi, assumed the title of grand vizier. This measure gave a fatal blow to all the hopes of the king of Sweden, who knew Coumourgi so much the better, that he had really been obliged to him for some friendly offices, when the interest of the favourite and that of his majesty happened to coincide.

Charles had now been eleven months at Demotica, buried in sloth and oblivion. This extreme indolence succeeding so suddenly to the most violent exercises, had at last given him the disease which he had formerly feigned. The report of his death was spread over all Europe. The council of regency, which he had established at Stockholm when he left his capital, no longer received any dispatches from him. The senate came in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, and entreated her to take the regency into her own hands, during her brother's absence. She accepted the proposal; but finding that the senate intended to force her to make a peace with the czar and the king of Denmark, and well knowing that her brother would never approve of such a measure, she resigned the regency, and wrote a full and circumstantial account of the whole matter to the king, in Turkey.

Charles received his sister's packet at Demotica. The arbitrary principles which he had sucked in with his mother's milk, made him forget that Sweden had formerly been a free state, and that, in ancient times, the management of public affairs was conducted by the king and senate, in
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conjunction. He considered that respectable body as no better than a parcel of menial servants, who wanted to usurp the command of the house in their master's absence. He wrote to them, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which he would oblige them to receive their orders.

To prevent, therefore, these attempts (as he thought them) upon his authority in Sweden, and to defend his kingdom now in the last extremity, deprived of all hopes of assistance from the Ottoman Porte, and relying on himself alone, he signified to the grand vizier his desire of departing, and returning by the way of Germany.

M. Desaleurs, the French ambassador, who was charged with the affairs of Sweden, made the proposal. "Well, (says the vizier to count Desaleurs) did not I tell you, that in less than a year the king of Sweden would beg it as a favour, to be allowed to depart? Tell him he may either go or stay as he pleases; but let him come to a fixed resolution, and appoint the day of his departure, that he may not again bring us into such another scrape as that of Bender."

Count Desaleurs softened the harshness of this answer, when he reported it to the king. The day was accordingly fixed. But, before he would quit Turkey, Charles resolved to display the pomp of a great king, though involved in all the difficulties of a fugitive prince. He gave Grothusen the title of his ambassador extraordinary, and sent him with a retinue of eighty persons, all richly dressed, to take his leave in form at the Porte.

The splendour of this embassy was only exceeded by the meanness of the shifts which the

king was obliged to employ, in order to collect a sum of money sufficient to defray the expence of it.

M. Desaleurs lent him forty thousand crowns. Grothusen had agents at Constantinople, who borrowed in his name, at the rate of fifty *per cent.* interest, a thousand crowns of a Jew, two hundred pistoles of an English merchant, and a thousand livres of a Turk.

By these means they procured wherewithal to enable them to act the splendid farce of the Swedish embassy before the divan. Grothusen received at the Porte all the honours that are usually paid to ambassadors extraordinary on the day of their audience. The design of all this parade was only to obtain money from the grand vizier; but that minister was inexorable.

Grothusen made a proposal for borrowing a million from the Porte. The vizier answered coldly, that his master knew how to give, when he thought proper; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend: that the king should be supplied with plenty of every thing necessary for his journey, in a manner worthy of the person that sent him back; and that the Porte, perhaps, might even make him a present in gold bullion, though he would not have him depend upon it for certain.

At last, on the first day of October 1714, the king of Sweden set out on his journey. A capigi basha, with six chiaoux, came to attend him from the castle of Demirtash, where he had resided for some days past. The basha presented him, in the name of the grand seignior, with a large tent of scarlet embroidered with gold, a s. bre whose handle

handle was set with jewels, and eight beautiful Arabian horses, with fine saddles, and stirrups of massy gold. It is not beneath the dignity of history to observe, that the Arabian groom, who took care of the horses, gave the king an account of their genealogy; a custom which hath long prevailed among these people, who seem to be more attentive to the nobility of horses than of men; which after all, perhaps, is not so unreasonable, as these animals, if the breed is kept free from intermixture, are never known to degenerate.

The convoy consisted of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse. The capigi basha being informed that several Turks had lent money to the king of Sweden's attendants at an immoderate interest, told his majesty that usury was forbid by the Mahometan law; he therefore entreated him to liquidate all these debts, and to order his resident at Constantinople to pay no more than the capital. "No, (says the king) if any of my servants have given bills for an hundred crowns, I will pay them, though they should not even have received ten."

He made a proposal to his creditors to follow him, assuring them at the same time, that he would not only pay their debts, but likewise indemnify them for the expence of the journey. Several of them went to Sweden; and Grothusen was commissioned to see them paid.

In order to shew the greater deference to their royal guest, the Turks made him travel by very short stages; but this slow and respectful motion was ill-suited to the impatient spirit of the king. During the journey, he got up at three in the morning, according to his usual custom. As soon

as he was dressed, he went himself and awakened the capigi and chiaoux, and began to march in the dark. The Turkish gravity was affronted with this new manner of travelling; but Charles took pleasure in making them uneasy, and said, that he should at least be a little revenged on them, for their behaviour to him at Bender.

About the time that Charles reached the frontiers of Turkey, Stanislaus was leaving them, tho' by a different road, and going into Germany, with a view of retiring into the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, a province bordering on the palatinate of Alsace and the Rhine, and which has belonged to the kings of Sweden ever since Charles X. the successor of Christina, united it to his crown. Charles assigned Stanislaus the revenue of this dutchy, which was then valued at about seventy thousand crowns. Such was the final result of so many projects, wars, and expectations! Stanislaus both could and would have concluded an advantageous treaty with Augustus, had not the inflexible obstinacy of Charles made him lose his lands and real estate in Poland, in order to preserve the empty title of king.

This prince continued to reside in the dutchy of Deux-Ponts till the death of Charles XII. when that province returning to a prince of the Palatine family, he chose to retire to Wissemburg, a place belonging to the French in Alsace. M. Sum, Augustus's envoy, entered a complaint on this head to the duke of Orleans, regent of France. The duke made him this remarkable answer: "Sir, let the king your master know, that France hath never refused an asylum to kings in distress."

When the king of Sweden arrived on the frontiers of Germany, he had the pleasure to hear,
that

that the emperor had given strict orders to receive him in every part of his dominions with a becoming magnificence. The towns and villages through which the quarter-masters had previously fixed his route, made great preparations for receiving him; every one burned with impatience to see this extraordinary man, whose victories and misfortunes, whose most trifling actions, and even his keeping his bed, had made so great a noise in Europe and Asia. But Charles had no inclination to bear the fatigue of all this pomp and pageantry, or to exhibit as a public spectacle the prisoner of Bender. On the contrary, he had resolved never to re-enter Stockholm, until he should have repaired his losses by a change of fortune.

As soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Transilvania, he took leave of his Turkish convoy; and then assembling his attendants in a barn, he told them not to give themselves any concern about him, but to proceed with all possible expedition to Stralsund in Pomerania, on the coast of the Baltick, distant from Targowitz about three hundred leagues.

He took nobody with him but two officers, Rosen and Doring, and parted chearfully with the rest of his attendants, who were filled with astonishment, sorrow, and apprehension. By way of disguise, he put on a black wig, concealing his own hair, which he always wore underneath it, a gold laced hat, a grey coat, and blue cloak, and assuming the name of a German officer, rode post with his two fellow-travellers.

He shunned, as much as possible, the territories of his secret or declared enemies, taking the road through Hungary, Moravia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and
Meck-

Mecklenburg; by which means he almost made the complete tour of Germany, and lengthened his journey by one half. Having rode the whole first day, without intermission, young During, who was not so much inured to these excessive fatigues, fainted away as he was dismounting. The king, who was determined not to halt a moment by the road, asked During as soon as he had recovered, how much money he had? "About a thousand crowns in gold," replies During. "Then give me one half of it, (says the king) I see you are not able to follow me, I shall finish the journey by myself." During begged he would be so good as to tarry but for three hours, assuring him, that by that time he should be able to remount his horse and attend his majesty, and entreated him to reflect on the imminent dangers to which he would expose himself by travelling alone. The king was inexorable. He made him give him the five hundred crowns, and called for horses. During, startled at this resolution, bethought himself of an innocent stratagem. He took the post-master aside, and pointing to the king: "This gentleman (says he) is my cousin: we are going together upon the same business; he sees that I am indisposed, and yet he will not wait for me but for three hours: pray, give him the worst horse in your stable; and let me have a chariot, or post-chaise."

He slipped two ducats into the post-master's hand, who punctually obeyed his orders. The king had a lame and restive horse, upon which he set out alone at ten at night, amidst darkness, snow, wind, and rain. His fellow-traveller, after having slept a few hours, began to follow him in a chariot, with good horses. He had not rode many miles,

miles, when, at day-break, he overtook the king, who not being able to make his beast move on, was travelling on foot to the next stage.

Charles was obliged to get into DURING's chaise, where he slept upon the straw. Thus they continued the journey without intermission, by day on horseback, and sleeping by night in a chaise.

Having travelled for sixteen days, during which they had more than once been in danger of being taken, they arrived at last, on the twenty-first of November 1714, at the gates of Stralsund, about one in the morning.

The king called out to the centinel, and told him that he was a courier dispatched from Turkey by the king of Sweden, and that he must immediately speak with general Ducker, the governor. The centinel said that it was too late; that the governor was gone to bed; and that he must wait till break of day.

The king replied, that he came upon business of importance, and that, if they did not instantly go and awaken the governor, they should all be punished next morning. At last a serjeant went and called up the governor. Ducker imagined that it might possibly be one of the king's generals: the gates were opened; and the courier introduced into the governor's chamber.

Ducker, who was still half asleep, asked him; "What news of the king of Sweden?" The king, taking him by the arm, "What, (says he to Ducker) have my most faithful subjects forgot me?" The governor recollected the king, though he could not believe his own eyes; and jumping out of bed, embraced his master's knees with tears of joy. The news of this happy event were spread

spread through the town in a moment. Every body got up. The soldiers flocked about the governor's house. The streets were crouded with people, asking each other, whether the king was really come. All the windows were illuminated, and the conduits ran with wine, amidst the blaze of a thousand flambeaus, and the repeated discharges of the artillery.

Mean while the king was put to bed, which was more than he had been for sixteen days before. His legs were so much swollen with the great fatigue he had undergone, that, instead of pulling, they were obliged to cut off his boots. As he had neither linnen nor cloaths, they immediately furnished him with such a wardrobe as the town could afford. After he had slept a few hours, he rose and went directly to review his troops, and visit his fortifications. And that very day, he dispatched orders into all parts, for renewing the war against his enemies with greater vigour than ever. All these particulars, which are so consistent with the extraordinary character of Charles XII. were first communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterwards confirmed by count Croissy, ambassador to the king of Sweden.

Europe was now in a condition very different from that in which it was when Charles left it, in 1709.

The war which had so long raged in the South, that is, in Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, was now at an end. The general peace which succeeded was owing to some private intrigues in the court of England. The earl of Oxford, an able minister, and lord Bolingbroke, one of the greatest geniuses, and one of the most eloquent orators of the age, had got the

the better of the duke of Marlborough, and prevailed upon the queen to make a peace with Lewis XIV. France being no longer at war with England, soon obliged the other powers to come to an accommodation.

Philip V. the grandson of Lewis XIV. began to reign in peace over the ruins of the Spanish monarchy. The emperor of Germany, now become master of Naples and Flanders, was firmly established in his vast dominions: and Lewis XIV. seemed to aim at nothing higher than to finish his long career of glory by a peaceable end.

Anne, queen of England, died on the tenth of August 1714, hated by half the nation, for having given peace to so many kingdoms. Her brother, James Stewart, an unhappy prince, excluded from the throne almost at his birth, not being in England at that time to claim the succession, which new laws would have conferred upon him, if his party could have prevailed; George I. elector of Hanover, was unanimously acknowledged king of Great Britain. The throne devolved to that elector not by right of blood, tho' descended from a daughter of James, but by virtue of an act of parliament.

George, advanced in years when he was called to reign over a people whose language he did not understand, and to whom he was an utter stranger, he considered himself rather as elector of Hanover than king of England. All his ambition was to aggrandize his German dominions. He commonly went once a-year to visit his hereditary subjects, by whom he was adored. In other respects, he took more pleasure in living like a private man, than like a mighty sovereign. The pomp of royalty appeared to him an insupportable

able burden. He passed his time with a few old courtiers, with whom he lived in great familiarity. He was not the king that made the greatest figure in Europe; but he was one of the wisest princes of the age, and perhaps the only one that knew how to enjoy on a throne the pleasures of friendship and private life. Such were the principal monarchs, and such the situation of the south of Europe.

The revolutions that happened in the North were of another nature. The kings in that part of the world were engaged in war, and leagued together against the king of Sweden.

Augustus had been long restored to the throne of Poland by the assistance of the czar, and with the joint consent of the emperor of Germany, of Anne of England, and of the states-general, who, though guaranties of the treaty of Altranstad, when Charles XII. was able to impose laws, thought themselves absolved from that obligation, when they had nothing more to fear from him.

But Augustus did not enjoy an undisturbed authority. No sooner was he restored to the throne, than the people's apprehensions of arbitrary power began to revive. The whole nation was in arms to oblige him to conform to the *pacta conventa*, a sacred contract between the king and people, who seemed to have recalled their sovereign for no other purpose than to declare war against him. In the beginning of these troubles, the name of Stanislaus was not once mentioned: his party seemed to be annihilated; and the Poles retained no other remembrance of the king of Sweden than as of a torrent, which, in the violence of its course, had occasioned a temporary change in the face of nature.

Pultowa

Pultowa and the absence of Charles XII. had occasioned the fall not only of Stanislaus, but also of the duke of Holstein, Charles's nephew, who had lately been despoiled of his dominions by the king of Denmark. The king of Sweden had had a sincere regard for the father, and, of consequence, could not fail to be deeply affected with the misfortunes of the son; the rather, as, glory being the end of all his actions, the fall of those princes whom he had either made or restored, gave him as much pain as the loss of his own provinces.

Every one was at liberty to enrich himself with the ruins of Charles's fortune. Frederick William, the new king of Prussia, who seemed to be as fond of war as his father had been of peace, was the first who put in for his share of the spoils. He seized Stetin and part of Pomerania, as an equivalent for four hundred thousand crowns which he had advanced to the czar and the king of Denmark. George, elector of Hanover, now become king of England, had likewise sequestered into his hands the dutchy of Bremen and Verden, which the king of Denmark had assigned to him as a deposit for sixty thousand pistoles*. In this manner were divided the spoils of Charles XII. and whoever possessed any of his dominions as pledges, became, from their selfish and interested views, as dangerous enemies as those who had taken them from him.

* The English parliament afterwards granted a sum of money to complete the purchase; and thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover. This acquisition may be considered as the first link of that political chain by which Great Britain hath been dragged back and fast bound to the continent.

With regard to the czar, he was doubtless the most formidable of all his enemies. His former losses, his victories, his very faults, his unremitted perseverance in acquiring knowledge, and in communicating that knowledge to his subjects, and his incessant labours, had justly entitled him to the character of a great man. Riga was already taken; Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, half of Finland, and all the provinces that had been conquered by Charles's ancestors, were now subjected to the Russian yoke.

Peter Alexiowitz, who, twenty years before, had not a single vessel in the Baltick, now saw himself master of those seas, with a fleet of thirty ships of the line.

One of these ships had been built by his own hands. He was the best carpenter, the best admiral, and the best pilot in the North. There was not a difficult passage from the gulph of Bothnia to the Ocean, which he had not founded. And, having thus joined the labours of a common sailor to the curious experiments of a philosopher, and the grand designs of an emperor, he arrived, by degrees and a course of victories, to the rank of admiral, in the same manner as he had become a general in the land-service.

While prince Galliczen, a general formed under his auspices, and one of those who seconded his enterprizes with the greatest vigour, completed the reduction of Finland, took the town of Vasa, and beat the Swedes, the emperor put to sea, in order to attempt the conquest of Aland, an island in the Baltick, about twelve leagues from Stockholm.

He set out on this expedition in the beginning of July 1714, while his rival Charles XII. was keeping his bed at Demotica. He embarked at

Chron-

Cronslot, an harbour which he had built a few years before, about four miles from Petersburg. The new harbour, the fleet, the officers, the sailors, were all the work of his own hands; and wherever he turned his eyes, he could behold nothing but what he himself had, in some measure, created.

On the fifteenth of July, the Russian fleet, consisting of thirty ships of the line, eighty gallies, and an hundred half-gallies, reached the coast of Aland. On board of these ships were twenty thousand soldiers: admiral Apraxin was commander in chief; and the Russian emperor served as rear-admiral. On the sixteenth the Swedish fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Erinchild, came up with the enemy; and, though weaker than them by two thirds, maintained a fight for the space of three hours. The czar attacked the admiral's ship, and took her after a sharp engagement.

The same day he landed sixteen thousand men on the isle of Aland; and having taken a number of Swedish soldiers, that had not been able to get on board of Erinchild's fleet, he carried them off in his own ships. He returned to his harbour of Cronslot with Erinchild's large ship, three others of a less size, one frigate, and six gallies, all which he had taken in the engagement.

From Cronslot he set sail for Petersburg, followed by his own victorious fleet, and the ships he had taken from the enemy. On his arrival at Petersburg, he was saluted by a triple discharge of an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. He then made a triumphant entry, which flattered his vanity still more than that at Moscow, as he received these honours in his favourite city, a place where but ten years before there was not a single hut,

and where now there were thirty-four thousand five hundred houses; in a word, as he saw himself at the head not only of a victorious navy, but what is more, of the first Russian fleet that had ever appeared in the Baltick, and amidst the acclamations of a people, to whom, before his time, the very name of a fleet was not so much as known.

The entry into Petersburg was accompanied with much the same ceremonies as that into Moscow. The Swedish vice-admiral was the chief ornament of this new triumph. Peter Alexiowitz appeared in the procession as rear-admiral. A Russian nobleman, called Romanodowsky, who commonly represented the czar on these solemn occasions, was seated on a throne, surrounded with senators. To this nobleman the rear-admiral presented an account of his victory; and, in reward of his services, was declared vice-admiral. An odd ceremony, but extremely necessary, in a country where military subordination was one of the novelties which the czar wanted to introduce.

The emperor of Russia, now victorious over the Swedes by sea and land, and having assisted in expelling them from Poland, began to domineer there in his turn. He acted as mediator between Augustus and the republic; a glory, perhaps, not inferior to that of creating a king. This honour, and, indeed, all the good fortune of Charles, had fallen to the share of the czar; who, it must be owned, made a better use of these advantages; for all his successes were so managed, as to contribute to the interest of his country. If he took a town, the best artisans in it carried their families and their industry to Petersburg. The manufactures, the arts and sciences of the
pro-

provinces which he conquered from Sweden, were transported into Muscovy. Thus were his dominions enriched by his victories; a circumstance that makes him the most excuseable of all conquerors.

Sweden, on the contrary, despoiled of almost all her foreign provinces, had neither commerce, money, nor credit. Her veteran troops, which were formerly so formidable, had either fallen in battle, or perished with hunger. Upwards of an hundred thousand Swedes were slaves in the vast dominions of the czar; and near the same number had been sold to the Turks and Tartars. The human species seemed visibly to decline in the country; but the king's arrival at Stralsund inspired them with fresh hopes.

The respect and admiration which they had formerly entertained for his sacred person, were still so strongly rivetted in the minds of his subjects, that the youth came from the country in crowds, and voluntarily offered to enlist, though there was not a sufficient number of hands left to cultivate the lands.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
C H A R L E S X I I .
K I N G of S W E D E N .

B O O K V I I I .

T H E C O N T E N T S .

CHARLES gives his sister in marriage to the prince of HESSE: is besieged in STRALSUND, and escapes to SWEDEN. Schemes of baron de GORTZ, his prime minister. Plan of a reconciliation with the CZAR, and of a descent upon England. CHARLES besieges FREDERICSHALL, in NORWAY: is killed: his character. GORTZ is beheaded.

IN the midst of these preparations, the king gave his only surviving sister, Ulrica Eleonora, in marriage to Frederick prince of Hesse-Cassel. The queen dowager, grandmother of Charles XII. and the princess, and then in the eightieth year of her age, did the honours of the table at this solemnity, which was celebrated on the fourth of April 1715, in the palace of Stockholm; where she died soon after.

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The marriage was not honoured with the presence of the king, who was then employed in finishing the fortifications of Stralsund, a place of great importance, and threatened with a siege by the kings of Prussia and Denmark. Nevertheless he made his brother-in-law generalissimo of all his forces in Sweden. This prince had served the states-general in their wars with the French, and was esteemed a good general; a qualification which contributed not a little to procure him the sister of Charles XII. in marriage.

Charles's misfortunes now came as thick upon him as his victories had formerly done. In the month of June 1715, the German troops of the king of England, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar, while the combined army of the Danes and Saxons, amounting to thirty-six thousand men, marched towards Stralsund, to form the siege of that place. The kings of Prussia and Denmark sunk five Swedish ships a little off Stralsund. The czar was then in the Baltick, with twenty large ships of war, and an hundred and fifty transports, on board of which were thirty thousand men. He threatened a descent upon Sweden; one while approaching the coast of Helsingburg, and at another appearing before Stockholm. All Sweden was in arms upon the coasts, and every moment expected an invasion. At the same time the czar's land forces drove the Swedes from post to post, until they had dispossessed them of all the places they held in Finland, towards the gulph of Bothnia. But Peter pushed his conquests no farther.

At the mouth of the Oder, a river that divides Pomerania in two, and after washing the walls of Stetin falls into the Baltick, lies the little isle

of Usedom, a place of great importance on account of its situation, commanding the Oder both on the right and left; so that whoever is master of the island is likewise master of the navigation of the river. The king of Prussia had dislodged the Swedes from this place, and taken possession of it as well as of Stetin, which he kept sequestered, and all, as he pretended, "For the sake of peace." The Swedes had retaken Usedom in May 1715. They had two forts in the island; one of which was the fort of Suine, upon a branch of the Oder, that bore the same name; the other, a place of greater consequence, was called Pennamonder, and situated upon another branch of that river. To defend these two forts, and indeed the whole island, there were only two hundred and fifty Pomeranians, under the command of an old Swedish officer, called Kuze-Slerp, a man whose name deserves to be immortalized.

On the fourth of August, the king of Prussia sent fifteen hundred foot and eight hundred dragoons to make a descent upon the island. They came and landed without opposition near the fort of Suine, which being the least important of the two, the Swedish commander abandoned it to the enemy; and as he could not safely divide his men, he retired with his little company to the castle of Pennamonder, determined to hold out to the last extremity.

There was therefore a necessity of besieging it in form; for which purpose a train of artillery was embarked at Stetin, and the Prussian troops were reinforced with a thousand foot and four hundred horse. On the eighteenth the trenches were opened in two places, and the fort was briskly battered with cannon and mortars. During the

the siege, a Swedish soldier, who was sent privately with a letter from Charles XII. found means to land on the island, and to slip into the fort. The letter he delivered to the commander. The purport was as follows: "Do not fire till the enemy come to the brink of the fosse. Defend the place to the last extremity. I commend you to your good fortune. Charles."

Slerp having read the note, resolved to obey, and to lay down his life, as he was ordered, for the service of his master. On the twenty-second at day-break the assault was given. The besieged having kept in their fire till they saw the enemy on the brink of the fosse, killed an immense number of them. But the ditch was full, the breach large, and the assailants too numerous; so that they entered the castle at two different places at once. The commander now thought of nothing but of selling his life dear, and obeying his master's orders. He abandoned the breaches through which the enemy entered; intrenched his little company, who had all the courage and fidelity to follow him behind a bastion, and posted them in such a manner that they could not be surrounded. The enemy came up to him, and were greatly surprized that he did not ask for quarter. He fought for a complete hour; and after having lost the half of his men, was at last killed himself, together with his lieutenant and major. Upon this, the surviving few, amounting to an hundred soldiers and one officer, begged their lives, and were made prisoners of war. Charles's letter was found in the commander's pocket, and carried to the king of Prussia.

At the time that Charles lost Usedom, and the neighbouring isles, which were quickly taken;

while Wismar was ready to surrender, and Sweden, destitute of a fleet, was daily threatned with an invasion; he himself was in Stralsund, besieged by an army of thirty-six thousand men.

Stralsund, a town famous over all Europe for the siege which the king of Sweden sustained there, is the strongest place in Pomerania; and is situated between the Baltick and the lake of Franken, near the streights of Gella. It is inaccessible by land, except by a narrow causeway, defended by a citadel, and by fortifications which were thought to be impregnable. There was in it a garrison of about nine thousand men, and, what was more than all, the king of Sweden himself. The kings of Prussia and Denmark undertook the siege of this place, with an army of six and thirty thousand men, composed of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons.

The honour of besieging Charles XII. was so powerful a motive, that they soon surmounted every obstacle, and opened the trenches in the night between the nineteenth and twentieth of October 1715. The king of Sweden declared, at the beginning of the siege, that for his own part, he could not comprehend, how a place well fortified, and provided with a sufficient garrison, could possibly be taken. Not but that in the course of his past victories he had taken several places himself, but hardly ever by a regular siege. The terror of his arms carried all before it. Besides, he never judged of other people by himself; but always entertained too low an opinion of his enemies. The besiegers carried on their works with surprising vigour and resolution, and were greatly assisted by a very singular accident.

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It is well known that the Baltick sea neither ebbs nor flows. The fortifications which covered the town, and which were defended on the west by an impassable morass, and by the sea on the east, seemed to be secure from any assault. It had hitherto escaped the observation of every one, that when the west wind blows strong, the waves of the Baltic are driven back in such a manner as to leave but three feet depth of water under the fortifications, which had always been supposed to be washed by a branch of the sea, so deep as to be utterly impassable. A soldier having fallen from the top of the fortifications into the sea, was surpris'd to find a bottom; and thinking that this discovery might make his fortune, he deserted, and went to the quarters of count Wackerbarth, the Saxon general, to inform him that the sea was fordable, and that he might easily penetrate to the Swedish fortifications. It was not long before the king of Prussia availed himself of this piece of intelligence.

Next night about twelve o'clock, the west wind still continuing to blow, lieutenant colonel Koppen entered the water, with eighteen hundred men. At the same time two thousand advanced upon the causeway that led to the fort; all the Prussian artillery fired, and the Danes and Prussians gave an alarm on the other side.

The Swedes thought they could easily repulse the two thousand men whom they saw advancing with so much apparent rashness upon the causeway; but all of a sudden, Koppen, with his eighteen hundred men entered the fort on the side towards the sea. The Swedes, surrounded and surpris'd, could make no resistance; and the post was carried after a terrible slaughter. Some of

the Swedes fled to the town; the besiegers pursued them thither, and entered pell-mell along with the fugitives. Two officers and four Saxon soldiers were already on the draw-bridge, which the Swedes had just time to raise; so that the men were taken, and the town saved for that time.

There were found in the fort twenty-four pieces of cannon, which were immediately turned against Stralsund. The siege was pushed with such vigour and resolution as this success could not fail to inspire. The town was cannonaded and bombarded without intermission.

Opposite to Stralsund, in the Baltic Sea, lies the isle of Rugen, which serves as a bulwark to that place, and into which the garrison and citizens might have retired, could they have found boats to transport them thither. This island was of the last importance to Charles. He plainly perceived, that should it fall into the hands of the enemy, he would be immediately besieged both by sea and land, and perhaps reduced to so great extremities, that he must either bury himself in the ruins of Stralsund, or else become a prisoner to those very enemies whom he had so long despised, and upon whom he had imposed the most severe and rigorous terms. But notwithstanding these gloomy prospects, such was the wretched situation of his affairs, that he had not been able to place a sufficient garrison in Rugen, where, in effect, there were no more than two thousand men.

His enemies had been employed for three months past in making all the necessary preparations for a descent upon this island; and having at last finished a great number of boats, the prince

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of Anhalt, favoured by the goodness of the weather, landed twelve thousand men upon Rugen, on the fifteenth of November. The king, who seemed to be every where present, was then in the island, having lately joined his two thousand men, who were intrenched near a small harbour, three leagues from the place where the enemy had landed. He put himself at the head of this little troop, and observing the most profound silence, advanced at midnight towards the foe. The prince of Anhalt had already entrenched his forces, a precaution which seemed altogether unnecessary. The inferior officers never dreamed of being attacked the very first night, as they imagined Charles to be at Stralsund; but the prince of Anhalt, who well knew what incredible things Charles was capable of attempting, had caused a deep fosse to be sunk, fenced with chevaux de frise; and indeed took all his measures with as much circumspection, as if he had had a superior army to contend with.

At two in the morning, Charles reached the enemy's camp, without making the least noise. His soldiers said to each other, "Come let us pull up the chevaux de frise." These words being overheard by the centinels, the alarm was instantly given in the camp, and the enemy stood to their arms. The king, taking up the chevaux de frise, perceived a deep ditch before him. "Ah! says he, is it possible? this is more than I expected." However this unexpected event did not disconcert him. He was alike ignorant of the number of the enemy, and they of his. The darkness of the night seemed to favour the boldness of the attempt. He formed his resolution in a moment, and jumped into the ditch, accom-

panied by the bravest of his men, and instantly followed by all the rest. The chevaux de frise, which were presently plucked up, the levelled earth, the trunks and branches of such trees as they could find, and the carcases of the soldiers that were killed by random shot, served for fascines. The king, the generals, and the bravest of the officers and soldiers, mounted upon the shoulders of others, as in an assault. The fight began in the enemy's camp. The irresistible impetuosity of the Swedes soon threw the Danes and Prussians into confusion; but the numbers were too unequally matched. After a keen dispute for a quarter of an hour, the Swedes were repulsed, and obliged to repass the fosse. The prince of Anhalt pursued them into the plain, little thinking it was Charles XII. that fled before him. The unhappy monarch rallied his troops in the open field, and the battle was renewed with equal fury on both sides. Grothusen, the king's favourite, and general Dardoff, fell dead at his feet. In the heat of the fight Charles passed over the body of the latter, who was still breathing; and Daring, who had accompanied him in his journey from Turkey to Stralsund, was killed before his face.

In the midst of the fray, a Danish lieutenant, whose name I have not been able to learn, knew the king; and seizing his sword with one hand, and with the other dragging him by the hair, "Surrender yourself, says he, or you are a dead man." The king drew a pistol from his belt, and, with his left hand, fired it at the officer, who died of the wound the next morning. The name of king Charles, which the Dane had pronounced, immediately drew a crowd of the enemy together.

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The king was surrounded, and received a musket shot below his left breast. The wound, which he called a contusion, was two fingers deep. Charles was on foot, and in the most imminent danger of either being killed or taken prisoner. At that critical moment count Poniatowski fought near his majesty's person. He had saved his life at Pultowa, and had now the good fortune to save it once more in the battle of Rugen, by putting him on his horse.

The Swedes retired to a part of the island called Alteferra, where there was a fort, of which they were still masters. From thence the king passed over to Stralsund, obliged to abandon his brave troops, who had so courageously assisted him in this daring enterprize, and who, two days after, were all made prisoners of war.

Among the prisoners was that unhappy French regiment, composed of the shattered remains of the battle of Hochstet, which had entered into the service of Augustus, and afterwards into that of the king of Sweden. Most of the soldiers were now incorporated into a new regiment, commanded by the prince of Anhalt's son, who was their fourth master.

The commander of this wandering regiment in the isle of Rugen was that same count de Villelongue, who had so nobly exposed his life at Adrianople to serve king Charles XII. He was taken prisoner, with his men, and but poorly rewarded in the sequel for all his services, labours, and sufferings.

After all these prodigies of valour, which tended only to weaken his forces, the king shut up in Stralsund, which was every moment in danger of being stormed, behaved in much the same man-

ner as he had done at Bender. Unappalled by so many surrounding dangers, he employed the day in making ditches and entrenchments behind the walls, and by night he sallied out upon the enemy. Mean while Stralsund was battered in breach: the bombs fell thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes. The citizens were so far from complaining, that filled with the highest veneration for their royal master, whose vigilance, temperance, and courage, they could not sufficiently admire, they were all become soldiers under him. They accompanied him in all his sallies, and served him in place of a second garrison.

One day as the king was dictating some letters to his secretary, that were to be sent to Sweden, a bomb fell on the house, pierced the roof, and burst near the royal apartment. One half of the floor was shattered to pieces; but the closet in which the king was, being partly surrounded by a thick wall, received no damage; and what was remarkably fortunate, none of the splinters that flew about in the air, came in at the closet-door, which happened to be open. The report of the bomb, and the crashing noise it occasioned in the house, which seemed ready to tumble about their ears, made the secretary drop his pen. "What is the reason, says the king, with great composure, that you do not write?" The poor secretary could only bring out with a faltering voice; "The the bomb, sir." "Well, replies the king, and what has the bomb to do with the letter I am dictating? Go on."

There was, at that time, an ambassador of France shut up with Charles in Stralsund. This was one Colbert, count de Croissy, a lieutenant-

general in the French army, brother to the marquis de Torcy, the famous minister of state, and a relation of the celebrated Colbert, whose name ought never to be forgotten in France. To send a man on an embassy to Charles XII. or into trenches was much the same. The king would talk with Croissy for hours together in places of the greatest danger, while the soldiers were falling on every side of them by the fire of the bombs and cannon; Charles, in all appearance, insensible of the risk he run, and the ambassador not chusing to give his majesty so much as a hint that there were more proper places to talk of business. This minister exerted his utmost efforts, before the siege commenced, to effect an accommodation between the kings of Sweden and Prussia; but the demands of the latter were too high, and the former would make no concessions. So that the count de Croissy derived no other advantage from his embassy to Charles XII. than the pleasure of being intimately acquainted with that extraordinary man. He frequently lay by his majesty upon the same cloak; and by sharing with him in all his dangers and fatigues, had acquired a right of talking to him with greater freedom. Charles encouraged this boldness in those he loved; and would sometimes say to the count de Croissy, *Veni, maledicamus de rege*: "Come now let us make a little free with the character of Charles XII." This account I had from the ambassador himself.

Croissy continued in the town till the thirteenth of November, when having obtained from the enemy a passport for himself and his baggage, he took his leave of the king, who still remained amidst the ruins of Stralsund, with a garrison di-

diminished by one half, but firmly resolved to stand an assault.

And two days after, an assault was actually made upon the horn-work. Twice did the enemy take it, and twice were they repulsed. In this rencounter the king fought amidst his grenadiers; but at last superior numbers prevailed, and the enemy remained masters of the place. Charles continued in the town two days after this, expecting every moment a general assault. On the twenty-first he stayed till midnight upon a little ravelin that was entirely demolished by the bombs and cannon. Next day the principal officers conjured him to quit a place which he could no longer defend. But to retreat was now become as dangerous as to stay. The Baltick was covered with Russian and Danish ships. There were no vessels in the harbour of Stralsund, but one small bark with sails and oars. The great danger which rendered this retreat so glorious, was the very thing that prompted Charles to attempt it. He embarked at midnight on the twentieth of December, 1715, accompanied by ten persons only. They were obliged to break the ice with which the water of the harbour was covered; a hard and laborious task, which they were forced to continue for several hours before the bark could sail freely. The enemies admirals had strict orders not to allow Charles to escape from Stralsund; but to take him, dead or alive. Happily for him, they were under the wind, and could not come near him. He ran a still greater risk in passing by a place called la Babette, in the isle of Rugen, where the Danes had erected a battery of twelve cannon, from which they fired upon him. The mariners spread every sail and
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plied every oar in order to get clear of the enemy, But two men were killed at the king's side by one cannon ball, and the ship's mast was shattered by another. Through all these dangers, however, did the king escape unhurt, and at last came up with two of his own ships that were cruising in the Baltick. Next day Stralsund was surrendered, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Charles landed at Listed in Scania, and forthwith repaired to Carelsroon, in a condition very different from what he was in, when, about fifteen years before, he set sail from that harbour in a ship of a hundred and twenty guns, to give laws to the North.

As he was so near his capital, it was expected that after such a long absence, he would pay it a visit; but he was determined not to enter it again till he had obtained some signal victory. Besides, he could not bear the thoughts of revisiting a people by whom he was beloved, and whom nevertheless he was obliged to oppress, in order to enable him to make head against his enemies. He wanted only to see his sister, with whom he appointed an interview on the banks of the lake Weter, in Ostrogothia. Thither he rode post attended only by one servant, and after having spent a day with her returned to Carelsroon.

From this place, where he passed the winter, he issued out orders for raising recruits through the whole kingdom. He thought that his subjects were born for no other purpose than to follow him to the field of battle, and he had actually accustomed them to entertain the same opinion. Some were enlisted who were not above fifteen years of age. In several villages there were none left but old men, women, and children; and in
many

many places the women were obliged to plow the land alone.

It was still more difficult to procure a fleet. In order to supply that defect as well as possible, commissions were granted to the owners of privateers, who, upon obtaining certain privileges unreasonable in themselves, and destructive to the community, equipped a few ships; and these poor efforts were the last that the declining state of Sweden was now capable of making. To defray the expences of all these preparations, there was a necessity for encroaching upon the property of the subject; and every kind of extortion was practised under the specious name of taxes and duties. Strict search was made into every house, and one half of the provisions that were found in them was conveyed to the king's magazines. All the iron in the kingdom was bought up for his use. This the government paid for in paper, and sold it out for ready money. A tax was laid on all such as had any mixture of silk in their cloaths, or wore periwigs or gilded swords; and the duty of hearth-money was immoderately high. The people, oppressed with such a load of taxes, would have revolted under any other king; but the poorest peasant in Sweden knew that his master led a life still more hard and frugal than himself; so that every one submitted chearfully to those hardships which the king was the first to suffer.

All sense of private misfortunes was swallowed up in the apprehension of public danger. The Swedes expected every moment to see their country invaded by the Russians, the Danes, the Prussians, the Saxons, and even by the English; and their fear of this hostile visit was so strong and pre-

prevalent, that those who had money or valuable effects took care to bury them in the earth.

An English fleet had already appeared in the Baltick, though its particular destination was not known; and the czar had given his word to the king of Denmark, that in the spring of 1716, the Russians should join the Danes, in order to make a descent upon Sweden.

But how great was the astonishment of all Europe, ever attentive to the fortune of Charles XII. when, instead of defending his own country, which was threatned with an invasion by so many princes, they saw him in the month of March 1716, passing over into Norway, with twenty thousand men.

From the time of Hannibal to that of Charles XII. the world had never seen any general, who, unable to make head against his enemies at home, had boldly carried the war into the heart of their own dominions. The prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, attended him in this expedition.

There is no travelling from Sweden to Norway but through the most dangerous by-ways; and when these are past, one meets with so many flashes of water formed by the sea amongst the rocks, that there is a necessity for making bridges every day. A handful of Danes might have stopped the progress of the whole Swedish army; but this sudden invasion had not been foreseen. Europe was still more astonished to see the czar, amidst all these mighty events, remaining inactive, and not making a descent upon Sweden, as had formerly been stipulated between him and his allies.

This inactivity was owing to one of the greatest and most difficult schemes that ever was formed by the mind of man.

Henry

Henry de Gortz, a native of Franconia, and baron of the empire, having done several good offices to the king of Sweden, during that monarch's abode at Bender, was now become his favourite, and first minister.

Never man was at once so bold and so artful; so full of expedients amidst misfortunes; so unbounded in his designs, or so active in the prosecution of them. No project too great for his daring genius to attempt; no means too difficult for his sagacity and penetration to discover; in pursuing his favourite schemes he was equally prodigal of presents and promises, of oaths, of truth and of falsehood.

From Sweden he went to France, England, and Holland, to examine those secret springs which he afterwards meant to put in motion. He was capable of throwing all Europe into combustion; and his inclination was equal to his power. What his master was at the head of an army, that was de Gortz in the cabinet; by which means he had acquired a greater ascendant over Charles XII. than any minister before him had ever possessed.

Charles, who at twenty years of age had prescribed orders to count Piper, was now content to receive instructions from baron de Gortz, resigning himself to the direction of that minister with so much the less reserve, as his misfortunes obliged him to listen to the advice of others, and as Gortz never gave him any but such as was suitable to his undaunted courage. He observed, that of all the sovereigns united against Sweden, George, elector of Hanover, and king of England, was the prince against whom Charles was most highly incensed; because he was the only one to whom he had never done the least injury; and be-

because George had engaged in the quarrel under the pretext of compromising matters, but in reality with a view of preserving Bremen and Verden, to which he seemed to have no other right than that of having bought them for a trifle from the king of Denmark, to whom, after all, they did not belong.

Nor was it long before he discovered that the czar was secretly dissatisfied with his allies, who had all conspired to hinder him from acquiring any possessions in Germany, where that monarch, already become too formidable, wanted only to obtain a footing. Wismar, the only town that still remained to the Swedes on the frontiers of Germany, was, on the fourteenth of February 1716, surrendered to the Danes and Prussians, who would not so much as allow the Russian troops that were in Mecklenburg, to be present at the siege. Such repeated marks of jealousy for two years together, had alienated the czar's mind from the common cause, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden. There are many instances of several states in alliance being conquered by a single power; but hardly any of a great empire subdued by several allies. If it should happen to be humbled by their joint efforts, their intestine divisions soon allow it to retrieve its former grandeur.

Ever since the year 1714, the czar had had it in his power to make a descent upon Sweden; but whether it was that he could not perfectly agree with the kings of Poland, England, Denmark, and Prussia, allies justly jealous of his growing power, or that he did not as yet think his troops sufficiently disciplined to attack in their own territories a people whose very peasants had beat
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the flower of the Danish forces, he still put off the execution of the enterprize.

But what had chiefly interrupted the progress of his arms was the want of money. The czar, though one of the most powerful monarchs in the universe, was far from being one of the richest; his revenues, at that time, not exceeding twenty-four millions of livres. He had discovered indeed some mines of gold, silver, copper, and iron; but the profits arising from these was still uncertain, and the expence of the working them was intolerably great. He had likewise established an extensive commerce; but that in its infancy rather filled him with the agreeable hopes of what it might one day prove, than was really productive of any present advantage: nor did the provinces which he had lately conquered increase his revenues, in the same proportion as they augmented his power and glory. It required a long time to heal the wounds of Livonia, a country extremely fertile, but desolated by fire, sword, and distemper, and by a war of fifteen years continuance, destitute of inhabitants, and as yet chargeable to the conqueror. His finances were further drained by the large fleets he maintained, and by the new enterprizes which he was daily undertaking. He had even been reduced to the wretched expedient of raising the value of money, a remedy that can never cure the evils of state, and is in a particular manner prejudicial to a country, whose exports fall short of their imports.

Such was the foundation upon which de Gortz had built his scheme of a revolution. He ventured to advise the king of Sweden to purchase a peace from the Russian emperor at any price, intimating to him, at the same time, that the czar

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was highly incensed at the kings of Poland and England, and assuring him that he and Peter Alexiowitz, when joined together, would be able to strike terror into the rest of Europe.

There was no possibility of making a peace with the czar, without giving up a great many of those provinces which lie to the east and north of the Baltick sea. But Gortz entreated the king to consider, that by yielding up these provinces, which [the czar already possessed, and which Charles at present was unable to recover, he might have the honour of restoring Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, of replacing the son of James II. on that of England, and of re-establishing the duke of Holstein in the peaceable possession of his dominions.

Charles, pleased with these mighty projects, upon which, however, he laid no great stress, gave carte blanche to his minister. Gortz set out from Sweden, furnished with full powers to act without controul, and to treat as his master's plenipotentiary with all those princes with whom he should think proper to negotiate. The first step was to sound the court of Moscow, which he did by means of a Scotchman, called Areskine, first physician to the czar, and strongly attached to the pretender's interest, as indeed most of the Scots were, except such as subsisted upon favours from the court of London*.

* The Scottish nation will not thank Mr. de Voltaire for this assertion, which is by no means consistent with truth. Were it necessary it might be easily proved, that the whig party has greatly preponderated in Scotland ever since the Union.

This

This physician represented to prince Menzikoff the greatness and importance of the scheme, with all the warmth of a man who was so much interested in its success. Prince Menzikoff relished the proposal, and the czar approved of it. Instead of making a descent upon Sweden, as had been stipulated between him and his allies, he sent his troops to winter in Mecklenburg, whither he soon after repaired himself. This he did under the specious pretext of terminating some disputes that had lately arisen between the duke and his nobility; but in reality with a view to prosecute his favourite scheme of obtaining a principality in Germany, and hoping he should be able to persuade the duke of Mecklenburg to sell him his sovereignty.

The allies were highly provoked at these proceedings; and the more so, as they did not chuse to have such a formidable neighbour as Peter Alexiowitz, who, could he once obtain any footing in Germany, might one day procure himself to be elected emperor, to the great oppression of all the princes of the empire. But the more they were provoked, the more was the grand scheme of de Gortz forwarded. This minister, the better to conceal his secret intrigues, affected to negotiate with the confederate princes, who were likewise amused with vain hopes from the czar.

Charles XII. and his brother-in-law, the prince of Hesse, were all this while in Norway, at the head of twenty thousand men. The country was defended by no more than eleven thousand Danes, divided into several detached parties, who were all put to the sword by the king and the prince of Hesse.

Charles advanced towards Christiania, the capital of the kingdom; and fortune began once more

to smile upon him in this part of the globe: But he never took sufficient care to provide for the subsistence of his troops. A Danish fleet and army were coming to the relief of Norway; and Charles being in want of provisions, was obliged to return to Sweden, there to wait the issue of his minister's mighty projects.

The execution of the scheme required at once inviolable secrecy, and vast preparations, two things almost incompatible. Gortz even ransacked the Asiatic seas for an assistance, which, however odious in appearance, would nevertheless have been extremely proper for making a descent upon Scotland, and for furnishing Sweden with ships, men, and money.

The pirates of all nations, and especially those of England, having entered into a mutual association, had long infested the seas of Europe and America. Driven at last from all their wonted haunts, and having no hopes of obtaining any quarter, they had lately retired to the coasts of Madagascar, a large island to the east of Africa. These men were all of them desperadoes, and most of them famous for actions which wanted nothing but justice to render them truly heroic. They were endeavouring to find out a prince that would receive them under his protection; but the laws of nations shut all the harbours in the world against them.

No sooner were they informed that Charles XII. was returned to Sweden, than they began to flatter themselves with the agreeable hopes, that that prince passionately fond of war, obliged at present to be engaged in it, and in great want as well of ships as soldiers, would be glad to make an agreement with them upon reasonable terms.

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With this view they sent a deputy to Europe on board of a Dutch vessel, to make a proposal to baron de Gortz, that if they were sure of meeting with a favourable reception in the port of Gottenburg, they would instantly repair there with sixty ships loaded with riches*.

The baron prevailed upon the king to agree to the proposal; and next year Cromstrom and Mendal, two Swedish gentlemen, were sent to finish the treaty with the corsairs of Madagascar.

But a more honourable and a more powerful support was soon after found in cardinal Alberoni, a man of an extraordinary genius, who governed Spain long enough for his own glory; but too short a time for the grandeur and happiness of the kingdom.

He readily embraced the proposal of placing the son of James II. on the throne of England. Nevertheless, as he was but just entered into the ministry, and had the affairs of Spain to regulate, before he could think of throwing other kingdoms into confusion, it was not likely that he would be able for a considerable time to put this grand machine in motion. But in less than two years he changed the face of affairs in Spain, restored that kingdom to her former degree of credit, among the other powers of Europe, prevailed upon the Turks, as is commonly supposed,

* This has so much the air of a fable, that we know not how to believe it. True it is, a few pirates fixed their habitation on the island of Madagascar: but they lived miserably, single, and separate, like wild beasts in a state of nature, without plan, subordination, or society, without force or shipping: for what ships they had taken, either perished, rotted, or were broken up by their own hands.

to attack the emperor of Germany, and attempted, at one and the same time, to deprive the duke of Orleans of the regency of France, and king George of the crown of England. So dangerous may one single man prove, when he is vested with absolute authority in a powerful state, and is endowed with courage and greatness of soul.

Gortz having thus scattered in the courts of Muscovy and Spain the first sparks of that flame which he intended to kindle, went privately to France, and from thence to Holland, where he had an interview with some of the pretender's adherents.

He informed himself more particularly of the strength, the number, and disposition of the malecontents in England, of the money they could furnish, and the troops they could raise. The malecontents required only a reinforcement of ten thousand men, with whose assistance, they said, they should be fully able to effectuate a revolution.

Count Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador in England, being furnished with proper instructions by baron Gortz, had several conferences at London, with the chiefs of the disaffected party. He encouraged them with the most flattering hopes of success, and readily promised them whatever they could wish to obtain; and they, on their part, were so forward as to furnish considerable sums of money, which Gortz received in Holland. He treated about the purchase of some ships, and bought six in Britain, with all kinds of arms.

He then sent several officers privately into France, and among others the chevalier de Folard, who having made thirty campaigns in the French armies, without any considerable ad-

dition to his fortune, had lately offered his service to the king of Sweden, not so much from any interested views, as from a desire of serving under a king of such a glorious reputation. Folard likewise hoped to recommend to that prince the improvements he had made in the art of war, which he had always studied as a philosopher; and he hath since published his discoveries in his commentary on Polybius. Charles XII. who had made war himself in a manner entirely new, and was never guided by custom in any thing, was pleased with his notions; and resolved to employ him in his projected invasion of Scotland. The secret orders of baron de Gortz were faithfully executed in France by the chevalier de Folard. A great number of French, and a still greater number of Irish officers engaged in this uncommon conspiracy, which was hatching at one and the same time in England, France, and Muscovy, and the branches of which were secretly extended from one end of Europe to the other.

These preparations, however great, were only a sample of what de Gortz intended to do; though it was a matter of no small consequence to have thus set the scheme a-going. But the point of the greatest importance, and without which nothing could succeed, was to bring about a peace between the czar and Charles; to accomplish which many difficulties were to be removed. Baron Osterman, minister of state in Muscovy, refused at first to come into de Gortz's measures. The former was as cautious and circumspect as the latter was bold and enterprising. The one, slow and regular in his politicks, was for allowing every thing time to ripen: the other of a daring genius, and impatient spirit, had no sooner sown the
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the seed then he was presently for reaping the harvest. Osterman fearing that the emperor, his master, dazzled with the splendor of this enterprize, would grant the Swedes a too advantageous peace, delayed the conclusion of it by a variety of obstacles and procrastinations.

Happily for baron de Gortz, the czar himself came to Holland in the beginning of the year 1717. His intention was to go from thence into France. He was desirous of seeing that famous nation, which, for more than a hundred years past, hath been censured, envied, and imitated by all its neighbours. He wanted to gratify his insatiable curiosity of seeing and learning every thing, and, at the same time, to exercise his politicks.

Gortz had two interviews with him at the Hague; and in these he made greater progress than he could have done in six months with the plenipotentiaries. Every thing wore a favourable aspect. His mighty projects seemed to be covered under the veil of impenetrable secrecy; and he flattered himself that Europe would know them only by their being carried into execution. Mean while he talked of nothing but peace at the Hague, he openly declared that he would always consider the king of England as the pacifier of the North; and he even pressed, (in appearance at least,) the holding of a congress at Brunswick, in which the jarring interests of Sweden and her enemies might be amicably adjusted.

These intrigues were first discovered by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who had spies in every part of Europe. Men of this character, who make a trade of selling the secrets of their friends, and get their livelihood by being informers,

and frequently by inventing and propagating the grossest lies and calumnies, were so much increased in France under his government, that one half of the nation were become spies upon the other. The duke of Orleans, who was connected with the king of England by personal ties, acquainted him with the secret plot that was hatching against him.

At the same time the Dutch, who began to take umbrage at the behaviour of de Gortz, communicated their suspicions to the English minister. Gortz and Gillembourg were prosecuting their schemes with great vigour, when they were both arrested, the one at Deventer, in Guelderland, and the other at London.

As Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador, had violated the law of nations, by conspiring against the prince to whom he was sent in a public character, the English made no scruple to violate the same law, by arresting his person. But all the world was surprised to see the states general imprison the baron de Gortz, in order to gratify the king of England, an instance of complaisance hardly to be paralleled in history. They even appointed the count de Welderen to examine him. This formality was only an aggravation of their former insult, which being rendered entirely abortive, produced no other effect than to cover them with confusion. "Do you know me?" says Gortz to the count de Welderen. "Yes, Sir," replies the Dutchman. "Well, then, says de Gortz, if you do know, you must be sensible that I will not speak one word more than I please." The examination was carried no farther. All the foreign ministers, and especially the marquis de Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador in England, protested

tested against the violence offered to the person of Gortz and Gillembourg. The Dutch were inexcusable. They had not only violated a most sacred law, by seizing the prime minister of the king of Sweden, who had formed no plots against them; but they acted in direct opposition to the spirit of that inestimable liberty which hath drawn so many foreigners into their country, and is the foundation of all their greatness.

With regard to the king of England, he had acted consistently with the strictest principles of justice, in imprisoning his enemy. He published in his own vindication, the letters of Gortz and Gillembourg, which were found among the papers of the latter. The king of Sweden was in Scania, when he received these printed letters, together with the news of the two ministers being imprisoned. He asked with a smile, if they had not likewise printed his letters; and gave immediate orders for arresting the English resident at Stockholm, with all his family and domesticks. The Dutch resident was forbid the court, and strictly watched in all his motions. Charles, mean while, neither avowed nor disclaimed the proceedings of de Gortz. Too proud to deny a scheme which he had once approved, and too wise to acknowledge a plot which had thus been stifled in its birth, he maintained a disdainful silence towards England and Holland.

The czar took a very different course. As his name was not expressly mentioned, but only obscurely hinted at in the papers of Gortz and Gillembourg, he wrote a long letter to the king of England, complimenting him upon the discovery of the plot, and assuring him of the most inviolable friendship; and king George received

his protestations without believing them, though he thought it most prudent in the present case to pretend that he did. A plot contrived by private men is annihilated the moment it is discovered; but a conspiracy formed by kings, the more it is known the stronger it grows.

The czar arrived at Paris in the month of May 1717, to view the beauties of art and nature; and to visit the academies, public libraries, the cabinets of the curious, and the royal palaces, were not the only ends of his journey. He made a proposal to the duke of Orleans for concluding a treaty, which, had it taken place, would have compleated the greatness of Muscovy. His design was to compromise matters with the king of Sweden, who would yield to him some large provinces, to deprive the Danes of the empire of the Baltick Sea, to weaken the English by a civil war, and to make all the trade of the North to center in Russia. He had even some thoughts of setting up Stanislaus afresh against Augustus, that so the fire being every where kindled, he might have it in his power either to quench or blow it up, as should be most conducive to his interest. With this view he proposed to the regent of France to act as mediator between Sweden and Muscovy, and to make a league offensive and defensive with these two crowns, and that of Spain. This treaty, seemingly so natural and so advantageous to the several nations concerned, and which would have put the balance of power in Europe into their hands, was nevertheless rejected by the duke of Orleans. Nay, at that very time, he entered into engagements of a quite opposite nature. He made a league with the emperor of Germany, and with George king of England.

land. The reasons of state had so much altered the views and inclinations of all the princes of Europe, that the czar was ready to declare against his old ally, Augustus, and to espouse the cause of Charles, his mortal enemy; while France, in order to oblige the Germans and the English, was going to make war upon the grand-son of Lewis XIV. after having so long supported him against these very enemies, at a prodigious expence of blood and treasure. All that the czar could obtain by these indirect measures was to prevail upon the regent to interpose his good offices to procure the enlargement of Gortz and Gillembourg. He returned to his own dominions about the end of June, after having shewn the French a sight they had never seen before, an emperor travelling for instruction. But the generality of that people were only struck with his rude unpolished manners, the result of his bad education; while the legislator, the great man, and the creator of a new nation, entirely escaped the notice of these superficial observers.

What the czar sought for in the duke of Orleans, he soon found in cardinal Alberoni, who now governed the Spanish councils with unlimited sway. Alberoni desired nothing so much as the restoration of the pretender. This he did both as he was minister of Spain, which had been so ill treated by the English; as he was a personal enemy to the duke of Orleans, who was leagued with England against Spain; and, in fine, as he was a priest of that church, for the sake of which the pretender's father had so foolishly lost his crown.

The duke of Ormond, as much beloved in England as the duke of Marlborough was ad-

mired, had left his country at the accession of king George, and retired to Madrid. This nobleman was now vested with full powers by the king of Spain and the pretender; and, accompanied by one Irnegan, another native of England, a man of fine address, and an enterprising spirit, he went to meet the czar in his way to Mittau in Courland. He demanded the princess Anna Petrowna, the czar's daughter, in marriage for the son of James II. * hoping that this alliance would the more strongly attach the czar to the interests of that unhappy prince. But this proposal, instead of forwarding, retarded, at least for some time, the progress of the negotiations. Baron de Gortz, among his other projects, had long set apart this princess for the duke of Holstein, to whom, in effect, she was soon after married. The moment he was informed of the duke of Ormond's proposal, he became jealous of its success, and employed every art to render it abortive. He, as well as count Gillembourg, was set at liberty in the month of August, the king of Sweden not even deigning to offer the least apology to the king of England, nor to express the slightest disapprobation of his minister's conduct.

At the same time, the English resident and all his family were released at Stockholm, where they

* The truth of all these particulars is confirmed by cardinal Alberoni himself, in a letter of thanks which he wrote to the author. M. Norberg, whose ignorance of the affairs of Europe, can only be equalled by the poverty of his genius, alleges that the duke of Ormond left England not upon the accession of George I. but immediately after the death of queen Anne; as if forsooth George I. had not been the immediate successor of that queen.

had been treated with much more severity than Gillembourg had been at London.

Gortz, being now at liberty, behaved like an implacable enemy, prompted not only by the powerful motives by which he had been formerly actuated, but instigated by a spirit of revenge, on account of his late imprisonment. He instantly posted away to the czar, and, by his artful insinuations, obtained a greater ascendant over that prince than ever. He assured him, that in less than three months, he would, in conjunction with a single plenipotentiary from Russia, remove every obstacle that retarded the conclusion of a peace with Sweden. Taking a map in his hand, which had been drawn by the czar himself, and making a line from Wibourg, all the way to the frozen sea, running along the lake Ladoga, he undertook to persuade his master to give up all the country lying to the eastward of that line, as well as Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia. He then hinted at a proposal of marriage between his czarish majesty's daughter and the duke of Holstein, flattering the czar with the agreeable hopes that the duke might possibly be prevailed upon to yield him up his dominions for an equivalent, by which acquisition he would become a member of the empire, and that either himself or some of his descendants might one day obtain the imperial crown. By these means he gratified the ambitious views of the Russian monarch, and deprived the pretender of all hopes of marrying the czarinian princess, at the same time that he opened to him a more tempting project in England, and thus accomplished all his own projects at once.

The czar named the isle of Aland for holding the conference between Osterman, his minister of

state, and baron de Gortz. He desired the duke of Ormond to return to Spain, that he might not give too great cause of offence to the English, with whom he had no intention of coming to an open rupture, till he should be ready to make the projected invasion. But Irnegan, the duke's confidant, was allowed to stay at Petersburg, where he lived with so much privacy and caution, that he never came abroad in the day time, nor ever conversed with any of the czar's ministers, except in the disguise of a peasant or Tartar.

Immediately after the duke of Ormond's departure, the czar acquainted the king of England with the high compliment he had payed him in dismissing the greatest man in the pretender's faction; and baron Gortz returned to Sweden, flushed with hopes of success.

Gortz found his master at the head of thirty-five thousand regular troops, and all the coasts guarded by the militia. The king wanted nothing but money. But the public credit, as well at home as abroad, was entirely exhausted. France, which had furnished him with some supplies, during the last years of Lewis XIV. refused to contribute any more under the regency of the duke of Orleans, who pursued a cause very different from that of Lewis. Spain promised him some remittances; but was not yet in a condition to afford any thing considerable.

De Gortz therefore carried a scheme into execution which he had tried before his journey to France and Holland. This was to give to copper the value of silver; so that a piece of the former metal, whose intrinsic value was only a half-penny, should, when stamped with the king's mark, pass for forty pence; as the governors of
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besieged towns frequently pay the soldiers and citizens in leathern money, in expectation of being one day able to reimburse them in real coin. This fictitious kind of money, which owes its birth to necessity, and can only be rendered current by its being punctually paid in real specie, is like bills of exchange, the imaginary value of which may easily exceed the solid funds that are in a nation.

These expedients are of great use in a free country. They have often saved a republic, but seldom, or never, fail to ruin a monarchy; for, as the people soon begin to grow suspicious, the minister is obliged to break his word: the ideal money multiplies apace: private men bury their money in the earth; and the whole machine of government falls into a confusion which is often productive of the most pernicious consequences, as was but too plainly exemplified in the fate of Sweden.

At first the baron de Gortz issued out his new coin with equal discretion and reserve; but, by the rapidity of a motion which he could not restrain, he was soon hurried beyond the limits which he had originally prescribed to himself. All kinds of goods and provisions having risen to an immoderate price, he was obliged to encrease the quantity of his copper coin. But the more it was encreased, the less was its value; and Sweden, deluged as it were by this false money, set up a general cry against baron de Gortz. The people, who always regarded their sovereign with a kind of veneration, could not find in their hearts to hate him, and therefore made the weight of their resentment to fall on a minister, who, both as a

foreigner and chief director of the finances, was doubly exposed to the public odium.

But what entirely compleated his ruin was a tax he attempted to impose on the clergy. The clergy, who are too apt to join their own cause to that of the Supreme Being, called him an atheist, because he demanded their money. Some of the new copper coin being stamped with the figures of the heathen gods, they thence took occasion to call those pieces the gods of baron de Gortz.

To this public odium under which he laboured, was added the jealousy of the ministers; the more implacable in their resentment as their power was the less. The king's sister, and the prince her husband, dreaded him, as a man attached from his birth to the duke of Holstein, and might one day be able to place the crown of Sweden on his head. In a word, he had incurred the hatred of the whole nation, Charles alone excepted; but this general aversion served only to ensure to him the friendship of the king, whose maxim it always was to be the more inflexible the more he was contradicted. Accordingly, he now relied upon the baron with an almost implicit confidence; gave him an absolute power in the interior government of the kingdom; and committed to his care whatever related to the negotiations with the czar, pressing him above all things to hasten the conference that was to be held in the isle of Aland.

And, indeed, Gortz had no sooner regulated the finances, (a work which had hitherto detained him at Stockholm) than he set out on his journey for the place appointed, in order to finish with the czar's minister the grand scheme he had projected.

The preliminary articles of that alliance, which was

was wholly to have changed the face of affairs in Europe, were found among de Gortz's papers after his death, and were as follow :

The czar was to keep the whole of Livonia, and part of Ingria and Carelia to himself, and to restore the rest to Sweden. He was to join his efforts with those of Charles XII. in order to restore Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, and to enter that country with eighty thousand Russians, to dethrone the very king in whose defence he had waged a war of ten years continuance. He was to furnish the king of Sweden with a number of ships sufficient to transport ten thousand Swedes to England, and thirty thousand to Germany. The united forces of Peter and Charles were to attack the king of England in his German dominions, especially in Bremen and Verden; and were likewise to be employed in re-establishing the duke of Holstein, and compelling the king of Prussia to agree to a treaty, by which he would have been deprived of part of those territories which he had seized. From the time that this alliance was made, Charles assumed such lofty airs, as if his victorious troops, reinforced by those of the czar, had already carried all his schemes into execution. He required the emperor of Germany, in a peremptory manner, to fulfil the treaty of Altranstad. But the court of Vienna would hardly deign to give an answer to the proposal of a prince from whom she had nothing to fear.

The king of Poland did not enjoy the same tranquillity; but saw the clouds gathering all around him. The Polish nobility had formed a confederacy against him; and, ever since his restoration, he had perpetually been engaged either in wars or treaties with his subjects. The czar, who

who was now become a dangerous mediator, had an hundred gallies near Dantzick, and forty thousand men on the frontiers of Poland. All the North was filled with jealousy and apprehension. Fleming, of all men in the world the most apt to distrust, and himself the most to be distrusted, was the first who suspected the designs of the czar and the king of Sweden in favour of Stanislaus. He therefore resolved to have this prince seized in the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, as James Sobiesky had formerly been in Silesia. Saissan, a Frenchman, one of those restless and enterprising spirits, who wander into foreign parts to try their fortunes, had lately brought a small number of his countrymen, bold and daring like himself, into the service of the king of Poland. He imparted a project to Fleming, by which he undertook, with the assistance of thirty French officers, to seize Stanislaus in his own palace, and carry him a prisoner to Dresden. The project was approved. Enterprizes of that nature were not then uncommon. Some of those desperate fellows who are called Bravos in Italy, had performed the like achievements in the Milanese, during the last war between France and Germany: and, even since that time, several French refugees in Holland had ventured to penetrate to Versailles, in order to carry off the dauphin, and actually had seized the person of the first equerry, almost under the windows of the castle where Lewis XIV. resided.

Accordingly, Saissan disposed his men and post-horses in the best manner he could contrive, in order to seize and carry off Stanislaus. But the enterprize was discovered the night before it was to have been carried into execution. Several of the desperadoes saved themselves by flight, and the
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rest were taken prisoners. They had no right to expect to be treated as prisoners of war, but rather as common robbers. Stanislaus, instead of punishing them as their crime deserved, contented himself with reproaching them with their baseness, and even that he did with the greatest politeness and humanity. Nay, what is more, he gave them money to defray the expences of their return to Poland, and, by that act of generosity, plainly shewed that his rival Augustus had but too much reason to fear him*.

Mean while Charles set out on a second expedition to Norway, in the month of October 1718. He had taken all his measures with so much prudence and precaution, that he hoped he should be able, in the space of six months, to make himself master of that kingdom. He rather chose to go and conquer rocks amidst ice and snow, in the depth of winter, which kills the animals even in Sweden, where the cold is less severe, than to recover his beautiful provinces in Germany. These he expected he should soon be able to retake in consequence of his alliance with the czar; and, in any event, it was a much more tempting object of ambition to wrest a kingdom from his victorious foe.

At the mouth of the river Tistendall, near the bay of Denmark, and between the towns of Ba-

* Here M. Norberg accuses the author of treating crowned heads with too little respect; as if this faithful account contained in it any thing injurious, or as if we were obliged to relate aught but truth of departed kings. What! does he imagine that history should resemble a sermon preached before a sovereign, in which the flattering orator loads his royal hearers with unmerited praises?

hus and Anflo, stands Frederickshall, a place of great strength and importance, and considered as the key of the kingdom. To this town Charles laid siege, in the month of December. The soldiers, benumbed with cold, were hardly able to break the ground, which was so much hardened by the frost, that it was almost as difficult to pierce it, as if they had been opening trenches in a rock. But nothing could resist the resolution and perseverance of the Swedes, while they saw their king at their head, and sharing in all their labours. Never, indeed, did Charles undergo greater fatigues. His constitution, strengthened by eighteen years of severe labour, was hardened to such a degree, that he slept in the open field in Norway in the midst of winter, covered only with a-cloak, and without doing the least prejudice to his health. Several of the soldiers on duty dropt down dead with cold; and though the rest were almost frozen to death, yet as they saw their king partaking in all their hardships, they durst not utter a single word of complaint. Having heard, a little before this expedition, of a certain woman in Scania, called Joan Dotter, who had lived for several months, without any other nourishment than water; he, who had all his life studied to inure himself to the worst extremes that human nature can support, resolved to try how long he could fast without fainting. Accordingly he fasted five whole days, without either eating or drinking; and, on the morning of the sixth, rode two leagues, and then alighted at the tent of the prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, where he eat heartily, without feeling the least disorder, either from his long fast of five days,
or

or from the plentiful meal which now succeeded*.

With such a body of iron, inspired by a soul alike enterprising and inflexible in every condition, he could not fail to be formidable to all his neighbours.

On the eleventh of December, being St. Andrew's day, he went at nine in the evening to view the trenches; and not finding the parallel so far advanced as he expected, he could not help expressing his surprize and displeasure. Mr. Megret, a French engineer, who conducted the siege, assured him that the place would be taken in eight days. "Well! we shall see," says the king, and went on with the engineer to survey the works. He stopped at a place where a branch of the trenches formed an angle with the parallel. He kneeled on the inner *talus*, and resting his elbow on the parapet, continued for some time to view the men who were carrying on the trenches by star-light.

Circumstances, in their own nature trivial, become important when they relate to the death of such a man as Charles XII. I must therefore take upon me to say, that the whole of the conversation, reported by so many writers to have passed between the king and Megret the engineer, is absolutely false. The following account I can affirm, upon the best authority, to be the real truth of the matter.

The king stood with almost the half of his body exposed to a battery of cannon pointed directly

* Norberg alledges that it was to cure a pain in his breast, that Charles submitted to this long abstinence. Confessor Norberg is surely a most wretched physician.

against the angle where he was. He was attended by two Frenchmen only; one of whom was M. Siquier, his aid-de-camp, a man of courage and conduct, who had entered into his service in Turkey, and was particularly attached to the prince of Hesse; the other was this engineer. The cannon fired upon them with grape-shot, to which the king, as he stood behind them, was most exposed. A little behind them was count Swerin, who commanded the trenches. While Swerin was giving orders to count Posse, a captain of the guards, and to one Culbert, his aid-de-camp, Siquier and Megret saw the king fall upon the parapet, with a deep sigh. They ran to him; but he was already dead. A ball of half a pound had struck him on the right temple, and made a hole sufficient to receive three fingers at once. His head reclined upon the parapet; his left eye beat in, and the right one entirely beat out of its socket. Though he expired the moment he received the wound, yet, by a kind of instinctive motion, he had grasped the hilt of his sword in his hand, and still lay in that posture. At sight of this shocking spectacle, Megret, a man of a singular turn of mind, and of great indifference of temper, said, "Come, gentlemen, the farce is ended, let us now go to supper." Siquier ran immediately and informed count Swerin of what had happened. They all agreed to conceal the news of his death from the soldiers, till such time as the prince of Hesse should be acquainted with it. The body was wrapt up in a grey cloak. Siquier put his hat and wig on the king's head; and in this condition Charles was carried, under the name of one captain Carlsberg, through the midst of his troops,

troops, who thus say their dead king pass them, without ever dreaming that it was his majesty.

The prince gave instant orders that no one should stir out of the camp, and that all the passes to Sweden should be strictly guarded, that so he might have time to take the necessary measures for placing the crown on his wife's head, and to exclude the duke of Holstein, who might lay claim to it.

Thus fell Charles XII. king of Sweden, at the age of thirty-six years and an half, after having experienced all the grandeur of prosperity, and all the hardships of adversity, without being either softened by the one, or the least disturbed by the other. Almost all his actions, even those of his private life, border on the marvellous. Perhaps he was the only man, most certainly he was the only king, that ever lived without failings. He carried all the virtues of the hero to such an excess as renders them no less dangerous than the opposite vices. His resolution, hardened into obstinacy, occasioned his misfortunes in the Ukraine, and detained him five years in Turkey. His liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden. His courage, pushed the length of temerity, was the cause of his death. And, during the last years of his reign, the means he employed to support his authority, differed little from tyranny. His great qualities, any one of which would have been sufficient to immortalize another prince, proved pernicious to his country. He never was the aggressor; but, in taking vengeance on those who had injured him, his resentment got the better of his prudence. He was the first man who ever aspired to the title of conqueror, without the least desire of enlarging his domi-

dominions. His only end in subduing kingdoms was to have the pleasure of giving them away. His passion for glory, for war, and revenge, prevented him from being a good politician; a quality, without which the world had never before seen any one a conqueror. Before a battle, and after a victory, he was modest and humble; and after a defeat firm and undaunted. Severe to himself as well as to others, he too little regarded either his own life and labours, or those of his subjects: an extraordinary rather than a great man, and more worthy to be admired than imitated. From the history of his life however, succeeding kings may learn, that a quiet and happy government is infinitely preferable to so much glory.

Charles XII. was of a tall stature and portly figure; he had a fine forehead, large blue eyes full of sweetness, and a handsome nose. But the lower part of his face was disagreeable, and too often disfigured by a frequent laugh, which scarce opened his lips; and as to hair and beard, he had hardly any at all. A profound silence reigned at his table. Notwithstanding the inflexible obstinacy of his temper, he always retained that bashfulness which goes by the name of false modesty. He was but little qualified to make a figure in conversation, because, having addicted himself entirely to war and action, he was utterly unacquainted with the pleasures of society. Till the time of his residence among the Turks, which furnished him with a good deal of leisure, he had read nothing but Cæsar's Commentaries and the history of Alexander. It is true he had wrote some remarks on the art of war, and particularly on his own campaigns from 1700 to 1709. This he owned to the chevalier de Folard, but said that the

the manuscript had been lost in the unfortunate battle of Pultowa. Some people would make us believe that Charles was a good mathematician. That he was possessed of great depth and penetration of thought, cannot be denied; but the arguments they produce to prove his knowledge in mathematics are by no means conclusive. He wanted to alter the method of counting by tens, and to substitute in its place the number sixty-four, because that number contains both a square and a cube, and being divided by two is reducible to an unit. This, if it proves any thing, only shews that he always delighted in what was difficult and extraordinary.

With regard to his religion, though the sentiments of a prince ought to have no influence on other men, and though the opinion of a monarch so illiterate as Charles, is of little consequence in these matters, yet in this, as well as in other particulars, we must gratify the curiosity of mankind, who are anxious to know whatever relates to a prince of his character. I am informed, by the gentleman who hath furnished me with the greatest part of the materials which compose this history, that Charles XII. was a serious Lutheran till the year 1707. Happening then to be at Leipzig, he there met with the famous philosopher Mr. Leibnitz, a man who thought and spoke with equal freedom, and had already instilled his notions into more princes than one. I cannot believe, what is commonly reported, that Charles XII. conceived an indifference for Lutheranism from the conversation of this philosopher, who never had the honour to talk with him above a quarter of an hour; but I have been told by M. Fabricius, who lived with him in great familiarity for

for seven years successively, that having seen, during his abode among the Turks, such an infinite variety of religions, he became more lax in his principles. This fact is likewise confirmed by Motraye in his voyages. The same too is the opinion of the count de Croissy, who hath often told me, that of all his old principles, Charles retained none but that of absolute predestination, a doctrine that favoured his courage, and justified his temerity. The czar was of much the same way of thinking, with regard to fate and religion; but talked of these subjects more frequently, as indeed he did of every thing else with his favourites, in a very familiar manner; for he had this advantage over Charles, that he was a good philosopher and an eloquent speaker.

Here I cannot help taking notice of a most uncharitable suspicion, too readily embraced by the weak and credulous, and too industriously propagated by the malicious and ill-natured, to wit, that the death of princes is always owing to poison or assassination. It was then the current report in Germany, that Mr. Siquier was the man who killed the king of Sweden. That brave officer was long grieved at this injurious aspersions; and, as he was one day talking to me on the subject: "I might have killed the king of Sweden, (said he) but, had I been capable of forming such a barbarous resolution, so great was my veneration for that illustrious hero, that I could not have had the courage to carry it into execution."

I know, indeed, that Siquier himself gave occasion to this heavy charge, which, even to this day, many of the Swedes believe to be well founded. He told me, that being seized with a violent fever at Stockholm, he cried out that he
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had killed the king of Sweden; and that, in the height of his phrenzy, he even opened the window, and publicly begged pardon for the regicide. When he was informed, in the course of his recovery, of what he had said in his illness, he was almost ready to die with grief. This anecdote I did not chuse to publish during his life-time. I saw him a little before he expired, and think I can safely affirm, that, far from killing Charles XII. he would have suffered a thousand deaths to save the life of that hero. Had he actually committed such a horrid crime, it must have been to serve some prince, who, no doubt, would have liberally rewarded him for such a piece of treachery; but he died in France so extremely poor, that he even stood in need of my assistance. If these reasons are not thought sufficient to vindicate his memory, let it be considered, that the ball by which Charles fell could not come from a pistol, and yet that Siquier had no other way to give the fatal blow, than by a pistol concealed under his garments.

The king was no sooner dead, than the siege of Frederickshall was raised, and a total change took place in the government. The Swedes, who considered the glory of their sovereign rather as a burden than an advantage, applied their whole attention towards concluding a peace with their enemies, and suppressing that absolute power which baron de Gortz had so much abused to their ruin. The states, by a free and voluntary choice, elected the sister of Charles XII. for their queen, and obliged her, by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that so she might hold it by the suffrages of the people. She bound herself by the most sacred oaths never

to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power; and at last, sacrificing the love of royalty to conjugal affection, yielded the crown to her husband, who was chosen king by the states, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort.

The baron de Gortz was taken into custody immediately after the death of Charles, and condemned by the senate of Stockholm to lose his head, at the foot of the common gallows; an act of revenge, perhaps, rather than of justice, and a cruel insult to the memory of a king whom Sweden still admires.



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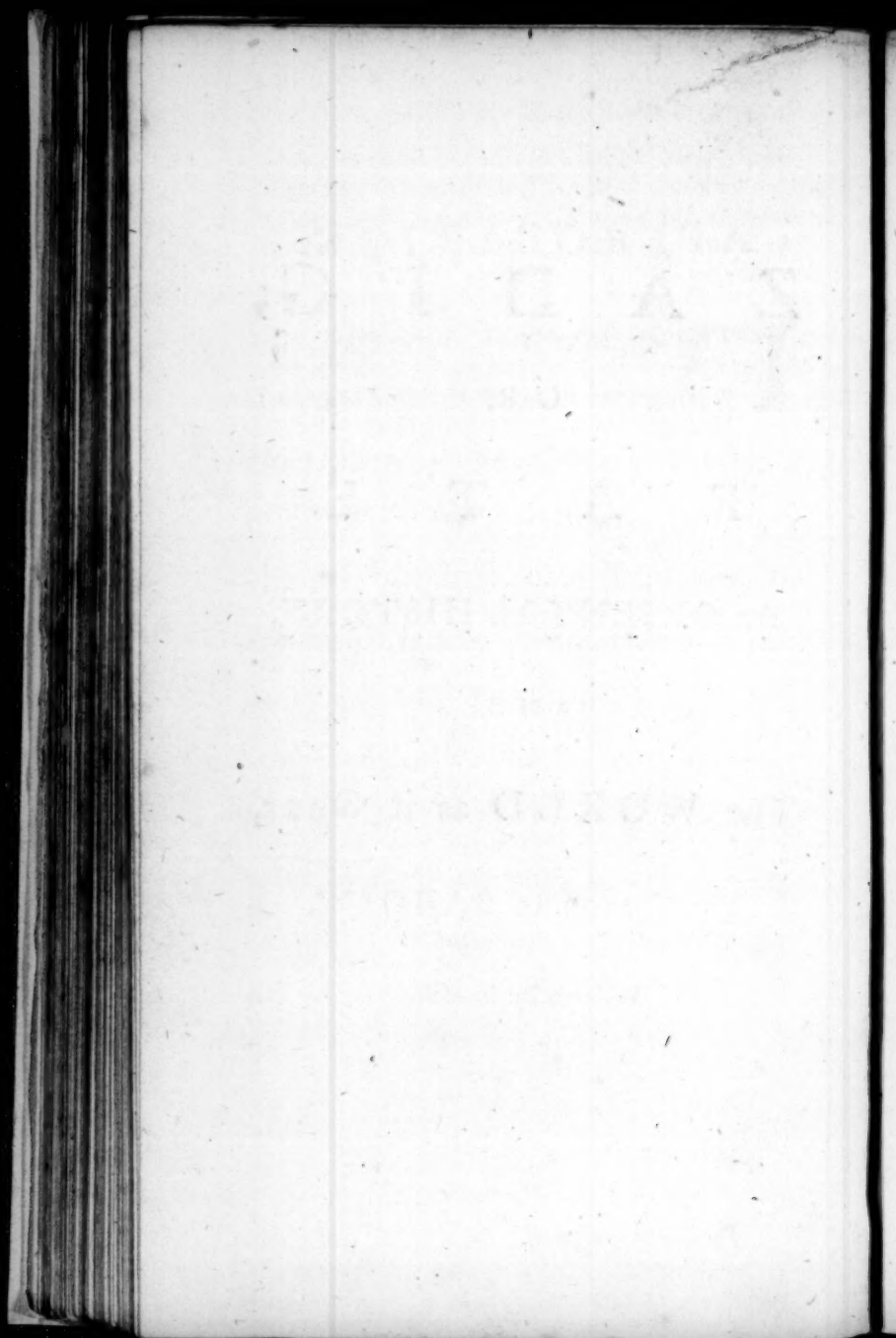
An ORIENTAL HISTORY.

A N D,

The WORLD as it GOES,

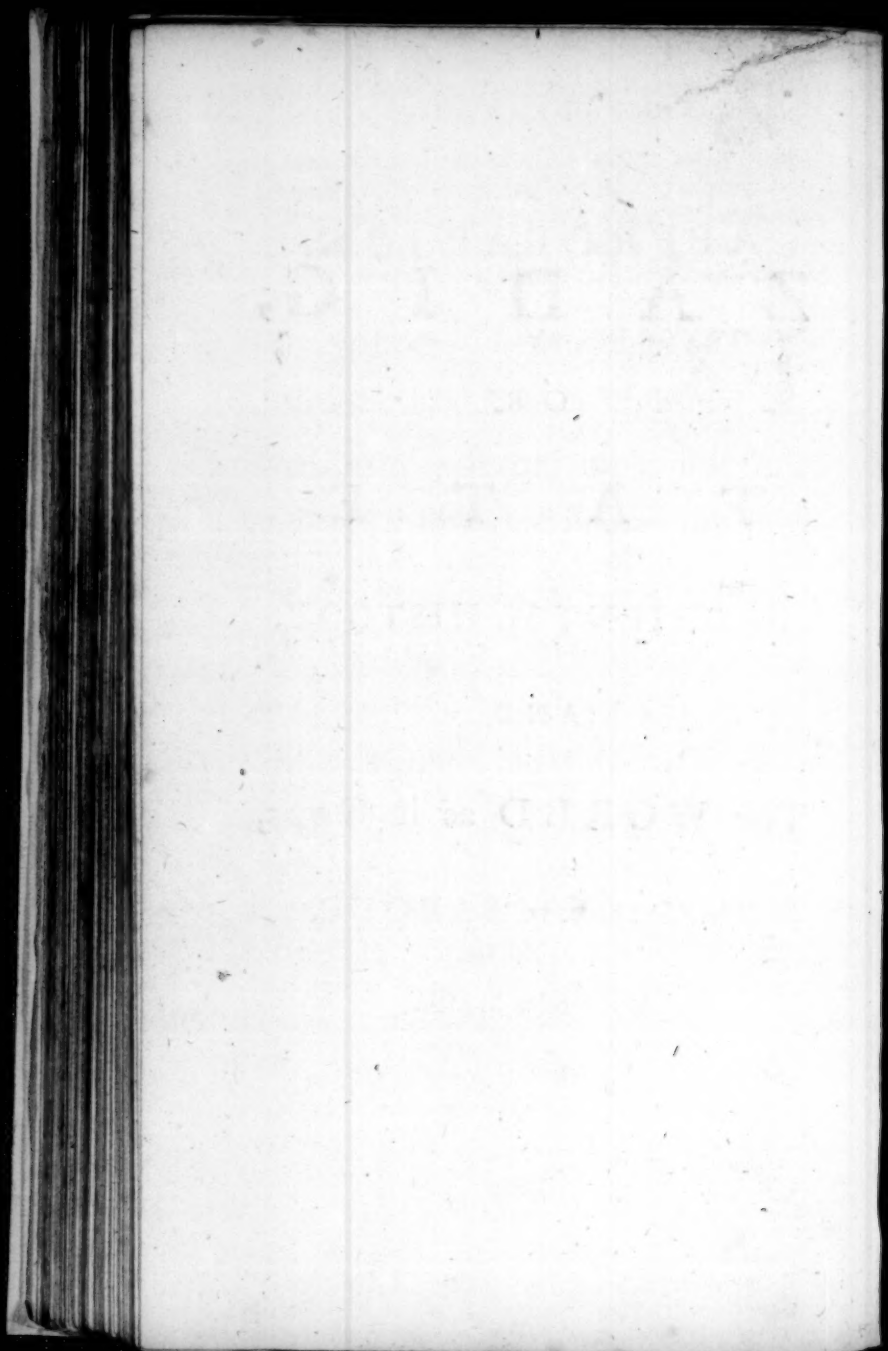
The VISION of BABOUC.

Written by himself.



APPROBATION.

I The underwritten, who have obtained the character of a learned, and even of an ingenious man, have read this manuscript, which, in spite of myself, I have found to be curious, entertaining, moral, philosophical, and capable of affording pleasure even to those who hate romances. I have therefore decried it; and have assured the Cadi-lesquier that it is an abominable performance.



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APPENDIX

The following, who have
joined the number of a learned
society, are now in the
land of the living, waiting to pass
on, and I am glad to be
able to state, that they are
all in good health, and
in the enjoyment of life.
I am glad to hear that
you are well, and hope
that you will continue to
be so, and that you will
continue to be a member
of the society.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE

SULTANA SHERAA.

BY SADI.

The 18th of the Month SCHEWAL, in the
837th Year of the HEGIRA.

DELIGHT of the eyes, torment
of the heart, and light of the mind,
I kiss not the dust of thy feet, because
thou never walkest; or walkest only on
the carpets of Iran, or in paths strewed
with roses. I offer thee the translation of
a book, wrote by an ancient sage; who,
having the happiness to have nothing to
do, amused himself in composing the his-
tory of Zadig; a work which performs
more than it promises. I beseech thee to

G 3

read

read and examine it; for, though thou art in the spring of life, and every pleasure courts thee to its embrace; though thou art beautiful, and thy beauty be embellished by thy admirable talents; tho' thou art praised from evening to morning, and, on all these accounts, hast a right to be devoid of common sense; yet thou hast a sound judgment, and a fine taste; and I have heard thee reason with more accuracy than the old dervises, with their long beards and pointed bonnets. Thou art discreet, without being distrustful; gentle without weakness; and beneficent with discernment. Thou lovest thy friends, and makest thyself no enemies. Thy wit never borrows its charms from the shafts of detraction; thou neither sayest nor doest any ill, notwithstanding that both are so much in thy power. In a word, thy soul hath always appeared to me to be as pure and un sullied as thy beauty. Besides, thou hast some little knowledge in philosophy, which makes me
be-

believe that thou wilt take more pleasure than others of thy sex in perusing the work of this venerable sage.

It was originally written in the ancient Chaldee, a language which neither thou nor I understand. It was afterwards translated into the Arabic, to amuse the famous sultan Oulougbeg, much about the time that the Arabians and Persians began to write the Thousand and One Nights, the Thousand and One Days, &c. Ouloug was fond of reading Zadig; but the sultanas were fonder of the Thousand and One. “How can you prefer (would the wise Ouloug say to them) those stories which have neither sense nor meaning?” “It is for that very reason (replied the sultanas) that we like them.”

I flatter myself that thou wilt not resemble these thy predecessors; but that thou wilt be a true Ouloug. I even hope, that when thou art tired with those general conversations, which differ from the

Thousand and One in nothing but in being less agreeable, I shall have the honour to entertain thee for a moment with a rational discourse. Hadst thou been Thalestris, in the time of Scander the son of Philip; hadst thou been the queen of Sheba in the time of Solomon, these are the very kings that would have paid thee a visit.

I pray the heavenly powers, that thy pleasures may be unmixed, thy beauty never fading, and thy happiness without end.

SADI.

Z A D I G*.

A N

ORIENTAL HISTORY.

The BLIND of One EYE.

THERE lived at Babylon, in the reign of king Moabdar, a young man, named Zadig, of a good natural disposition, strengthened and improved by education. Tho' rich and young, he had learned to moderate his passions: he had nothing stiff or affected in his behaviour; he did not pretend to examine every action by the strict rules of reason; but was always ready to make proper allowances for the weakness of mankind. It was matter of surprise, that, notwithstanding his sprightly wit,

* The reader will at once perceive that this piece is a diverting picture of human life, in which the author has ingeniously contrived to ridicule and stigmatize the follies and vices that abound in every station.

he never exposed by his raillery those vague, incoherent, and noisy discourses, those rash censures, ignorant decisions, coarse jests, and all that empty jingle of words, which, at Babylon, went by the name of conversation. He had learned, in the first book of Zoroaster, that self-love is a foot-ball swelled with wind, from which, when pierced, the most terrible tempests issue forth. Above all, Zadig never boasted of his conquests among the women, nor affected to entertain a contemptible opinion of the fair sex. He was generous; and was never afraid of obliging the ungrateful, remembering the grand precept of Zoroaster; "When thou eatest, give to the dogs, should they even bite thee." He was as wise as it is possible for man to be; for he sought to live with the wise. Instructed in the sciences of the ancient Chaldeans, he understood the principles of natural philosophy, such as they were then supposed to be; and knew as much of metaphysics as hath ever been known in any age, that is, little or nothing at all. He was firmly persuaded, notwithstanding the new philosophy of the times, that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, and that the sun was in the center of the world. But when the principal magi told him, with a haughty and contemptuous air, that his sentiments were of a dangerous tendency, and that it was to be an enemy to the state, to believe that the sun revolved round its own axis, and that the year had twelve months, he held his tongue with great modesty and meekness*.

* Alluding to the story of Galileo, who was imprisoned in the inquisition at Rome under pope Urban VIII. for having

Possessed as he was of great riches, and consequently of many friends, blessed with a good constitution, a handsome figure, a mind just and moderate, and a heart noble and sincere, he fondly imagined that he might easily be happy. He was going to be married to Semira, who, in point of beauty, birth, and fortune, was the first match in Babylon. He had a real and virtuous affection for this lady, and she loved him with the most passionate fondness. The happy moment was almost arrived, that was to unite them for ever in the bands of wedlock, when happening to take a walk together towards one of the gates of Babylon, under the palm-trees that adorn the banks of the Euphrates, they saw some men approaching, armed with sabres and arrows. These were the attendants of young Orcan, the minister's nephew, whom his uncle's creatures had flattered into an opinion that he might do every thing with impunity. He had none of the graces nor virtues of Zadig; but thinking himself a much more accomplished man, he was enraged to find that the other was preferred before him. This jealousy, which was merely the effect of his vanity, made him imagine that he was desperately in love with Semira; and accordingly he resolved to carry her off. The ravishers seized her; in the violence of the outrage they wounded her; and made the blood flow from a person, the sight of which would have softened the tygers of mount Imaus. She pierced the heavens with her complaints. She cried out,

having taught the motion of the earth, and obliged to retract that doctrine,

“ My dear husband ! they tear me from the man I adore.” Regardless of her own danger, she was only concerned for the fate of her dear Zadig, who, in the mean time, defended himself with all the strength that courage and love could inspire. Assisted only by two slaves, he put the ravishers to flight, and carried home Semira, insensible and bloody as she was. On opening her eyes, and beholding her deliverer, “ O Zadig, (said she) I loved thee formerly as my intended husband ; I now love thee as the preserver of my honour and my life.” Never was heart more deeply affected than that of Semira. Never did a more charming mouth express more moving sentiments, in those glowing words inspired by a sense of the greatest of all favours, and by the most tender transports of a lawful passion. Her wound was slight, and was soon cured. Zadig was more dangerously wounded ; an arrow had pierced him near his eye, and penetrated to a considerable depth. Semira wearied heaven with her prayers for the recovery of her lover. Her eyes were constantly bathed in tears ; she anxiously waited the happy moment when those of Zadig should be able to meet hers ; but an abscess growing on the wounded eye, gave every thing to fear. A messenger was immediately dispatched to Memphis, for the great physician Hermes, who came with a numerous retinue. He visited the patient, and declared that he would lose his eye. He even foretold the day and hour when this fatal event would happen. “ Had it been the right eye, (said he) I could easily have cured it ; but the wounds of the left eye are incurable.” All Babylon lamented the fate of Zadig,

dig, and admired the profound knowledge of Hermes. In two days the abscess broke of its own accord; and Zadig was perfectly cured. Hermes wrote a book to prove that it ought not to have been cured. Zadig did not read it: but, as soon as he was able to go abroad, he went to pay a visit to her in whom all his hopes of happiness were centered, and for whose sake alone he wished to have eyes. Semira had been in the country for three days past. He learned on the road, that that fine lady, having openly declared that she had an unconquerable aversion to one-eyed men, had, the night before, given her hand to Orcan. At this news he fell speechless to the ground. His sorrows brought him almost to the brink of the grave. He was long indisposed; but reason, at last, got the better of his affliction; and the severity of his fate served even to console him.

“ Since (said he) I have suffered so much from the cruel caprice of a woman educated at court, I must now think of marrying the daughter of a citizen.” He pitched upon Azora, a lady of the greatest prudence, and of the best family in town. He married her, and lived with her for three months in all the delights of the most tender union. He only observed that she had a little levity; and was too apt to find that those young men who had the most handsome persons were likewise possessed of most wit and virtue.

The N O S E.

ONE morning Azora returned from a walk in a terrible passion, and uttering the most violent exclamations. "What aileth thee, (said he) my dear spouse? what is it that can thus have discomposed thee?" "Alas, (said she) thou wouldest be as much enraged as I am, hadst thou seen what I have just beheld. I have been to comfort the young widow Cosrou, who, within these two days, hath raised a tomb to her young husband, near the rivulet that washes the skirts of this meadow. She vowed to heaven, in the bitterness of her grief, to remain at this tomb, while the water of the rivulet should continue to run near it." "Well, (said Zadig) she is an excellent woman, and loved her husband with the most sincere affection." "Ah! (replied Azora) didst thou but know in what she was employed when I went to wait upon her!" "In what, pray, beautiful Azora? was she turning the course of the rivulet?" Azora broke out into such long invectives, and loaded the young widow with such bitter reproaches, that Zadig was far from being pleased with this ostentation of virtue.

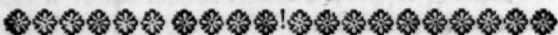
Zadig had a friend, named Cador, one of those young men in whom his wife discovered more probity and merit than in others. He made him his confidant, and secured his fidelity as much as possible, by a considerable present. Azora having passed two days with a friend in the country, returned home on the third. The servants told her, with tears in their eyes, that her husband died suddenly the night before;

that

that they were afraid to send her an account of this mournful event; and that they had just been depositing his corps in the tomb of his ancestors, at the end of the garden. She wept; she tore her hair; and swore she would follow him to the grave. In the evening, Cador begged leave to wait upon her, and joined his tears with hers. Next day they wept less, and dined together. Cador told her, that his friend had left him the greatest part of his estate; and that he should think himself extremely happy in sharing his fortune with her. The lady wept, fell into a passion, and at last became more mild and gentle. They sat longer at supper than at dinner. They now talked with greater confidence. Azora praised the deceased; but owned that he had many failings from which Cador was free.

During supper, Cador complained of a violent pain in his side. The lady, greatly concerned, and eager to serve him, caused all kinds of essences to be brought, with which she anointed him, to try if some of them might not possibly ease him of his pain. She lamented that the great Hermes was not still in Babylon. She even condescended to touch the side in which Cador felt such exquisite pain. "Art thou subject to this cruel disorder?" said she to him with a compassionate air. "It sometimes brings me (replied Cador) to the brink of the grave; and there is but one remedy that can give me relief; and that is, to apply to my side the nose of a man who is lately dead." A strange remedy, indeed!" said Azora. "Not more strange (replied he) than the sachets of Arnou against

against the apoplexy*.” This reason, added to the great merit of the young man, at last determined the lady. “After all, (says she) when my husband shall cross the bridge Tchinar, in his journey to the other world, the angel Asrael will not refuse him a passage because his nose is a little shorter in the second life than it was in the first.” She then took a razor; went to her husband’s tomb; bedewed it with her tears; and drew near to cut off the nose of Zadig, whom she found extended at full length in the tomb. Zadig arose, holding his nose with one hand, and putting back the razor with the other. “Madam, (said he) don’t exclaim so violently against young Cosrou: the project of cutting off my nose is equal to that of turning the course of a rivulet†.”



The DOG and the HORSE.

ZADIG found by experience, that the first month of marriage, as it is written in the book of Zend, is the moon of honey; and that the second is the moon of wormwood. He was, some time after, obliged to repudiate Azora, who became too difficult to be pleased; and he then sought for happiness in the study of na-

* There was at that time a Babylonian named Arnou, who, according to his advertisements in the Gazettes, cured and prevented all kinds of apoplexies, by a little bag hung about the neck.

† One sees the author had in his eye the well known fable of the Ephesian matron.

ture. "No man (said he) can be happier than a philosopher, who reads in this great book, which God hath placed before our eyes. The truths he discovers are his own. He nourishes and exalts his soul; he lives in peace; he fears nothing from men; and his tender spouse will not come to cut off his nose."

Possessed of these ideas, he retired to a country-house on the banks of the Euphrates. There he did not employ himself in calculating how many inches of water flow in a second of time under the arches of a bridge, or whether there fell a cube-line of rain in the month of the Mouse, more than in the month of the Sheep. He never dreamed of making silk of cobwebs, or porcelain of broken bottles; but he chiefly studied the properties of plants and animals; and soon acquired a sagacity that made him discover a thousand differences where other men see nothing but uniformity.

One day, as he was walking near a little wood, he saw one of the queen's eunuchs running towards him, followed by several officers, who appeared to be in great perplexity, and who ran to and fro like men distracted, eagerly searching for something they had lost of great value. "Young man, (said the first eunuch) hast thou seen the queen's dog?" "It is a bitch, (replied Zadig with great modesty) and not a dog." "Thou art in the right," returned the first eunuch. "It is a very small she spaniel, (added Zadig;) she has lately whelped; she limps on the left fore-foot, and has very long ears." "Thou hast seen her," said the first eunuch, quite out of breath. "No, (replied Zadig) I have

have not seen her; nor did I so much as know that the queen had a bitch."

Exactly at the same time, by one of the common freaks of fortune, the finest horse in the king's stable had escaped from the jockey in the plains of Babylon. The principal huntsman, and all the other officers, ran after him with as much eagerness and anxiety as the first eunuch had done after the bitch. The principal huntsman addressed himself to Zadig, and asked him if he had not seen the king's horse passing by. "He is the fleetest horse in the king's stable," (replied Zadig;) he is five feet high, with very small hoofs, and a tail three feet and an half in length; the studs on his bit are gold of twenty-three carats, and his shoes are silver, of eleven penny-weight." "What way did he take? where is he?" demanded the chief huntsman. "I have not seen him *," (replied Zadig) and never heard talk of him before."

The principal huntsman, and the first eunuch never doubted but that Zadig had stolen the king's horse, and the queen's bitch. They therefore had him conducted before the assembly of the grand deſterham, who condemned him to the knout, and to spend the rest of his days in Siberia†. Hardly was the sentence passed, when the horse and the bitch were both found. The

* This, however, was a mere equivocation; for, though he had not actually seen the horse, it will afterwards appear that he must have known what road he followed.

† Here the author seems to have forgot himself; otherwise he would never have dreamed of inflicting a Russian punishment on a Babylonian criminal; far less of sending him in exile from the banks of the Euphrates into the deserts of Siberia.

judges were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of reversing their sentence; but they condemned Zadig to pay four hundred ounces of gold, for having said that he had not seen what he had seen. This fine he was obliged to pay; after which he was permitted to plead his cause before the council of the grand desterham, when he spoke to the following effect:

“Ye stars of justice, abyss of sciences, mirrors of truth, who have the weight of lead, the hardness of iron, the splendour of the diamond, and many of the properties of gold; since I am permitted to speak before this august assembly, I swear to you by Oromades, that I have never seen the queen’s respectable bitch, nor the sacred horse of the king of kings. The truth of the matter was as follows: I was walking towards the little wood, where I afterwards met the venerable eunuch, and the most illustrious chief huntsman. I observed on the sand the traces of an animal, and could easily perceive them to be those of a little dog. The light and long furrows impressed on little eminences of sand between the marks of the paws, plainly discovered that it was a bitch, whose dugs were hanging down, and that therefore she must have whelped a few days before. Other traces of a different kind, that always appeared to have gently brushed the surface of the sand near the marks of the fore-feet, shewed me that she had very long ears; and as I remarked, that there was always a slighter impression made on the sand by one foot than by the other three, I found that the bitch of our august queen was a little lame, if I may be allowed the expression.

“With

“With regard to the horse of the king of kings, you will be pleased to know, that walking in the lanes of this wood, I observed the marks of a horse’s shoes, all at equal distances. This must be a horse, said I to myself, that gallops excellently. The dust on the trees in a narrow road that was but seven feet wide was a little brushed off, at the distance of three feet and a half from the middle of the road. This horse, said I, has a tail three feet and a half long, which being whisked to the right and left, has swept away the dust. I observed under the trees that formed an arbour five feet in height, that the leaves of the branches were newly fallen; from whence I inferred that the horse had touched them, and that he must therefore be five feet high. As to his bit, it must be gold of twenty-three carats, for he had rubbed its bosses against a stone which I knew to be a touch-stone, and which I have tried. In a word, from the marks made by his shoes on flints of another kind, I concluded that he was shod with silver eleven deniers fine.” All the judges admired Zadig for his acute and profound discernment. The news of this speech was carried even to the king and queen. Nothing was talked of but Zadig in the antichambers, the chambers, and the cabinet; and though many of the Magi were of opinion that he ought to be burnt as a sorcerer, the king ordered his officers to restore him the four hundred ounces of gold which he had been obliged to pay. The register, the attornies and bailiffs, went to his house with great formality, to carry him back his four hundred ounces. They only retained three hundred and ninety-eight of them

to defray the expences of justice; and their servants demanded their fees.

Zadig saw how extremely dangerous it sometimes is to appear too knowing, and therefore resolved that on the next occasion of the like nature, he would not tell what he had seen.

Such an opportunity soon offered. A prisoner of state made his escape, and passed under the windows of Zadig's house. Zadig was examined and made no answer. But it was proved that he had looked at the prisoner from this window. For this crime he was condemned to pay five hundred ounces of gold; and, according to the polite custom of Babylon, he thanked his judges for their indulgence. "Great God! said he to himself, what a misfortune it is to walk in a wood through which the queen's bitch or the king's horse have passed! how dangerous to look out at a window! and how difficult to be happy in this life!"

The ENVIOUS MAN.

ZADIG resolved to comfort himself by philosophy and friendship, for the evils he had suffered from fortune. He had in the suburbs of Babylon a house elegantly furnished, in which he assembled all the arts and all the pleasures worthy the pursuit of a gentleman. In the morning his library was open to the learned. In the evening, his table was surrounded by good company. But he soon found what very dangerous guests these men of letters are. A warm dispute arose on one of Zoroaster's

after's laws, which forbids the eating of a griffin. "Why, said some of them, prohibit the eating of a griffin, if there is no such animal in nature?" "There must necessarily be such an animal, said the others, since Zoroaster forbids us to eat it." Zadig would fain have reconciled them by saying: "If there are griffins let us not eat them; if there are no griffins we cannot possibly eat them; and thus either way we shall obey Zoroaster."

A learned man, who had composed thirteen volumes on the properties of the griffin, and was besides the chief theurgite, hastened away to accuse Zadig before one of the principal magi, named Yebor, the greatest blockhead, and therefore the greatest fanatick among the Chaldeans. This man would have empaled Zadig to do honour to the sun, and would then have recited the breviary of Zoroaster with greater satisfaction. The friend Cador, (a friend is better than a hundred priests,) went to Yebor and said to him, "Long live the sun and the griffins; beware of punishing Zadig; he is a saint; he has griffins in his inner court, and does not eat them; and his accuser is an heretic, who dares to maintain that rabbits have cloven feet, and are not unclean." "Well, said Yebor, shaking his bald pate, we must empale Zadig for having thought contemptuously of griffins, and the other for having spoke disrespectfully of rabbits." Cador hushed up the affair by means of a maid of honour who had bore him a child, and who had great interest in the college of the magi. No body was empaled. This lenity occasioned great murmuring among some of the doctors, who from

thence predicted the fall of Babylon*: "Upon what does happiness depend, said Zadig; I am persecuted by every thing in the world, even on account of beings that have no existence." He cursed those men of learning, and resolved for the future to live with none but good company.

He assembled at his house the most worthy men, and the most beautiful ladies of Babylon. He gave them delicious suppers, often preceded by consorts of musick, and always animated by polite conversation, from which he knew how to banish that affectation of wit, which is the surest method of preventing it entirely, and of spoiling the pleasure of the most agreeable society. Neither the choice of his friends nor that of the dishes, was made by vanity; for in every thing he preferred the substance to the shadow; and by these means he procured that real respect to which he did not aspire.

Opposite to his house lived one Arimazes, a man whose deformed countenance was but a faint picture of his still more deformed mind. His heart was a mixture of malice, pride, and envy. Having never been able to succeed in any of his undertakings, he revenged himself on all around him, by loading them with the blackest calumnies. Rich as he was, he found it difficult to procure a set of flatterers. The rattling of the chariots that entered Zadig's court in the evening filled him with uneasiness; the sound of his praises enraged him still more.

* This is a severe satire upon those cruel bigots who persecute all such as presume to differ from established opinions, though purely speculative.

He sometimes went to Zadig's house, and sat down at table without being desired; where he spoiled all the pleasure of the company, as the harpies are said to infect the viands they touch. It happened that one day he took it in his head to give an entertainment to a lady, who, instead of accepting it, went to sup with Zadig. At another time, as he was talking with Zadig in the palace, they accosted a minister, who invited Zadig to supper, without inviting Arimazes. The most implacable hatred has seldom a more solid foundation. This man, who in Babylon was called the *Envious*, resolved to ruin Zadig, because he was called the *Happy*. "The opportunity of doing mischief occurs a hundred times in a day, and that of doing good but once a year," as sayeth the wise Zoroaster.

The envious man went to see Zadig, who was walking in his garden with two friends and a lady, to whom he said many gallant things, without any other intention than that of saying them. The conversation turned upon a war which the king had just brought to a happy conclusion against the prince of Hircania, his vassal. Zadig, who had signalized his courage in this short war, bestowed great praises on the king, but greater still on the lady. He took out his pocket-book, and wrote four lines extempore, which he gave to this amiable person to read. His friends begged they might see them; but modesty, or rather a well regulated self-love, would not allow him to grant their request. He knew that extemporary verses are never approved by any but by the person in whose honour they are written. He therefore tore in two the leaf on which he had wrote them

them, and threw both the pieces into a thicket of rose bushes, where the rest of the company sought for them in vain. A slight shower falling soon after, obliged them to return to the house. The envious man, who staid in the garden, continued to search, till at last he found a piece of the leaf. It had been torn in such a manner, that each half of a line formed a complete sense, and even a verse of a shorter measure; but what was still more surprising, these short verses were found to contain the most injurious reflections on the king: they ran thus:

*Par les plus grands forfaits
Sur le trône affermi,
Dans la publique paix
C'est le seul ennemi.*

By crimes of deepest dye
Establish'd on the throne,
Of peace the enemy
Is he, and he alone.

The envious man was now happy for the first time of his life. He had it in his power to ruin a person of virtue and merit. Filled with this fiend-like joy, he found means to convey to the king the satire written by the hand of Zadig, who, together with the lady and his two friends, was thrown into prison. His trial was soon finished, without his being permitted to speak for himself. As he was going to receive his sentence, the envious man threw himself in his way, and told him with a loud voice, that his verses were good for nothing. Zadig did not value himself on being a good poet; but it filled him with inexpressible concern to find that he was condemned for high

H

treason,

treason, and that the fair lady and his two friends were confined in prison for a crime of which they were not guilty. He was not allowed to speak, because his writing spoke for him. Such was the law of Babylon. Accordingly he was conducted to the place of execution, through an immense crowd of spectators, who durst not venture to express their pity for him; but who carefully examined his countenance, to see if he died with a good grace. His relations alone were inconsolable; for they could not succeed to his estate. Three-fourths of his wealth were confiscated into the king's treasury, and the other fourth was given to the envious man.

Just as he was preparing for death, the king's parrot flew from its cage, and alighted on a rose bush in Zadig's garden. A peach had been driven thither by the wind from a neighbouring tree, and had fallen on a piece of the written leaf of the pocket-book, to which it stuck. The bird carried off the peach and the paper, and laid them on the king's knee. The king took up the paper with great eagerness, and read the words, which formed no sense, and seemed to be the endings of verses. He loved poetry; and there is always some mercy to be expected from a prince of that disposition. The adventure of the parrot set him a thinking. The queen, who remembered what had been written on the piece of Zadig's pocket-book, caused it to be brought. They compared the two pieces together, and found them to tally exactly: they then read the verses as Zadig had wrote them.

The

*Par les plus grands forfaits j'ai vû troubler la terre.
Sur le trône affermi le roi sait tout domter.
Dans la publique paix l'amour seul fait la guerre:
C'est le seul ennemi qui soit à redouter.*

By crimes of deepest dye—the wretched world's
in thral,

Establish'd on the throne—our monarch's pow'rs
rever'd ;

Of peace the enemy—Love, potent lord o'er all
Is he, and he alone,—we chiefly ought to fear.

The king gave immediate orders that Zadig should be brought before him, and that his two friends and the lady should be set at liberty. Zadig fell prostrate on the ground before the king and queen ; humbly begged their pardon for having made such bad verses, and spoke with so much propriety, wit, and good sense, that their majesties desired they might see him again. He did himself that honour, and insinuated himself still farther into their good graces. They gave him all the wealth of the envious man ; but Zadig restored him back the whole of it ; and this instance of generosity gave no other pleasure to the envious man than that of having preserved his estate. The king's esteem for Zadig encreased every day. He admitted him into all his parties of pleasure, and consulted him in all affairs of state. From that time the queen began to regard him with an eye of tenderness, that might one day prove dangerous to herself, to the king her august consort, to Zadig, and to the kingdom in general. Zadig now began to think that happiness was not so unattainable as he had formerly imagined.

The GENEROUS.

THE time was now arrived for celebrating a grand festival, which returned every five years. It was a custom in Babylon solemnly to declare, at the end of every five years, which of the citizens had performed the most generous action. The grandees and the magi were the judges. The first satrape, who was charged with the government of the city, published the most noble actions that had passed under his administration. The competition was decided by votes; and the king pronounced the sentence. People came to this solemnity from the extremities of the earth. The conqueror received from the monarch's hands a golden cup adorned with precious stones, his majesty at the same time making him this compliment: "Receive this reward of thy generosity, and may the gods grant me many subjects like to thee."

This memorable day being come, the king appeared on his throne, surrounded by the grandees, the magi, and the deputies of all the nations that came to these games, where glory was acquired not by the swiftness of horses, nor by strength of body, but by virtue. The first satrape recited with an audible voice, such actions as might intitle the authors of them to this invaluable prize. He did not mention the greatness of soul with which Zadig had restored the envious man his fortune, because it was not judged to be an action worthy of disputing the prize.

He first presented a judge, who having made a citizen lose a considerable cause by a mistake,
for

for which, after all, he was not accountable, had given him the whole of his own estate, which was just equal to what the other had lost.

He next produced a young man, who being desperately in love with a lady whom he was going to marry, had yielded her up to his friend, whose passion for her had almost brought him to the brink of the grave, and at the same time had given him the lady's fortune.

He afterwards produced a soldier, who, in the wars of Hircania, had given a still more noble instance of generosity. A party of the enemy having seized his mistress, he fought in her defence with great intrepidity. At that very instant he was informed that another party, at the distance of a few paces, were carrying off his mother; he therefore left his mistress with tears in his eyes, and flew to the assistance of his mother. At last, he returned to the dear object of his love, and found her expiring. He was just going to plunge his sword in his own bosom; but his mother remonstrating against such a desperate deed, and telling him that he was the only support of her life, he had the courage to endure to live.

The judges were inclined to give the prize to the soldier. But the king took up the discourse, and said, "The action of the soldier, and those of the other two, are doubtless very great, but they have nothing in them surprising. Yesterday Zadig performed an action that filled me with wonder. I had a few days before disgraced Coreb, my minister and favourite. I complained of him in the most violent and bitter terms; all my courtiers

assured me that I was too gentle, and seemed to vie with each other in speaking ill of Coreb. I asked Zadig what he thought of him, and he had the courage to commend him. I have read in our histories of many people who have atoned for an error by the surrender of their fortune; who have resigned a mistress; or preferred a mother to the object of their affection; but never before did I hear of a courtier who spoke favourably of a disgraced minister, that laboured under the displeasure of his sovereign. I give to each of those whose generous actions have been now recited, twenty thousand pieces of gold; but the cup I give to Zadig."

"May it please your majesty, said Zadig, thyself alone deservest the cup: thou hast performed an action of all others the most uncommon and meritorious, since, notwithstanding thy being a powerful king, thou wast not offended at thy slave, when he presumed to oppose thy passion." The king and Zadig were equally the object of admiration. The judge who had given his estate to his client; the lover who had resigned his mistress to his friend; and the soldier who had preferred the safety of his mother to that of his mistress, received the king's presents, and saw their names inrolled in the catalogue of generous men. Zadig had the cup, and the king acquired the reputation of a good prince, which he did not long enjoy. The day was celebrated by feasts that lasted longer than the law enjoined; and the memory of it is still preserved in Asia. Zadig said, "Now I am happy at last;" but he found himself fatally deceived.

The

The MINISTER.

THE king had lost his first minister, and chose Zadig to supply his place. All the ladies in Babylon applauded the choice; for since the foundation of the empire there had never been such a young minister. But all the courtiers were filled with jealousy and vexation. The envious man, in particular, was troubled with a spitting of blood, and a prodigious inflammation in his nose. Zadig having thanked the king and queen for their goodness, went likewise to thank the parrot. "Beautiful bird, said he, 'tis thou that hast saved my life, and made me first minister. The queen's bitch and the king's horse did me a great deal of mischief; but thou hast done me much good. Upon such slender threads as these do the fates of mortals hang! but, added he, this happiness perhaps will vanish very soon." "Soon, replied the parrot." Zadig was somewhat startled at this word. But as he was a good natural philosopher, and did not believe parrots to be prophets, he quickly recovered his spirits, and resolved to execute his duty to the best of his power.

He made every one feel the sacred authority of the laws, but no one felt the weight of his dignity. He never checked the deliberations of the divan; and every vizier might give his opinion without the fear of incurring the minister's displeasure. When he gave judgment, it was not he that gave it, it was the law; the rigor of which, however, whenever it was too severe, he always took care to soften; and when

laws were wanting, the equity of his decisions was such as might easily have made them pass for those of Zoroaster.

It is to him that the nations are indebted for this grand principle, to wit, that it is better to run the risk of sparing the guilty than to condemn the innocent. He imagined that laws were made as well to secure the people from the suffering of injuries, as to restrain them from the commission of crimes. His chief talent consisted in discovering the truth, which all men seek to obscure. This great talent he put in practice from the very beginning of his administration. A famous merchant of Babylon, who died in the Indies, divided his estate equally between his two sons, after having disposed of their sister in marriage, and left a present of thirty thousand pieces of gold to that son who should be found to have loved him best. The eldest raised a tomb to his memory; the youngest increased his sister's portion, by giving her a part of his inheritance. Every one said that the eldest son loved his father best, and the youngest his sister; and that the thirty thousand pieces belonged to the eldest.

Zadig sent for both of them, the one after the other. To the eldest he said, "Thy father is not dead; he is recovered of his last illness, and is returning to Babylon." "God be praised, replied the young man, but his tomb cost me a considerable sum." Zadig afterwards said the same thing to the youngest. "God be praised, said he, I will go and restore to my father all that I have; but I could wish that he would leave my sister what I have given her." "Thou shalt restore nothing, replied Zadig,
and

and thou shalt have the thirty thousand pieces; for thou art the son who loves his father best."

A young lady possessed of a handsome fortune had given a promise of marriage to two magi; and after having, for some months, received the instructions of both, she proved with child. They were both desirous of marrying her.

"I will take for my husband, said she, the man who has put me in a condition to give a subject to the state." "I am the man that has done the work, said the one." "I am the man that has done it, said the other." "Well, replied the lady, I will acknowledge for the infant's father him that can give it the best education."

The lady was delivered of a son. The two magi contended who should bring him up, and the cause was carried before Zadig. Zadig summoned the two magi to attend him. "What will you teach your pupil?" said he to the first.

"I will teach him, said the doctor, the eight parts of speech, logick, astrology, pneumaticks, what is meant by substance and accident, abstract and concrete, the doctrine of the monades, and the pre-established harmony." "For my part, said the second, I will endeavour to give him a sense of justice, and to make him worthy the friendship of good men." Zadig then cried, "Whether thou art his father or not, thou shalt have his mother."

The DISPUTES and the AUDIENCES.

IN this manner he daily discovered the subtilty of his genius and the goodness of his heart. The people at once admired and loved him. He passed for the happiest man in the world. The whole empire resounded with his name. All the ladies ogled him. All the men praised him for his justice. The learned regarded him as an oracle; and even the priests confessed that he knew more than the old archmagi Yebor. They were now so far from persecuting him on account of the griffins, that they believed nothing but what he thought credible.

There had reigned in Babylon, for the space of fifteen hundred years, a violent contest that had divided the empire into two sects. The one pretended that they ought to enter the temple of Mitra with the left foot foremost*; the other held this custom in detestation, and always entered with the right foot first. The people waited with great impatience for the day on which the solemn feast of the sacred fire was to be celebrated, to see which sect Zadig would favour. All the world had their eyes fixed on his two feet, and the whole city was in the utmost suspense and perturbation. Zadig jumped into the temple with his feet joined together; and afterwards proved, in an eloquent discourse, that the sovereign of heaven and earth, who accepteth not the persons of men,

* This is probably a glance at the disputes about Janse-
nism, which, though in themselves insignificant, have di-
vided France into two inveterate factions.

makes no distinction between the right and the left foot. The envious man and his wife alledged that his discourse was not figurative enough, and that he did not make the rocks and mountains to dance with sufficient agility. "He is dry, said they, and void of genius: he does not make the sea to fly, and stars to fall, nor the sun to melt like wax: he has not the true oriental stile." Zadig contented himself with having the stile of reason. All the world favoured him, not because he was in the right road, or followed the dictates of reason, or was a man of real merit, but because he was prime vizier.

He terminated with the same happy address the grand difference between the white and the black magi. The former maintained, that it was the height of impiety to pray to God with the face turned towards the east in winter: the latter asserted that God abhorred the prayers of those who turned towards the west in summer. Zadig decreed that every man should be allowed to turn as he pleased.

Thus he found out the happy secret of finishing all affairs, whether of a private or public nature, in the morning. The rest of the day he employed in superintending and promoting the embellishments of Babylon. He exhibited tragedies that drew tears from the eyes of the spectators, and comedies that shook their sides with laughter; a custom which had long been disused, and which his good taste now induced him to revive. He never affected to be more knowing in the polite arts than the artists themselves; he encouraged them by rewards and honours, and was never jealous of their talents.

In the evening the king was highly entertained with his conversation, and the queen still more. "Great minister!" said the king. "Amiable minister," said the queen; and both of them added, "It would have been a great loss to the state, had such a man been hanged."

Never was man in power obliged to give so many audiences to the ladies. Most of them came to consult him about——no business at all, that so they might have some business with him. The wife of the envious man was among the first. She swore to him by Mitra, by Zenda Vesta, and by the sacred fire, that she detested her husband's conduct: she then told him in confidence that he was a jealous brutal wretch; and gave him to understand, that heaven punished him for his crimes, by refusing him the precious effects of the sacred fire, by which alone man can be rendered like the gods. At last she concluded by dropping her garter. Zadig took it up with his usual politeness; but did not tie it about the lady's leg; and this slight fault, if it may be called a fault, was the cause of the most terrible misfortunes. Zadig never thought of it more; but the lady thought of it with great attention.

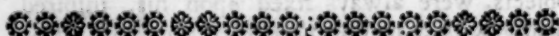
Never a day passed without several visits from the ladies. The secret annals of Babylon pretend that he once yielded to the temptation; but that he was surprised to find that he enjoyed his mistress without pleasure, and embraced her without distraction. The lady to whom he gave, almost without being sensible of it, these marks of his favour, was a maid of honour to queen Astarte. This tender Babylonian said to herself by way of comfort,
"This

"This man must have his head filled with a prodigious heap of business, since even in making love he cannot avoid thinking on public affairs." Zadig happened, at the very instant when most people say nothing at all, and others only pronounce a few sacred words, to cry out, "The queen." The Babylonian thought that he was at last happily come to himself, and that he said, "My queen." But Zadig, who was always too absent, pronounced the name of Astarte. The lady, who in this happy situation interpreted every thing in her own favour, imagined that he meant to say, "Thou art more beautiful than queen Astarte." After receiving some handsome presents, she left the seraglio of Zadig, and went to relate her adventure to the envious woman, who was her intimate friend, and who was greatly piqued at the preference given to the other. "He would not so much as deign, said she, to tie this garter about my leg, and I am therefore resolved never to wear it more." "O ho, said the happy lady to the envious one, your garters are the same with the queen's! do you buy them from the same weaver?" This hint set the envious lady a thinking; she made no reply, but went to consult with her envious husband.

Mean while Zadig perceived that his thoughts were always distracted, as well when he gave audience, as when he sat in judgment. He did not know to what to attribute this absence of mind; and that was his only sorrow.

He had a dream, in which he imagined that he laid himself down upon a heap of dry herbs, among which there were many prickly ones
that

that gave him great uneasiness, and that he afterwards reposed himself on a soft bed of roses, from which there sprung a serpent, that wounded him to the heart with its sharp and venomous tongue. "Alas, said he, I have long lain on these dry and prickly herbs, I am now on the bed of roses; but what shall be the serpent?"



JEALOUSY.

ZADIG's calamities sprung even from his happiness, and especially from his merit. He every day conversed with the king and Astarte his august consort. The charms of his conversation were greatly heightened by that desire of pleasing, which is to the mind what dress is to beauty. His youth and graceful appearance insensibly made an impression on Astarte, which she did not at first perceive. Her passion grew and flourished in the bosom of innocence. Without fear or scruple, she indulged the pleasing satisfaction of seeing and hearing a man, who was so dear to her husband, and to the empire in general. She was continually praising him to the king. She talked of him to her women, who were always sure to improve on her praises. And thus every thing contributed to pierce her heart with a dart, of which she did not seem to be sensible. She made several presents to Zadig, which discovered a greater spirit of gallantry than she imagined. She intended to speak to him only as a queen satisfied with his services; and her expressions were sometimes those of a woman in love.

AC

Astarte was much more beautiful than that Semira who had such a strong aversion to one-eyed men, or that other woman who had resolved to cut off her husband's nose. Her unreserved familiarity; her tender expressions, at which she began to blush; and her eyes, which, though she endeavoured to divert them to other objects, were always fixed upon his, inspired Zadig with a passion that filled him with astonishment. He struggled hard to get the better of it. He called to his aid the precepts of philosophy, which had always stood him in stead; but from thence, though he could derive the light of knowledge, he could procure no remedy to cure the disorders of his love-sick heart. Duty, gratitude, and violated majesty, presented themselves to his mind, as so many avenging gods. He struggled; he conquered; but this victory, which he was obliged to purchase afresh every moment, cost him many sighs and tears. He no longer dared to speak to the queen with that sweet and charming familiarity which had been so agreeable to them both. His countenance was covered with a cloud. His conversation was constrained and incoherent. His eyes were fixed on the ground; and when, in spite of all his endeavours to the contrary, they encountered those of the queen, they found them bathed in tears, and darting arrows of flame. They seemed to say, We adore each other, and yet are afraid to love: we both burn with a fire which we both condemn.

Zadig left the royal presence full of perplexity and despair, and having his heart oppressed with a burden which he was no longer able to bear.

In

In the violence of his perturbation he involuntarily betrayed the secret to his friend Cador, in the same manner as a man, who, having long supported the fits of a cruel disease, discovers his pain by a cry extorted from him by a more severe fit, and by the cold sweat that covers his brow.

“I have already discovered, said Cador, the sentiments which thou wouldest fain conceal from thyself. The symptoms by which the passions shew themselves are certain and infallible. Judge, my dear Zadig, since I have read thy heart, whether the king will not discover something in it that may give him offence. He has no other fault but that of being the most jealous man in the world. Thou canst resist the violence of thy passion with greater fortitude than the queen, because thou art a philosopher, and because thou art Zadig. Astarte is a woman: she suffers her eyes to speak with so much the more imprudence, as she does not as yet think herself guilty. Conscious of her own innocence, she unhappily neglects those external appearances which are so necessary. I shall tremble for her so long as she has nothing wherewithal to reproach herself. Were ye both of one mind, ye might easily deceive the whole world. A growing passion which we endeavour to suppress, discovers itself in spite of all our efforts to the contrary; but love, when gratified, is easily concealed.” Zadig trembled at the proposal of betraying the king, his benefactor; and never was he more faithful to his prince, than when guilty of an involuntary crime against him. Mean while, the queen mentioned the name of Zadig so frequently,
and

and with such a blushing and downcast look ; she was sometimes so lively, and sometimes so perplexed, when she spoke to him in the king's presence ; and was seized with such a deep thoughtfulness at his going away, that the king began to be troubled. He believed all that he saw, and imagined all that he did not see. He particularly remarked, that his wife's shoes were blue, and that Zadig's shoes were blue ; that his wife's ribbons were yellow ; and that Zadig's bonnet was yellow ; and these were terrible symptoms to a prince of so much delicacy. In his jealous mind suspicions were turned into certainty.

All the slaves of kings and queens are so many spies over their hearts. They soon observed that Astarte was tender, and that Mobdar was jealous. The envious man persuaded his wife to send the king her garter, which resembled these of the queen ; and to complete the misfortune, this garter was blue. The monarch now thought of nothing but in what manner he might best execute his vengeance. He one night resolved to poison the queen, and in the morning to put Zadig to death by the bowstring. The orders were given to a merciless eunuch, who commonly executed his acts of vengeance. There happened at that time to be in the king's chamber a little dwarf, who, though dumb, was not deaf. He was allowed, on account of his insignificance, to go wherever he pleased ; and, as a domestic animal, was a witness of what passed in the most profound secrecy. This little mute was strongly attached to the queen and Zadig. With equal horror and surprize he heard the cruel orders given. But how prevent the fatal sentence
that

that in a few hours was to be carried into execution? He could not write, but he could paint; and excelled particularly in drawing a striking resemblance. He employed a part of the night in sketching out with his pencil what he meant to impart to the queen. The piece represented the king in one corner, boiling with rage, and giving orders to the eunuch; a blue bowstring, and a bowl on a table, with blue garters and yellow ribbands; the queen in the middle of the picture, expiring in the arms of her woman, and Zadig strangled at her feet. The horizon represented a rising sun, to express that this shocking execution was to be performed in the morning. As soon as he had finished the picture, he ran to one of Astarte's women, awaked her, and made her understand, that she must immediately carry it to the queen.

At midnight a messenger knocks at Zadig's door; awakes him; and gives him a note from the queen. He doubts whether it is not a dream; and opens the letter with a trembling hand. But how great was his surprize! and who can express the consternation and despair into which he was thrown, upon reading these words: "Fly, this instant, or thou art a dead man. Fly, Zadig, I conjure thee by our mutual love and my yellow ribbands. I have not been guilty; but I find that I must die like a criminal."

Zadig was hardly able to speak. He sent for Cadore, and, without uttering a word, gave him the note. Cadore forced him to obey, and forthwith to take the road to Memphis. "Shouldest thou dare (said he) to go in search of the queen, thou wilt hasten her death. Shouldest

Shouldest thou speak to the king, thou wilt infallibly ruin her. I will take upon me the charge of her destiny; follow thy own. I will spread a report that thou hast taken the road to India. I will soon follow thee, and inform thee of all that shall have passed in Babylon." At that instant, Cador caused two of the swiftest dromedaries to be brought to a private gate of the palace. Upon one of these he mounted Zadig, whom he was obliged to carry to the door, and who was ready to expire with grief. He was accompanied by a single domestic; and Cador, plunged in sorrow and astonishment, soon lost sight of his friend.

This illustrious fugitive arriving on the side of a hill, from whence he could take a view of Babylon, turned his eyes towards the queen's palace, and fainted away at the sight; nor did he recover his senses but to shed a torrent of tears, and to wish for death. At length, after his thoughts had been long engrossed in lamenting the unhappy fate of the loveliest woman and the greatest queen in the world, he for a moment turned his views on himself, and cried, "What then is human life? O virtue, how hast thou served me! Two women have basely deceived me; and now a third, who is innocent, and more beautiful than both the others, is going to be put to death! Whatever good I have done hath been to me a continual source of calamity and affliction; and I have only been raised to the height of grandeur, to be tumbled down the most horrid precipice of misfortune." Filled with these gloomy reflections, his eyes overspread with the veil of grief, his countenance covered with the paleness of death, and
his

his soul plunged in an abyſs of the blackeſt deſpair, he continued his journey towards Egypt.



The WOMAN Beaten.

ZADIG directed his courſe by the ſtars. The conſtellation of Orion, and the ſplendid Dog-ſtar, guided his ſteps towards the pole of Canopæa. He admired thoſe vaſt globes of light, which appear to our eyes but as ſo many little ſparks, while the earth, which in reality is only an imperceptible point in nature, appears to our ſond imaginations as ſomething ſo grand and noble. He then repreſented to himſelf the human ſpecies, as it really is, as a parcel of inſects devouring one another on a little atom of clay. This true image ſeemed to annihilate his miſfortunes, by making him ſenſible of the nothingneſs of his own being, and of that of Babylon. His ſoul launched out into infinity, and detached from the ſenſes, contemplated the immutable order of the univerſe. But when, afterwards, returning to himſelf, and entering into his own heart, he conſidered that Aſtarte had perhaps died for him, the univerſe vaniſhed from his ſight, and he beheld nothing in the whole compaſs of nature but Aſtarte expiring, and Zadig unhappy. While he thus alternately gave up his mind to this flux and reflux of ſublime philoſophy and intolerable grief, he advanced towards the frontiers of Egypt; and his faithful domeſtic was already in the firſt village,

in search of a lodging. Mean while, as Zadig was walking towards the gardens that skirted the village, he saw, at a small distance from the highway, a woman bathed in tears, and calling upon heaven and earth to her assistance; and a man in a furious passion, pursuing her. This madman had already overtaken the woman, who embraced his knees, notwithstanding which he loaded her with blows and reproaches. Zadig judged by the frantic behaviour of the Egyptian, and by the repeated pardons which the lady asked him, that the one was jealous, and the other unfaithful. But when he surveyed the woman more narrowly, and found her to be a lady of exquisite beauty, and even to have a strong resemblance to the unhappy Astarte, he felt himself inspired with compassion for her, and horror towards the Egyptian. "Assist me," (cried she to Zadig with the deepest sighs) "deliver me from the hands of the most barbarous man in the world; save my life." Moved by these pitiful cries, Zadig ran and threw himself between her and the barbarian. As he had some knowledge of the Egyptian language, he addressed him in that tongue: "If (said he) thou hast any humanity, I conjure thee to pay some regard to her beauty and weakness. How canst thou behave in this outrageous manner to one of the master-pieces of nature, who lies at thy feet, and has no defence but her tears?" "Ah, ah!" (replied the madman) "thou art likewise in love with her; I must be revenged on thee too." So saying, he left the lady, whom he had hitherto held with his hand twisted in her hair, and taking his lance, attempted to stab the stranger. Zadig, who was in cold blood, easily

easily eluded the blow aimed by the frantic Egyptian. He seized the lance near the iron with which it was armed. The Egyptian strove to draw it back; Zadig to wrest it from the Egyptian; and in the struggle it was broke in two. The Egyptian draws his sword; Zadig does the same. They attack each other. The former gives a hundred blows at random; the latter wards them off with great dexterity. The lady, seated on a turf, re-adjusts her head-dress, and looks at the combatants. The Egyptian excelled in strength; Zadig in address. The one fought like a man whose arm was directed by his judgment; the other like a mad-man, whose blind rage made him deal his blows at random. Zadig closes with him, and disarms him; and while the Egyptian, now become more furious, endeavours to throw himself upon him, he seizes him, presses him close, and throws him down; and then holding his sword to his breast, offers him his life. The Egyptian, frantic with rage, draws his poniard, and wounds Zadig at the very instant that the conqueror was granting a pardon. Zadig, provoked at such brutal behaviour, plunged his sword in the bosom of the Egyptian, who giving a horrible shriek and a violent struggle, instantly expired. Zadig then approached the lady, and said to her with a gentle tone, "He hath forced me to kill him; I have avenged thy cause; thou art now delivered from the most violent man I ever saw; what further, madam, wouldst thou have me to do for thee?" "Die, villain," (replied she) die; thou hast killed my lover; O that I were able to tear out thy heart!" "Why truly, madam, (said Zadig) thou hadst

a strange

a strange kind of a man for a lover ; he beat thee with all his might, and would have killed me, because thou hadst entreated me to give thee assistance." " I wish he were beating me still, (replied the lady, with tears and lamentation ;) I well deserved it ; for I had given him cause to be jealous. Would to heaven that he was now beating me, and that thou wast in his place." Zadig, struck with surprize, and inflamed with a higher degree of resentment than he had ever felt before, said, " Beautiful as thou art, madam, thou deservest that I should beat thee in my turn for thy perverse and impertinent behaviour ; but I shall not give myself the trouble." So saying, he remounted his camel, and advanced towards the town. He had proceeded but a few steps, when he turned back at the noise of four Babylonian couriers, who came riding at full gallop. One of them, upon seeing the woman, cried, " It is the very same ; she resembles the description that was given us." They gave themselves no concern about the dead Egyptian, but instantly seized the lady. She called out to Zadig ; " Help me once more, generous stranger ; I ask pardon for having complained of thy conduct ; deliver me again, and I will be thine for ever." Zadig was no longer in the humour of fighting for her. " Apply to others, (said he) thou shalt not again ensnare me by thy wiles." Besides, he was wounded ; his blood was still flowing ; and he himself had need of assistance ; and the sight of four Babylonians, probably sent by king Moabdar, filled him with apprehension. He therefore hastened towards the village, unable

unable to comprehend why four Babylonian couriers should come to seize this Egyptian woman, but still more astonished at the lady's behaviour.



S L A V E R Y.

AS he entered the Egyptian village, he saw himself surrounded by the people. Every one said, "This is the man that carried off the beautiful Missouf, and assassinated Clitofis." "Gentlemen, (said he) God preserve me from carrying off your beautiful Missouf; she is too capricious for me: and with regard to Clitofis, I did not assassinate him; I only fought with him in my own defence. He endeavoured to kill me, because I humbly interceded for the beautiful Missouf, whom he beat most unmercifully. I am a stranger, come to seek refuge in Egypt; and it is not likely, that in coming to implore your protection, I should begin by carrying off a woman, and assassinating a man."

The Egyptians were then just and humane. The people conducted Zadig to the town-house. They first of all ordered his wound to be dressed; and then examined him and his servant apart, in order to discover the truth. They found that Zadig was not an assassin; but as he was guilty of having killed a man, the law condemned him to be a slave. His two camels were sold for the benefit of the town: all the gold he had brought with him was distributed

among the inhabitants; and his person, as well as that of the companion of his journey, was exposed to sale in the market-place. An Arabian merchant, named Setoc, made the purchase; but as the servant was fitter for labour than the master, he was sold at a higher price. There was no comparison between the two men. Thus Zadig became a slave subordinate to his own servant. They were linked together by a chain fastened to their feet, and in this condition they followed the Arabian merchant to his house. By the way Zadig comforted his servant, and exhorted him to patience; but he could not help making, according to his usual custom, some reflections on human life. "I see (said he) that the unhappiness of my fate hath an influence on thine. Hitherto every thing has turned out to me in a most unaccountable manner. I have been condemned to pay a fine for having seen the marks of a bitch's feet. I thought that I should once have been empaled on account of a griffin. I have been sent to execution for having made some verses in praise of the king. I have been upon the point of being strangled, because the queen had yellow ribbands; and now I am a slave with thee, because a brutal wretch beat his mistress. Come, let us keep a good heart; all this perhaps will have an end. The Arabian merchants must necessarily have slaves; and why not I as well as another, since, as well as another, I am a man? This merchant will not be cruel; he must treat his slaves well, if he expects any advantage from them." But while he spoke thus, his heart was entirely engrossed by the fate of the queen of Babylon.

Two days after, the merchant Setoc set out for Arabia Deserta, with his slaves and his camels. His tribe dwelt near the desert of Oreb. The journey was long and painful. Setoc set a much greater value on the servant than the master, because the former was more expert in loading the camels; and all the little marks of distinction were shewn to him. A camel having died within two days journey of Oreb, his burden was divided and laid on the backs of the servants; and Zadig had his share among the rest. Setoc laughed to see all his slaves walking with their bodies inclined. Zadig took the liberty to explain to him the cause, and to inform him of the laws of the balance. The merchant was astonished, and began to regard him with other eyes. Zadig, finding he had raised his curiosity, encreased it still further by acquainting him with many things that related to commerce; the specific gravity of metals and commodities under an equal bulk; the properties of several useful animals; and the means of rendering those useful that are not naturally so. At last Setoc began to consider Zadig as a sage, and preferred him to his companion, whom he had formerly so much esteemed. He treated him well, and had no cause to repent of his kindness.

As soon as Setoc arrived among his own tribe, he demanded the payment of five hundred ounces of silver, which he had lent to a Jew in presence of two witnesses; but as the witnesses were dead, and the debt could not be proved, the Hebrew appropriated the merchant's money to himself, and piously thanked God for putting it in his power to cheat an Arabian.

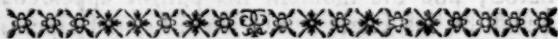
Setoc

Setoc imparted this troublesome affair to Zadig, who was now become his council. "In what place (said Zadig) didst thou lend the five hundred ounces to this infidel?" "Upon a large stone, (replied the merchant) that lies near mount Oreb." "What is the character of thy debtor?" said Zadig. "That of a knave," returned Setoc. "But I ask thee, whether he is lively or phlegmatic; cautious or imprudent?" "He is, of all bad payers, (said Setoc) the most lively fellow I ever knew." "Well, (resumed Zadig) allow me to plead thy cause." In effect, Zadig having summoned the Jew to the tribunal, addressed the judge in the following terms: "Pillow of the throne of equity, I come to demand of this man, in the name of my master, five hundred ounces of silver, which he refuses to repay." "Hast thou any witnesses?" said the judge. "No, they are dead; but there remains a large stone upon which the money was counted; and if it please thy grandeur to order the stone to be sought for, I hope that it will bear witness. The Hebrew and I will tarry here till the stone arrives: I will send for it at my master's expence." "With all my heart," replied the judge, and immediately applied himself to the discussion of other affairs.

When the court was going to break up, the judge said to Zadig, "Well, friend, is not thy stone come yet?" The Hebrew replied with a smile; "Thy grandeur may stay here till the morrow, and after all not see the stone. It is more than six miles from hence; and it would require fifteen men to move it." "Well, (cried Zadig) did not I say that the stone would bear witness? since this man knows where it is, he

thereby confesses that it was upon it that the money was counted." The Hebrew was disconcerted, and was soon after obliged to confess the truth. The judge ordered him to be fastened to the stone, without meat or drink, till he should restore the five hundred ounces, which were soon after paid.

The slave Zadig and the stone, were held in great repute in Arabia.



The FUNERAL PILE.

SETOC, charmed with the happy issue of this affair, made his slave his intimate friend. He had now conceived as great an esteem for him as ever the king of Babylon had done; and Zadig was glad that Setoc had no wife. He discovered in his master a good natural disposition, much probity of heart, and a great share of good sense; but he was sorry to see, that, according to the ancient custom of Arabia, he adored the host of heaven; that is, the sun, moon, and stars. He sometimes spoke to him on this subject with great prudence and discretion. At last he told him, that these bodies were like all other bodies in the universe, and no more deserving of our homage, than a tree or a rock. "But (said Setoc) they are eternal beings; and it is from them we derive all we enjoy. They animate nature; they regulate the seasons; and besides are removed at such an immense distance from us, that we cannot help revering them." "Thou receivest more advantage

vantage (replied Zadig) from the waters of the Red Sea, which carries thy merchandize to the Indies. Why may not it be as ancient as the stars? and if thou adorest what is placed at a distance from thee, thou oughtest to adore the land of the Gangarides, which lies at the extremity of the earth." "No, (said Setoc) the brightness of the stars commands my adoration."

At night Zadig lighted up a great number of candles in the tent where he was to sup with Setoc; and the moment his patron appeared, he fell on his knees before these lighted tapers, and said; "Eternal and shining luminaries! be ye always propitious to me." Having thus said, he sat down at the table, without taking the least notice of Setoc; "What art thou doing?" said Setoc to him in amaze. "I act like thee, (replied Zadig) I adore these candles, and neglect their master and mine." Setoc comprehended the profound sense of this apologue. The wisdom of his slave sunk deep into his soul; he no longer offered incense to the creatures, but adored the eternal Being who made them.

There prevailed at that time in Arabia a shocking custom, sprung originally from Scythia, and which, being established in the Indies by the credit of the brachmans, threatened to over-run all the East. When a married man died, and his beloved wife aspired to the character of a saint, she burned herself publickly on the body of her husband. This was a solemn feast, and was called the Funeral Pile of Widowhood; and that tribe in which most women had been burned, was the most respected. An Arabian of Setoc's tribe being dead, his widow, whose name was Almona, and who

was very devout, published the day and hour when she intended to throw herself into the fire, amidst the sound of drums and trumpets. Zadig remonstrated against this horrible custom; he shewed Setoc how inconsistent it was with the happiness of mankind, to suffer young widows to burn themselves every other day, widows who were capable of giving children to the state, or at least of educating those they already had; and he convinced him that it was his duty to do all that lay in his power to abolish such a barbarous practice. "The women (said Setoc) have possessed the right of burning themselves for more than a thousand years; and who shall dare to abrogate a law which time hath rendered sacred? Is there any thing more respectable than ancient abuses?" "Reason is more ancient, (replied Zadig;) mean while, speak thou to the chiefs of the tribes, and I will go to wait on the young widow."

Accordingly he was introduced to her; and, after having insinuated himself into her good graces by some compliments on her beauty, and told her what a pity it was to commit so many charms to the flames, he at last praised her for her constancy and courage. "Thou must, surely, have loved thy husband (said he to her) with the most passionate fondness." "Who, I? (replied the lady) I loved him not at all. He was a brutal, jealous, insupportable wretch; but I am firmly resolved to throw myself on his funeral pile." "It would appear then, (said Zadig) that there must be a very delicious pleasure in being burnt alive." "Oh! it makes nature shudder, (replied the lady;) but that must be overlooked. I am a devotee; I should lose

lose my reputation; and all the world would despise me, if I did not burn myself." Zadig having made her acknowledge that she burned herself to gain the good opinion of others, and to gratify her own vanity, entertained her with a long discourse, calculated to make her a little in love with life, and even went so far as to inspire her with some degree of good-will for the person who spoke to her. "And what wilt thou do at last, (said he) if the vanity of burning thyself should not continue?" "Alas! (said the lady) I believe I should desire thee to marry me."

Zadig's mind was too much engrossed with the idea of Astarte, not to elude this declaration; but he instantly went to the chiefs of the tribes, told them what had passed, and advised them to make a law, by which a widow should not be permitted to burn herself, till she had conversed privately with a young man for the space of an hour. Since that time, not a single woman hath burned herself in Arabia. They were indebted to Zadig alone for destroying in one day a cruel custom, that had lasted for so many ages; and thus he became the benefactor of Arabia.

The SUPPER.

SETOC, who could not separate himself from this man, in whom dwelt wisdom, carried him to the great fair of Balzora, whither the richest merchants in the earth resorted. Zadig was highly pleased to see so many men of different countries united in the same place. He considered the whole universe as one large family assembled at Balzora. The second day, he sat at table with an Egyptian, an Indian, an inhabitant of Cathay, a Greek, a Celtic, and several other strangers, who, in their frequent voyages to the Arabian gulph, had learned enough of the Arabic to make themselves understood. The Egyptian seemed to be in a violent passion. "What an abominable country is Balzora! (said he;) they refuse me a thousand ounces of gold on the best security in the world." "How! (said Setoc) on what security have they refused thee this sum?" "On the body of my aunt, (replied the Egyptian;) she was the most notable woman in Egypt; she always accompanied me in my journies; she died on the road; I have converted her into one of the finest mummies in the world; and, in my own country, I could have as much as I please, by giving her as a pledge. It is very strange that they will not here lend me so much as a thousand ounces of gold on such a solid security." Angry as he was, he was going to help himself to a bit of excellent boiled fowl, when the Indian, taking him by the hand, cried out in a sorrowful tone; "Ah! what art thou going

going to do?" "To eat a bit of this fowl," replied the man who owned the mummy. "Take care that thou doest not, (replied the Indian.) It is possible that the soul of the deceased may have passed into this fowl, and thou wouldest not, surely, expose thyself to the danger of eating thy aunt*. To boil fowls is a manifest outrage on nature." "What dost thou mean by thy nature and thy fowls?" (replied the choleric Egyptian.) "We adore a bull; and yet we eat heartily of beef." "You adore a bull! is it possible?" said the man of Ganges. "Nothing is more possible, (returned the other;) we have done so for these hundred and thirty-five thousand years; and nobody amongst us has ever found fault with it." "A hundred and thirty-five thousand years! (said the Indian) This account is a little exaggerated; it is but eighty thousand years since India was first peopled, and we are surely more ancient than you: Brama† prohibited our eating of ox-flesh before you thought of putting it on your spits or altars." "This Brama of yours, (said the Egyptian) is a pleasant sort of an animal truly, to compare with our Apis; what great things hath your Brama performed?" "It was he (replied the Bramin) that taught mankind to read and write, and to whom the world is indebted for the game of chess." "Thou art mistaken, (said a Chaldean who sat near him;)

* Many casts or tribes of Indians, especially the Bramins, believe in the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

† Brama, or Brahma, is one of the principal deities of the Tonquinese.

it is to the fish Oannes* that we owe these great advantages; and it is just that we should render homage to none but him. All the world will tell thee, that he is a divine being, with a golden tail and a beautiful human head, and that, for three hours every day, he left the water to preach on dry land. He had several children who were kings, as every one knows. I have a picture of him at home, which I worship with becoming reverence. We may eat as much beef as we please; but it is surely a great sin to dress fish for the table. Besides, you are both of an origin too recent and ignoble to dispute with me. The Egyptians reckon only a hundred and thirty-five thousand years, and the Indians but eighty thousand, while we have almanacks of four thousand ages. Believe me; renounce your follies; and I will give to each of you a beautiful picture of Oannes."

The man of Cathay took up the discourse, and said; "I have a great respect for the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Celts, Brama, the bull Apis, and the beau-

* Berofus, in his account of the Babylonian antiquities, says, that in the beginning of the Chaldean empire, an animal called Oannes came out of the Red Sea. He had the body of a fish, with the head and feet of a man. He conversed with the people, and imparted to them the knowledge of letters, arts, and sciences. He taught them to form societies, build cities, erect temples, measure and cultivate lands; in a word, civilized the whole nation. However, he neither ate nor drank with them, and at sunset always retired into the sea. This fable probably alludes to some strangers who arrived on the coast in a ship, and took some pains to humanize the barbarous inhabitants.

tiful fish Oannes; but I should think that Li, or Tien*, as he is commonly called, is superior to all the bulls in the earth, and all the fish in the sea. I shall say nothing of my native country; it is as large as Egypt, Chaldea, and the Indies, put together. Neither shall I dispute about the antiquity of our nation; because it is of little consequence whether we are ancient or not; it is enough if we are happy; but, were it necessary to speak of almanacks, I could say that all Asia takes ours; and that we had very good ones before arithmetic was known in Chaldea."

"Ignorant men, as ye all are, (said the Greek;) do you not know that Chaos is the father of all; and that form and matter have put the world into its present condition?" The Greek spoke for a long time; but was at last interrupted by the Celtic, who, having drank pretty deeply while the rest were disputing, imagined he was now more knowing than all the others, and said with an oath, that there were none but Teutat† and the mistletoe of the oak that were worth the trouble of a dispute; that, for his own part, he had always some mistletoe in his pocket; and that the Scythians, his ancestors, were the only men of merit that had ever appeared in the world; that it was

* Chinese words. The first properly signifies natural light, or reason; and the last heaven, or God.

† Teutat is the same with Mercury. *Teut*, in the Celtic language, signifies People, and *tat* a Father. The word Mercury, according to Pezron, comes from the Gaulish words *mercs* and *ur*, the first importing Merchandize; the other signifying a Man; very little different from the Latin words *merx* and *vir*.

true they had sometimes eat human flesh, but that, notwithstanding that circumstance, his nation deserved to be held in great esteem; and that, in fine, if any one spoke ill of Teutat, he would teach him better manners. The quarrel was now become warm; and Setoc saw the table ready to be stained with blood. Zadig, who had been silent during the whole dispute, arose at last. He first addressed himself to the Celtic, as the most furious of all the disputants: he told him that he had reason on his side, and begged a few mistletoes. He then praised the Greek for his eloquence; and softened all their exasperated spirits. He said but little to the man of Cathay, because he had been the most reasonable of them all. At last he said; "You were going, my friends, to quarrel about nothing; for you are all of one mind." At this word they all cried out together. "Is it not true, (said he to the Celtic) that you adore not this mistletoe, but him that made both the mistletoe and the oak?" "Most undoubtedly," replied the Celtic. "And thou, Mr. Egyptian, dost not thou revere, in a certain bull, him who gave the bulls?" "Yes," said the Egyptian. "The fish Oannes (continued he) must yield to him who made the sea and the fishes. The Indian and the Cathaian (added he) acknowledge, like you, a first principle. I did not fully comprehend the admirable things that were said by the Greek; but I am sure he will admit a superior being, on whom form and matter depend." The Greek, whom they all admired, said that Zadig had exactly taken his meaning. "You are all then (replied Zadig) of one opinion; and have no cause to quarrel."

All

The RENDEZVOUS. 181

All the company embraced him. Setoc, after having sold his commodities at a very high price, returned to his own tribe with his friend Zadig; who learned, upon his arrival, that he had been tried in his absence, and was now going to be burned by a slow fire*.



The RENDEZVOUS.

DURING his journey to Balzora, the priests of the stars had resolved to punish him. The precious stones and ornaments of the young widows whom they sent to the funeral pile belonged to them of right; and the least they could now do, was to burn Zadig, for the ill office he had done them. Accordingly they accused him of entertaining erroneous sentiments of the heavenly host. They deposed against him, and swore that they had heard him say, that the stars did not set in the sea. This horrid blasphemy made the judges tremble; they were ready to tear their garments upon hearing these impious words; and they would certainly have tore them, had Zadig had wherewithal to pay them for new ones. But, in the excess of their zeal and indignation, they contented themselves with condemning him to be burnt by a slow fire. Setoc, filled with despair at this unhappy event, employed all his interest to save his friend; but in vain: he was soon obliged to hold his peace. The young widow

* This is levelled against the inquisition.

Almona, who had now conceived a great fondness for life, for which she was obliged to Zadig, resolved to deliver him from the funeral pile, of the abuse of which he had fully convinced her. She revolved the scheme in her own mind, without imparting it to any person whatever. Zadig was to be executed the next day: if she could save him at all, she must do it that very night; and the method taken by this charitable and prudent lady was as follows:

She perfumed herself; she heightened her beauty by the richest and gayest apparel; and went to demand a private audience of the chief priest of the stars. As soon as she was introduced to the venerable old man, she addressed him in these terms: "Eldest son of the great bear; brother of the bull; and cousin of the great dog; (such were the titles of this pontiff) I come to acquaint thee with my scruples. I am much afraid that I have committed a heinous crime in not burning myself on the funeral pile of my dear husband; for, indeed, what had I worth preserving? perishable flesh, thou seest, that it is already entirely withered." So saying, she drew up her long sleeves of silk, and shewed her naked arms, which were of an elegant shape and a dazzling whiteness. "Thou seest (said she) that these are little worth." The priest found in his heart that they were worth a great deal; his eyes said so, and his mouth confirmed it: he swore that he had never in his life seen such beautiful arms. "Alas! (said the widow) my arms, perhaps, are not so bad as the rest; but thou wilt confess that my neck is not worthy of the least regard." She then discovered the most charming

charming bosom that nature had ever formed. Compared to it, a rose-bud on an apple of ivory, would have appeared like madder on the box-tree, and the whiteness of new-washed lambs would have seemed of a dusky yellow. Her neck; her large black eyes, languishing with the gentle lustre of a tender fire; her cheeks animated with the finest purple, mixed with the whiteness of the purest milk; her nose, which had no resemblance to the tower of mount Lebanon; her lips, like two borders of coral, inclosing the finest pearls in the Arabian Sea; all conspired to make the old man believe that he was but twenty years of age. Almona, seeing him enflamed, entreated him to pardon Zadig. "Alas! (said he) my charming lady, should I grant thee his pardon, it would be of no service; as it must necessarily be signed by three others, my brethren." "Sign it, however," said Almona. "With all my heart, (said the priest) on condition that thy favours shall be the price of my ready compliance." "Thou doest me too much honour, (said Almona;) be pleased only to come to my chamber after sun-set, and when the bright star of Sheat shall appear in the horizon, thou wilt find me on a rose-coloured sofa; and thou mayest then use thy servant as thou art able." So saying, she departed with the signature, and left the old man full of love and distrust of his own abilities. He employed the rest of the day in bathing; he drank a liquor composed of the cinnamon of Ceylon, and of the precious spices of Tidor and Ternate; and waited with impatience till the star Sheat should make its appearance.

Mean

Mean while, Almona went to the second pontiff. He assured her that the sun, the moon, and all the luminaries of heaven were but glimmering meteors in comparison of her charms. She asked the same favour of him; and he proposed to grant it on the same terms. She suffered herself to be overcome; and appointed the second pontiff to meet her at the rising of the star Algenib. From thence she went to the third and fourth priest, always taking their signatures, and making an assignation from star to star. She then sent a message to the judges, entreating them to come to her house, on an affair of great importance. They obeyed her summons. She shewed them the four names, and told them at what price the priests had sold the pardon of Zadig. Each of them arrived at the hour appointed. Each was surprized at finding his brethren there, but still more at seeing the judges, before whom their shame was now manifest. Zadig was saved; and Setoc was so charmed with the ingenuity and address of Almona, that he made her his wife. Zadig departed, after having thrown himself at the feet of his fair deliverer. Setoc and he took leave of each other with tears in their eyes, swearing an eternal friendship, and promising, that the first of them that should acquire a large fortune should share it with the other.

Zadig directed his course along the frontiers of Assyria, still musing on the unhappy Astarte, and reflecting on the severity of fortune, which seemed determined to make him the sport of her cruelty, and the object of her persecution. "What, (said he to himself) four hundred ounces of gold for having seen a bitch! condemned

demned to lose my head for four bad verses in praise of the king! ready to be strangled, because the queen had shoes of the colour of my bonnet! reduced to slavery for having succoured a woman who was beat! and on the point of being burnt for having saved the lives of all the young widows of Arabia!"

The ROBBER.

ARRIVING on the frontiers which divide Arabia Petræa from Syria, he passed by a pretty strong castle, from which a party of armed Arabians sallied forth. They instantly surrounded him, and cried, "All thou hast belongs to us, and thy person is the property of our master." Zadig replied by drawing his sword; his servant, who was a man of courage, did the same. They killed the first Arabians that presumed to lay hands on them; and, though the number was redoubled, they were not dismayed, but resolved to perish in the conflict. Two men defended themselves against a multitude; and such a combat could not last long. The master of the castle, whose name was Arbogad, having observed from a window the prodigies of valour performed by Zadig, conceived a high esteem for this heroic stranger. He descended in haste, and went in person to call off his men, and deliver the two travellers. "All that passes over my lands (said he) belongs to me, as well as what I find upon the lands of others; but thou seemest to be a man

man of such undaunted courage, that I will exempt thee from the common law." He then conducted him to his castle, ordering his men to treat him well; and in the evening Arbogad supped with Zadig. The lord of the castle was one of those Arabians who are commonly called robbers; but he now and then performed some good actions, amidst a multitude of bad ones. He robbed with a furious rapacity, and granted favours with great generosity; entrepid in action; affable in company; a debauchée at table, but gay in his debauchery; and particularly remarkable for his frank and open behaviour. He was highly pleased with Zadig, whose lively conversation lengthened the repast. At last Arbogad said to him; "I advise thee to enroll thy name in my catalogue; thou canst not do better; this is not a bad trade; and thou mayest one day become what I am at present." "May I take the liberty of asking thee (said Zadig) how long thou hast followed this noble profession?" "From my most tender youth, replied the lord. I was servant to a pretty good-natured Arabian; but could not endure the hardships of my situation. I was vexed to find that fate had given me no share of the earth, which equally belongs to all men. I imparted the cause of my uneasiness to an old Arabian, who said to me; 'My son, do not despair; there was once a grain of sand that lamented that it was no more than a neglected atom in the deserts; at the end of a few years it became a diamond; and it is now the brightest ornament in the crown of the king of the Indies.' This discourse made a deep impression on my mind; I was the grain of sand, and I resolved to become the diamond. I began

began by stealing two horses ; I soon got a party of companions ; I put myself in a condition to rob small caravans ; and thus, by degrees, I destroyed the difference which had formerly subsisted between me and other men. I had my share of the good things of this world ; and was even recompensed with usury for the hardships I had suffered. I was greatly respected ; and became the captain of a band of robbers. I seized this castle by force. The satrape of Syria had a mind to dispossess me of it ; but I was too rich to have any thing to fear. I gave the satrape a handsome present, by which means I preserved my castle, and encreased my possessions. He even appointed me treasurer of the tributes which Arabia Petræa pays to the king of kings. I perform my office of receiver with great punctuality ; but take the freedom to dispense with that of paymaster.

The grand desterham of Babylon sent hither a petty satrape in the name of king Moabdar, to have me strangled. This man arrived with his orders : I was apprised of all ; I caused to be strangled in his presence the four persons he had brought with him to draw the noose ; after which I asked him how much his commission of strangling me might be worth. He replied, that his fees would amount to about three hundred pieces of gold. I then convinced him that he might gain more by staying with me. I made him an inferior robber ; and he is now one of my best and richest officers. If thou wilt take my advice, thy success may be equal to his ; never was there a better season for plunder, since king Moabdar is killed, and all Babylon thrown into confusion."

" Moabdar

“ Moabdar killed, (said Zadig;) and what is become of queen Astarte?” “ I know not, (replied Arbogad.) All I know is, that Moabdar lost his senses, and was killed; that Babylon is a scene of disorder and bloodshed; that all the empire is desolated; that there are some fine strokes to be struck yet; and that, for my own part, I have struck some that are admirable.” “ But the queen, (said Zadig;) for heaven’s sake, knowest thou nothing of the queen’s fate?” “ Yes, (replied he) I have heard something of a prince of Hircania; if she was not killed in the tumult, she is probably one of his concubines; but I am much sonder of booty than news. I have taken several women in my excursions; but I keep none of them: I sell them at a high price, when they are beautiful, without enquiring who they are. In commodities of this kind rank makes no difference, and a queen that is ugly will never find a merchant. Perhaps I may have sold queen Astarte; perhaps she is dead; but, be it as it will, it is of little consequence to me, and, I should imagine, of as little to thee.” So saying, he drank a large draught, which threw all his ideas into such confusion, that Zadig could obtain no farther information.

Zadig remained for some time without speech, sense, or motion. Arbogad continued drinking; told stories; constantly repeated that he was the happiest man in the world; and exhorted Zadig to put himself in the same condition. At last the soporiferous fumes of the wine lulled him into a gentle repose. Zadig passed the night in the most violent perturbation. “ What, (said he) did the king lose his senses? and is he killed?”

I can-

I cannot help lamenting his fate. The empire is rent in pieces : and this robber is happy. O fortune ! O destiny ! A robber is happy, and the most beautiful of nature's works hath, perhaps, perished in a barbarous manner, or lives in a state worse than death. O Astarte ! what is become of thee ?”

At day-break, he questioned all those he met in the castle ; but they were all busy ; and he received no answer. During the night they had made a new capture ; and they were now employed in dividing the spoil. All he could obtain in this hurry and confusion was an opportunity of departing, which he immediately embraced, plunged deeper than ever in the most gloomy and mournful reflections.

Zadig proceeded on his journey with a mind full of disquiet and perplexity, and wholly employed on the unhappy Astarte, on the king of Babylon, on his faithful friend Cador, on the happy robber Arbogad, on that capricious woman whom the Babylonians had seized on the frontiers of Egypt ; in a word, on all the misfortunes and disappointments he had hitherto suffered.

The

The FISHERMAN.

AT a few leagues distance from Arbogad's castle, he came to the banks of a small river, still deploring his fate, and considering himself as the most wretched of mankind. He saw a fisherman lying on the brink of the river, scarcely holding in his weak and feeble hand a net, which he seemed ready to drop, and lifting up his eyes to heaven.

“ I am certainly, said the fisherman, the most unhappy man in the world. I was universally allowed to be the most famous dealer in cream-cheese in Babylon, and yet I am ruined. I had the most handsome wife that any man in my station could have; and by her I have been betrayed. I had still left a paltry house, and that I have seen pillaged and destroyed. At last I took refuge in this cottage, where I have no other resource than fishing, and yet I cannot catch a single fish. O my net! no more will I throw thee into the water; I will throw myself in thy place.” So saying, he arose and advanced forward, in the attitude of a man ready to throw himself into the river, and thus finish his life.

“ What, said Zadig to himself, are there men as wretched as I?” His eagerness to save the fisherman's life was as sudden as this reflection. He runs to him, stops him, and speaks to him with a tender and compassionate air. It is commonly supposed that we are less miserable when we have companions in our misery. This, according to Zoroaster, does not proceed from malice, but necessity. We feel ourselves insensibly

sibly drawn to an unhappy person, as to one like ourselves. The joy of the happy would be an insult; but two men in distress are like two slender trees, which mutually supporting each other, fortify themselves against the storm. “Why, said Zadig to the fisherman, dost thou sink under thy misfortunes?” “Because, replied he, I see no means of relief. I was the most considerable man in the village of Derlback, near Babylon, and with the assistance of my wife, I made the best cream-cheese in the empire. Queen Astarte and the famous minister, Zadig, were extremely fond of them. I had sent them six hundred cheeses, and one day went to the city to receive my money; but, on my arrival at Babylon, was informed that the queen and Zadig had disappeared. I ran to the house of lord Zadig, whom I had never seen; but found there the inferior officers of the grand Desterham, who being furnished with a royal licence, were plundering it with great loyalty and order. From thence I flew to the queen’s kitchen, some of the lords of which told me that the queen was dead; some said she was in prison; and others pretended that she had made her escape; but they all agreed in assuring me that I would not be paid for my cheese. I went with my wife to the house of lord Orcan, who was one of my customers, and begged his protection in my present distress. He granted it to my wife; but refused it to me. She was whiter than the cream-cheeses that begun my misfortune; and the lustre of the Tyrian purple was not more bright than the carnation which animated this whiteness. For this reason Orcan detained her, and drove me from his house. In my despair I wrote a letter to my dear wife. She

said

said to the bearer, "Ha, ha! I know the writer of this a little; I have heard his name mentioned; they say he makes excellent cream-cheese; desire him to send me some, and he shall be paid."

"In my distress I resolved to apply to justice. I had still six ounces of gold remaining: I was obliged to give two to the lawyer whom I consulted; two to the procurator who undertook my cause; and two to the secretary of the first judge. When all this was done, my business was not begun; and I had already expended more money than my cheese and my wife were worth. I returned to my own village, with an intention to sell my house, in order to enable me to recover my wife.

"My house was well worth sixty ounces of gold; but as my neighbours saw that I was poor, and obliged to sell it, the first to whom I applied, offered me thirty ounces, the second twenty, and the third ten. Bad as these offers were, I was so blind, that I was going to strike a bargain, when a prince of Harcania came to Babylon, and ravaged all in his way. My house was first sacked and then burnt.

"Having thus lost my money, my wife, and my house, I retired into this country, where thou now seest me. I have endeavoured to gain a subsistence by fishing; but the fish make a mock of me as well as the men. I catch none; I die with hunger; and had it not been for thee, august comforter, I should have perished in the river."

The fisherman was not allowed to give this long account without interruption; at every moment, Zadig, moved and transported, said;

"What

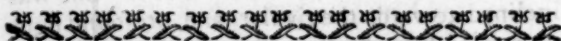
“What knowest thou nothing of the queen’s fate?” “No, my lord, replied the fisherman, but I know that neither the queen nor Zadig have paid me for my cream-cheeses; that I have lost my wife, and am now reduced to despair.”

“I flatter myself, said Zadig, that thou wilt not lose all thy money. I have heard of this Zadig; he is an honest man; and if he return to Babylon, as he expects, he will give thee more than he owes thee: but with regard to thy wife, who is not so honest, I advise thee not to seek to recover her. Believe me, go to Babylon; I shall be there before thee, because I am on horseback, and thou art on foot. Apply to the illustrious Cador; tell him thou hast met his friend; wait for me at his house: go, perhaps thou wilt not always be unhappy.

“O powerful Oromazes! continued he, thou employest me to comfort this man; whom wilt thou employ to give me consolation?” So saying, he gave the fisherman half the money he had brought from Arabia. The fisherman, struck with surprize, and ravished with joy, kissed the feet of the friend of Cador, and said, “Thou art surely an angel sent from heaven to save me!”

Mean while Zadig continued to make fresh enquiries, and to shed tears. “What, my lord, cried the fisherman, art thou then so unhappy, thou who bestowest favours?” “An hundred times more unhappy than thee, replied Zadig.” “But how is it possible, said the good man, that the giver can be more wretched than the receiver?” “Because, replied Zadig, thy greatest misery arose from poverty; and mine is seated in the heart.” “Did Orcan take thy

wise from thee?" said the fisherman. This word recalled to Zadig's mind the whole of his adventures. He repeated the catalogue of his misfortunes, beginning with the queen's bitch, and ending with his arrival at the castle of the robber Arbogad. "Ah, said he to the fisherman, Orcan deserves to be punished: but it is commonly such men as those that are the favourites of fortune. However, go thou to the house of lord Cadon, and there wait my arrival." They then parted: the fisherman walked, thanking heaven for the happiness of his condition; and Zadig rode, accusing fortune for the hardness of his lot.



The BASILISK.

ARriving in a beautiful meadow, he there saw several women, who were searching for something with great application. He took the liberty to approach one of them, and to ask if he might have the honour to assist them in their search. "Take care that thou dost not," replied the Syrian, what we are searching for can be touched only by women." "Strange," said Zadig, may I presume to ask thee what it is that women only are permitted to touch." "It is a basilisk," said she." "A basilisk, madam! and for what purpose, pray, dost thou seek for a basilisk?" "It is for our lord and master Ogul, whose castle thou seest on the bank of that river, at the end of the meadow. We are his most humble slaves. The lord Ogul is sick. His physician hath ordered him to eat a

basilisk, stewed in rose-water; and as it is a very rare animal, and can only be taken by women, the lord Ogul hath promised to choose for his well beloved wife the woman that shall bring him a basilisk: let me go on in my search; for thou seest what I shall lose, if I am prevented by my companions.

Zadig left her and the other Assyrians to search for their basilisk, and continued to walk in the meadow; when coming to the brink of a small rivulet, he found another lady lying on the grass, and who was not searching for any thing. Her person seemed to be majestic; but her face was covered with a veil. She was inclined towards the rivulet, and profound sighs proceeded from her mouth. In her hand she held a small rod with which she was tracing characters on the fine sand that lay between the turf and the brook. Zadig had the curiosity to examine what this woman was writing. He drew near; he saw the letter Z, then an A; he was astonished: then appeared a D; he started. But never was surprize equal to his, when he saw the two last letters of his name. He stood for some time immoveable. At last breaking silence with a faltering voice, "O generous lady! pardon a stranger, an unfortunate man, for presuming to ask thee by what surprising adventure I here find the name of Zadig traced out by thy divine hand." At this voice and these words, the lady lifted up her veil with a trembling hand, looked at Zadig, sent forth a cry of tenderness, surprize, and joy, and sinking under the various emotions which at once assaulted her soul, fell speechless into his arms. It was Astarte herself; it was

the queen of Babylon; it was she whom Zadig adored, and whom he had reproached himself for adoring; it was she whose misfortunes he had so deeply lamented, and for whose fate he had been so anxiously concerned. He was for a moment deprived of the use of his senses; when he had fixed his eyes on those of Astarte, which now began to open again with a languor mixed with confusion and tenderness: "O ye immortal powers! cried he, who preside over the fates of weak mortals, do ye indeed restore Astarte to me? at what a time, in what a place, and in what a condition do I again behold her?" He fell on his knees before Astarte, and laid his face in the dust of her feet. The queen of Babylon raised him up, and made him sit by her side on the brink of the rivulet. She frequently wiped her eyes, from which the tears continued to flow a-fresh: she twenty times resumed her discourse, which her sighs as often interrupted: she asked by what strange accident they were brought together; and suddenly prevented his answers by other questions: she waved the account of her own misfortunes, and desired to be informed of those of Zadig. At last, both of them having a little composed the tumult of their souls, Zadig acquainted her in a few words by what adventure he was brought into that meadow. "But, O unhappy and respectable queen! by what means do I find thee in this lonely place, cloathed in the habit of a slave, and accompanied by other female slaves, who are searching for a basilisk, which, by order of the physician is to be stewed in rose-water?"

"While

“While they are searching for their basilisk, said the fair Astarte, I will inform thee of all I have suffered, for which heaven has sufficiently recompensed me, by restoring thee to my sight. Thou knowest that the king, my husband, was vexed to see thee the most amiable of mankind; and that for this reason, he one night resolved to strangle thee and poison me. Thou knowest how heaven permitted my little mute to inform me of the orders of his sublime majesty. Hardly had the faithful Cadon obliged thee to depart, in obedience to my command, when he ventured to enter my apartment at midnight by a secret passage. He carried me off, and conducted me to the temple of Oromazes, where the magi, his brother, shut me up in that huge statue, whose base reaches to the foundation of the temple, and whose top rises to the summit of the dome. I was there buried in a manner; but was served by the magi, and supplied with all the necessaries of life. At break of day his majesty’s apothecary entered my chamber with a potion composed of a mixture of henbane, opium, hemlock, black hellebore, and aconite; and another officer went to taint with a bowstring of blue silk. Neither of us were to be found. Cadon, the better to deceive the king, pretended to come and accuse us both. He said that thou hadst taken the road to the Indies, and I that to Memphis; on which the king’s guards were immediately dispatched in pursuit of us both.

“The couriers who pursued me did not know me. I had hardly ever shewn my face to any but thee, and to thee only in the presence, and by the order of my husband. They conducted

themselves in the pursuit by the description that had been given them of my person. On the frontiers of Egypt they met with a woman of the same stature with me, and possessed perhaps of greater charms. She was weeping and wandering. They made no doubt but that this woman was the queen of Babylon, and accordingly brought her to Moabdar. Their mistake at first threw the king into a violent passion; but having viewed this woman more attentively, he found her extremely handsome, and was comforted. She was called Missouf. I have since been informed, that this name in the Egyptian language, signifies the capricious fair one. She was so in reality; but she had as much cunning as caprice. She pleased Moabdar, and gained such an ascendancy over him as to make him chuse her for his wife. Her character then began to appear in its true colours. She gave herself up, without scruple, to all the freaks of a wanton imagination. She would have obliged the chief of the magi, who was old and gouty, to dance before her; and on his refusal, she persecuted him with the most unrelenting cruelty. She ordered her master of the horse to make her a pye of sweetmeats. In vain did he represent that he was not a pastry-cook; he was obliged to make it, and lost his place, because it was baked a little too hard. The post of master of the horse she gave to her dwarf, and that of chancellor to her page. In this manner did she govern Babylon. Every body regretted the loss of me. The king, who till the moment of his resolving to poison me and strangle thee, had been a tolerably good kind of man, seemed now to have drowned
all

all his virtues in his immoderate fondness for this capricious fair one. He came to the temple on the great day of the feast held in honour of the sacred fire. I saw him implore the gods in behalf of Miffouf, at the feet of the statue in which I was inclosed. I raised my voice, I cried out, "The gods reject the prayers of a king who is now become a tyrant, and who attempted to murder a reasonable wife, in order to marry a woman remarkable for nothing but her folly and extravagance." "At these words Moabdar was confounded, and his head became disordered. The oracle I had pronounced, and the tyranny of Miffouf, conspired to deprive him of his judgment, and in a few days his reason entirely forsook him.

"His madness, which seemed to be the judgment of heaven, was the signal to a revolt. The people rose, and ran to arms; and Babylon, which had been so long immersed in idleness and effeminacy, became the theatre of a bloody, civil war. I was taken from the heart of my statue, and placed at the head of a party. Cador flew to Memphis, to bring thee back to Babylon. The prince of Hircania, informed of these fatal events, returned with his army, and made a third party in Chaldæa. He attacked the king, who fled before him with his capricious Egyptian. Moabdar died pierced with wounds. Miffouf fell into the hands of the conqueror. I myself had the misfortune to be taken by a party of Hircanians, who conducted me to their prince's tent, at the very moment that Miffouf was brought before him. Thou wilt doubtless be pleased to hear that the prince thought me more beautiful than the Egyptian;

but thou wilt be sorry to be informed that he designed me for his seraglio. He told me, with a blunt and resolute air, that as soon as he had finished a military expedition, which he was just going to undertake, he would come to me. Judge how great must have been my grief. My ties with Moabdar were already dissolved; I might have been the wife of Zadig; and I was fallen into the hands of a barbarian. I answered him with all the pride which my high rank and noble sentiments could inspire. I had always heard it affirmed, that heaven stamped on persons of my condition, a mark of grandeur, which, with a single word or glance, could reduce to the lowliness of the most profound respect, those rash and forward persons, who presume to deviate from the rules of politeness. I spoke like a queen; but was treated like a maid-servant. The Hircanian, without even deigning to speak to me, told his black eunuch that I was impertinent, but that he thought me handsome. He ordered him to take care of me, and to put me under the regimen of favourites, that so my complexion being improved, I might be the more worthy of his favours, when he should be at leisure to honour me with them. I told him, that, rather than submit to his desires, I would put an end to my life. He replied with a smile, that women, he believed, were not so blood-thirsty; and that he was accustomed to such violent expressions; and then left me with the air of a man who had just put another parrot into his aviary. What a state for the first queen of the universe, and, what is more, for a heart devoted to Zadig!"

At

At these words Zadig threw himself at her feet, and bathed them with his tears. Astarte raised him with great tenderness, and thus continued her story. "I now saw myself in the power of a barbarian, and rival to the foolish woman with whom I was confined. She gave me an account of her adventures in Egypt. From the description she gave of your person, from the time, from the dromedary on which you was mounted, and from every other circumstance, I inferred that Zadig was the man who had fought for her. I doubted not but that you was at Memphis, and therefore resolved to repair thither. Beautiful Mislouf, said I, thou art more handsome than I, and will please the prince of Hircania much better. Assist me in contriving the means of my escape; thou wilt then reign alone; thou wilt at once make me happy, and rid thyself of a rival. Mislouf concerted with me the means of my flight; and I departed secretly with a female Egyptian slave.

"As I approached the frontiers of Arabia, a famous robber, named Arbogad, seized me, and sold me to some merchants, who brought me to this castle, where lord Ogul resides. He bought me without knowing who I was. He is a voluptuary, ambitious of nothing but good living, and thinks that God sent him into the world for no other purpose than to sit at table. He is so extremely corpulent, that he is always in danger of suffocation. His physician, who has but little credit with him when he has a good digestion, governs him with a despotic sway when he has eat too much. He has persuaded him that a basilisk stewed in rose-water will effect a complete cure. The lord Ogul

hath promised his hand to the female slave that brings him a basilisk. Thou seest that I leave them to vie with each other in meriting this honour, and never was I less desirous of finding the basilisk than since heaven hath restored thee to my sight."

This account was succeeded by a long conversation between Astarte and Zadig, consisting of every thing that their long suppressed sentiments, their great sufferings, and their mutual love could inspire into hearts the most noble and tender; and the genii who preside over love, carried their words to the sphere of Venus.

The women returned to Ogul, without having found the basilisk. Zadig was introduced to this mighty lord, and spoke to him in the following terms: "May immortal health descend from heaven to bless all thy days! I am a physician: at the first report of thy indisposition I flew to thy castle, and have now brought thee a basilisk stewed in rose-water. Not that I pretend to marry thee. All I ask is the liberty of a Babylonian slave, who hath been in thy possession for a few days; and, if I should not be so happy as to cure thee, magnificent lord Ogul, I consent to remain a slave in her place."

The proposal was accepted. Astarte set out for Babylon with Zadig's servant, promising, immediately upon her arrival, to send a courier to inform him of all that had happened. Their parting was as tender as their meeting. The moment of meeting, and that of parting, are the two greatest epochas of life, as sayeth the great book of Zend. Zadig loved the queen with as much ardour as he professed; and the queen

queen loved Zadig more than she thought proper to acknowledge.

Mean while Zadig spoke thus to Ogul: "My lord, my basilisk is not to be eaten; all its virtue must enter through thy pores. I have inclosed it in a little ball, blown up and covered with a fine skin. Thou must strike this ball with all thy might, and I must strike it back for a considerable time; and by observing this regimen for a few days, thou wilt see the effects of my art." The first day, Ogul was out of breath, and thought he should have died with fatigue. The second he was less fatigued, and slept better. In eight days he recovered all the strength, all the health, all the agility and chearfulness of his most agreeable years. "Thou hast played at ball, and hast been temperate," said Zadig, know that there is no such thing in nature as a basilisk; that temperance and exercise are the two great preservatives of health; and that the art of reconciling intemperance and health is as chimerical as the philosopher's stone, judicial astrology, or the theology of the magi."

Ogul's first physician observing how dangerous this man might prove to the medical art, formed a design, in conjunction with the apothecary, to send Zadig to search for a basilisk in the other world. Thus, after having suffered such a long train of calamities on account of his good actions, he was now upon the point of losing his life for curing a gluttonous lord. He was invited to an excellent dinner; and was to have been poisoned in the second course; but, during the first, he happily received a courier from the

fair Astarte. "When one is beloved by a beautiful woman, says the great Zoroaster, he hath always the good fortune to extricate himself out of every kind of difficulty and danger."



The COMBATS.

THE queen was received at Babylon with all those transports of joy, which are ever felt on the return of a beautiful princess who hath been involved in calamities. Babylon was now in greater tranquillity. The prince of Hircania had been killed in battle. The victorious Babylonians declared, that the queen should marry the man whom they should chuse for their sovereign. They were resolved that the first place in the world, that of being husband to Astarte and king of Babylon, should not depend on cabals and intrigues. They swore to acknowledge for king the man who, upon trial, should be found to be possessed of the greatest valour and the greatest wisdom. Accordingly, at the distance of a few leagues from the city, a spacious place was marked out for the lists, surrounded with magnificent amphitheatres. Thither the combatants were to repair in complete armour. Each of them had a separate apartment behind the amphitheatres, where they were neither to be seen nor known by any one. Each was to encounter four knights; and those that were so happy as to conquer

conquer four, were then to engage with one another; so that he who remained the last master of the field, should be proclaimed conqueror at the games. Four days after, he was to return with the same arms, and to explain the ænigmas proposed by the magi. If he did not explain the ænigmas, he was not king; and the running at the lances was to begin afresh, till a man should be found who was conqueror in both these combats; for they were absolutely determined to have a king possessed of the greatest wisdom and the most invincible courage. The queen was all the while to be strictly guarded: she was only allowed to be present at the games, and even there she was to be covered with a veil; but was not permitted to speak to any of the competitors, that so they might neither receive favour, nor suffer injustice.

These particulars Astarte communicated to her lover, hoping that, in order to obtain her, he would shew himself possessed of greater courage and wisdom than any other person. Zadig set out on his journey, beseeching Venus to fortify his courage and enlighten his understanding. He arrived on the banks of the Euphrates on the eve of this great day. He caused his device to be inscribed among those of the combatants, concealing his face and his name, as the law ordained; and then went to repose himself in the apartment that fell to him by lot. His friend Cador, who, after the fruitless search he had made for him in Egypt, was now returned to Babylon, sent to his tent a complete suit of armour, which was a present from the
queen,

queen, as also from himself, one of the finest horses in Persia. Zadig presently perceived that these presents were sent by Astarte; and from thence his courage derived fresh strength, and his love the most animating hopes.

Next day, the queen being seated under a canopy of jewels, and the amphitheatres filled with all the gentlemen and ladies of rank in Babylon, the combatants appeared in the circus. Each of them came and laid his device at the feet of the grand magi. They drew their devices by lot; and that of Zadig was the last. The first who advanced was a certain lord, named Itobad, very rich and very vain, but possessed of little courage, of less address, and hardly of any judgment at all. His servants had persuaded him that such a man as he ought to be king; he had said in reply, "Such a man as I ought to reign;" and thus they had armed him cap-a-pee. He wore an armour of gold enamelled with green, a plume of green feathers, and a lance adorned with green ribbands. It was instantly perceived by the manner in which Itobad managed his horse, that it was ~~not~~ for such a man as him that heaven reserved the scepter of Babylon. The first knight that ran against him threw him out of his saddle; the second laid him flat on his horse's buttocks, with his legs in the air, and his arms extended. Itobad recovered himself, but with so bad a grace, that the whole amphitheatre burst out a-laughing. The third knight disdained to make use of his lance; but, making a pass at him, took him by the right leg, and wheeling him half-round, laid him prostrate on the sand. The squires of the games ran to him laughing,
and

and replaced him in his saddle. The fourth combatant took him by the left leg, and tumbled him down on the other side. He was conducted back with scornful shouts to his tent, where, according to the law, he was to pass the night; and as he limped along, with great difficulty, he said; "What an adventure for such a man as I!"

The other knights acquitted themselves with greater ability and success. Some of them conquered two combatants; a few of them vanquished three; but none but prince Otamus conquered four. At last Zadig fought in his turn. He successively threw four knights out of their saddles, with all the grace imaginable. It then remained to be seen who should be conqueror, Otamus or Zadig. The arms of the first were gold and blue, with a plume of the same colour; those of the last were white. The wishes of all the spectators were divided between the knight in blue and the knight in white. The queen, whose heart was in a violent palpitation, offered prayers to heaven for the success of the white colour.

The two champions made their passes and vaults with so much agility; they mutually gave and received such dexterous blows with their lances; and sat so firmly in their saddles, that every body but the queen wished there might be two kings in Babylon. At length, their horses being tired, and their lances broken, Zadig had recourse to this stratagem. He passes behind the blue prince; springs upon the buttocks of his horse; seizes him by the middle; throws him on the earth; places himself in the saddle; and wheels around Otamus as he lay
extended

extended on the ground. All the amphitheatre cried out, "Victory to the white knight!" Otamus rises in a violent passion, and draws his sword; Zadig leaps from his horse with his sabre in his hand. Both of them are now on the ground, engaged in a new combat, where strength and agility triumph by turns. The plumes of their helmets, the studs of their brasslets, and the rings of their armour, are driven to a great distance by the violence of a thousand furious blows. They strike with the point and the edge; to the right, to the left; on the head, on the breast; they retreat; they advance; they measure swords; they close; they seize each other; they bend like serpents; they attack like lions; and the fire every moment flashes from their blows. At last Zadig, having recovered his spirits, stops; makes a feint; leaps upon Otamus; throws him on the ground and disarms him; and Otamus cries out; "It is thou alone, O white knight, that oughtest to reign over Babylon!" The queen was now at the height of her joy. The knight in blue armour, and the knight in white, were conducted each to his own apartment, as well as all the others, according to the intention of the law. Mutes came to wait upon them, and to serve them at table. It may be easily supposed that the queen's little mute waited upon Zadig. They were then left to themselves, to enjoy the sweets of repose till next morning, at which time the conqueror was to bring his device to the grand magi, to compare it with that which he had left, and make himself known.

Zadig, though deeply in love, was so much fatigued that he could not help sleeping. Ito-
bad,

bad, who lay near him, never closed his eyes. He arose in the night; entered his apartment; took the white arms and the device of Zadig; and put his green armour in their place. At break of day, he went boldly to the grand magi, to declare that so great a man as he was conqueror. This was little expected; however, he was proclaimed, while Zadig was still asleep. Astarte, surprised and filled with despair, returned to Babylon. The amphitheatre was almost empty, when Zadig awoke: he sought for his arms; but could find none but the green armour. With this he was obliged to cover himself, having nothing else near him. Astonished and enraged, he put it on in a furious passion, and advanced in this equipage.

The people that still remained in the amphitheatre and the circus, received him with hoots and hisses. They surrounded him, and insulted him to his face. Never did man suffer such cruel mortifications. He lost his patience; with his sabre he dispersed such of the populace as dared to affront; but he knew not what course to take. He could not see the queen; he could not reclaim the white armour she had sent him, without exposing her; and thus, while she was plunged in grief, he was filled with fury and distraction. He walked on the banks of the Euphrates, fully persuaded that his star had destined him to inevitable misery, and revolving in his mind all his misfortunes, from the adventure of the woman who hated one-eyed men, to that of his armour. “This (said he) is the consequence of my having slept too long. Had I slept less, I should now have been king of Babylon,

bylon, and in possession of Astarte. Knowledge, virtue, and courage, have hitherto served only to make me miserable." He then let fall some secret murmurings against providence, and was tempted to believe that the world was governed by a cruel destiny, which oppressed the good, and prospered knights in green armour. One of his greatest mortifications was his being obliged to wear that green armour which had exposed him to such contumelious treatment. A merchant happening to pass by, he sold it to him for a trifle, and bought a gown and a long bonnet. In this garb, he proceeded along the banks of the Euphrates, filled with despair, and secretly accusing providence, which thus continued to persecute him with unremitting severity.



The HERMIT.

WHILE he was thus sauntering, he met a hermit, whose white and venerable beard hung down to his girdle. He held a book in his hand, which he read with great attention. Zadig stooped, and made him a profound obeisance. The hermit returned the compliment with such a noble and engaging air, that Zadig had the curiosity to enter into conversation with him. He asked him what book it was that he had been reading? "It is the book of destinies, (said the hermit;) wouldst thou choose to look into it?" He put the book into the hands

hands of Zadig, who, thoroughly versed as he was in several languages, could not decypher a single character of it. This only redoubled his curiosity. "Thou seemest (said this good father) to be in great distress." "Alas! (replied Zadig) I have but too much reason." "If thou wilt permit me to accompany thee, (resumed the old man) perhaps I may be of some service to thee. I have often poured the balm of consolation into the bleeding heart of the unhappy." Zadig felt himself inspired with respect for the air, the beard, and the book of the hermit. He found, in the course of the conversation, that he was possessed of superior degrees of knowledge. The hermit talked of fate, of justice, of morals, of the chief good, of human weakness, and of virtue and vice, with such a spirited and moving eloquence, that Zadig felt himself drawn toward him by an irresistible charm. He earnestly entreated the favour of his company till their return to Babylon. "I ask the same favour of thee, (said the old man;) swear to me by Oromazes, that whatever I do thou wilt not leave me for some days." Zadig swore, and they set out together.

In the evening, the two travellers arrived at a superb castle. The hermit entreated a hospitable reception for himself and the young man who accompanied him. The porter, whom one might have easily mistaken for a great lord, introduced them with a kind of disdainful civility. He presented them to a principal domestic, who shewed them his master's magnificent apartments. They were admitted to the lower
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end of the table, without being honoured with the least mark of regard by the lord of the castle; but they were served like the rest, with delicacy and profusion. They were then presented with water to wash their hands, in a golden basin adorned with emeralds and rubies. At last they were conducted to bed in a beautiful apartment; and, in the morning, a domestic brought each of them a piece of gold, after which they took their leave and departed.

“The master of the house (said Zadig, as they were proceeding on the journey) appears to be a generous man, though somewhat too proud: he nobly performs the duties of hospitality.” At that instant he observed, that a kind of large pocket which the hermit had, was filled and distended; and upon looking more narrowly, he found that it contained the golden basin adorned with precious stones, which the hermit had stolen. He durst not then take any notice of it; but he was filled with a strange surprize.

About noon, the hermit came to the door of a pauntry house, inhabited by a rich miser; and begged the favour of an hospitable reception for a few hours. An old servant, in a tattered garb, received them with a blunt and rude air, and led them into the stable, where he gave them some rotten olives, mouldy bread, and four beer. The hermit eat and drank with as much seeming satisfaction as he had done the evening before: and then addressing himself to the old servant, who watched them both, to prevent their stealing any thing, and rudely pressed them to depart, he gave him the two
pieces

pieces of gold he had received in the morning, and thanked him for his great civility. "Pray, (added he) allow me to speak to thy master." The servant, filled with astonishment, introduced the two travellers. "Magnificent lord! (said the hermit) I cannot but return thee my most humble thanks for the noble manner in which thou hast entertained us. Be pleased to accept of this golden bason, as a small mark of my gratitude." The miser started, and was ready to fall backwards; but the hermit, without giving him time to recover from his surprise, instantly departed with his young fellow-traveller. "Father, (said Zadig) what is the meaning of all this? thou seemest to me to be entirely different from other men; thou stealest a golden bason adorned with precious stones, from a lord who received thee magnificently, and givest it to a miser who treats thee with indignity." "Son, (replied the old man) this magnificent lord, who receives strangers only from vanity and ostentation, will hereby be rendered more wise; and the miser will learn to practise the duties of hospitality. Be surprised at nothing; but follow me." Zadig knew not as yet, whether he was in company with the most foolish or the most prudent of mankind; but the hermit spoke with such an ascendancy, that Zadig, who was moreover bound by his oath, could not refuse to follow him.

In the evening, they arrived at a house built with equal elegance and simplicity, where nothing favoured either of prodigality or avarice. The master of it was a philosopher, who had retired from the world; and who cultivated in
peace

peace the study of virtue and wisdom, without any of that rigid and morose severity, so commonly to be found in men of his character. He had chosen to build this country-house, in which he received strangers with a generosity free from ostentation. He went himself to meet the two travellers, whom he led into a commodious apartment, where he desired them to repose themselves a little. Soon after he came and invited them to a decent and well ordered repast, during which he spoke with great judgment of the last revolutions in Babylon. He seemed to be strongly attached to the queen; and wished that Zadig had appeared in the lists to dispute the crown: "But the people (added he) do not deserve to have such a king as Zadig." Zadig blushed, and felt his griefs redoubled. They agreed, in the course of the conversation, that the things of this world did not always answer the wishes of the wise. The hermit still maintained that the ways of providence were inscrutable; and that men were in the wrong to judge of a whole, of which they understood but the smallest part.

They talked of the passions: "Ah! (said Zadig) how fatal are their effects!" "They are the winds (replied the hermit) that swell the sails of the ship; it is true they sometimes sink her; but without them she could not sail at all. The bile makes us sick and cholerick; but without the bile we could not live. Every thing in this world is dangerous; and yet every thing is necessary."

The conversation turned on pleasure; and the hermit proved that it was a present bestowed by the

the deity: "For (said he) man cannot give himself either sensations or ideas: he receives all; and pain and pleasure proceed from a foreign cause, as well as his being."

Zadig was surprised to see a man, who had been guilty of such extravagant actions, capable of reasoning with so much judgment and propriety. At last, after a conversation equally entertaining and instructive, the host led back his two guests to their apartment, blessing heaven for having sent him two men possessed of so much wisdom and virtue. He offered them money, with such an easy and noble air as could not possibly give any offence. The hermit refused it, and said that he must now take his leave of him, as he proposed to set out for Babylon before it was light. Their parting was tender; Zadig, especially, felt himself filled with esteem and affection for a man of such an amiable character.

When he and the hermit were alone in their apartment, they spent a long time in praising their host. At break of day, the old man awoken'd his companion. "We must now depart, (said he;) but, while all the family are still asleep, I will leave this man a mark of my esteem and affection." So saying, he took a candle and set fire to the house. Zadig, struck with horror, cried aloud, and endeavoured to hinder him from committing such a barbarous action; but the hermit drew him away by a superior force; and the house was soon in flames. The hermit, who, with his companion, was already at a considerable distance, looked back to the conflagration with great tranquillity. "Thanks be to God, (said he) the house of my dear host

is entirely destroyed! Happy man!" At these words Zadig was at once tempted to burst out a-laughing, to reproach the reverend father, to beat him, and to run away. But he did none of all these; for, still subdued by the powerful ascendancy of the hermit, he followed him, in spite of himself, to the next stage.

This was at the house of a charitable and virtuous widow, who had a nephew fourteen years of age, a handsome and promising youth, and her only hope. She performed the honours of her house as well as she could. Next day, she ordered her nephew to accompany the strangers to a bridge, which being lately broken down, was become extremely dangerous in passing. The young man walked before them with great alacrity. As they were crossing the bridge, "Come, (said the hermit to the youth) I must shew my gratitude to thy aunt." He then took him by the hair, and plunged him into the river. The boy sunk, appeared again on the surface of the water, and was swallowed up by the current. "O monster! O thou most wicked of mankind!" cried Zadig. "Thou promisedst to behave with greater patience, (said the hermit, interrupting him.) Know, that under the ruins of that house which providence hath set on fire, the master hath found an immense treasure: know, that this young man, whose life providence hath shortened, would have assassinated his aunt in the space of a year, and thee in that of two." "Who told thee so, barbarian? (cried Zadig;) and though thou hadst read this event in thy book of destinies, art thou permitted to drown a youth who never did thee any harm?"

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While the Babylonian was thus exclaiming, he observed that the old man had no longer a beard; and that his countenance assumed the features and complexion of youth. The hermit's habit disappeared; and four beautiful wings covered a majestic body resplendent with light. "O sent of heaven! O divine angel! (cried Zadig, humbly prostrating himself on the ground) hast thou then descended from the Empyrean, to teach a weak mortal to submit to the eternal decrees of providence?" "Men, (said the angel Jesrad) judge of all, without knowing any thing; and, of all men, thou best deserveest to be enlightened." Zadig begged to be permitted to speak: "I distrust myself, (said he) but may I presume to ask the favour of thee to clear up one doubt that still remains in my mind; would it not have been better to have corrected this youth, and made him virtuous, than to have drowned him?" "Had he been virtuous, (replied Jesrad) and enjoyed a longer life, it would have been his fate to be assassinated himself, together with the wife he would have married, and the child he would have had by her." "But why (said Zadig) is it necessary that there should be crimes and misfortunes, and that these misfortunes should fall on the good?" "The wicked (replied Jesrad) are always unhappy: they serve to prove and try the small number of the just that are scattered through the earth; and there is no evil that is not productive of some good." "But, (said Zadig) suppose there were nothing but good, and no evil at all." "Then (replied Jesrad) this earth would be another earth: the chain of events would be ranged in another
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order, and directed by wisdom ; but this other order, which would be perfect, can exist only in the eternal abode of the Supreme Being, to which no evil can approach. The Deity hath created millions of worlds, among which there is not one that resembles another. This immense variety is the effect of his immense power. There are not two leaves among the trees of the earth, nor two globes in the unlimited expanse of heaven, that are exactly similar ; and all that thou seest on the little atom in which thou art born, ought to be in its proper time and place, according to the immutable decrees of him who comprehends all. Men think that this child who hath just perished, is fallen into the water by chance ; and that it is by the same chance that this house is burnt : but there is no such thing as chance ; all is either a trial, or a punishment, or a reward, or a foresight. Remember the fisherman, who thought himself the most wretched of mankind. Oromazes sent thee to change his fate. Cease then, frail mortal, to dispute against what thou oughtest to adore." " But," (said Zadig) ——— As he pronounced the word " But," the angel took his flight towards the tenth sphere. Zadig on his knees adored providence, and submitted. The angel cried to him from on high, " Direct thy course towards Babylon."

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The ÆNIGMAS.

ZADIG, entranced as it were, and like a man about whose head the thunder had burst, walked at random. He entered Babylon on the very day when those who had fought at the tournaments were assembled in the grand vestibule of the palace, to explain the ænigmas, and to answer the questions of the grand magi. All the knights were already arrived, except the knight in green armour. As soon as Zadig appeared in the city, the people crowded around him. Every eye was fixed on him; every mouth blessed him; and every heart wished him the empire. The envious man saw him pass; he frowned and turned aside. The people conducted him to the place where the assembly was held. The queen, who was informed of his arrival, became a prey to the most violent agitations of hope and fear. She was filled with anxiety and apprehension. She could not comprehend why Zadig was without arms, nor why Itobad wore the white armour. A confused murmur arose at the sight of Zadig. They were equally surprised and charmed to see him; but none but the knights who had fought were permitted to appear in the assembly.

“ I have fought as well as the other knights, (said Zadi,) but another here wears my arms; and while I wait for the honour of proving the truth of my assertion, I demand the liberty of presenting myself to explain the ænigmas.”

The question was put to the vote; and his reputation for probity was still so deeply impressed

in their minds, that they admitted him without scruple.

The first question proposed by the grand magi was, "What, of all things in the world, is the longest and the shortest; the swiftest and the slowest; the most divisible, and the most extended; the most neglected, and the most regretted; without which nothing can be done; which devours all that is little, and enlivens all that is great?"

Itobad was to speak. He replied, that so great a man as he did not understand ænigmas; and that it was sufficient for him to have conquered by his strength and valour. Some said that the meaning of the ænigma was fortune; some, the earth; and others, the light. Zadig said that it was time: "Nothing (added he) is longer, since it is the measure of eternity; nothing is shorter, since it is insufficient for the accomplishment of our projects; nothing more slow to him that expects; nothing more rapid to him that enjoys; in greatness it extends to infinity; in smallness it is infinitely divisible; all men neglect it; all regret the loss of it; nothing can be done without it; it consigns to oblivion whatever is unworthy of being transmitted to posterity; and it immortalizes such actions as are truly great." The assembly acknowledged that Zadig was in the right.

The next question was: "What is the thing which we receive without thanks, which we enjoy without knowing how, which we give to others when we know not where we are, and which we lose without perceiving it?"

Every one gave his own explanation. Zadig alone guessed that it was life; and explained all
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the other ænigmas with the same facility. Itobad always said that nothing was more easy, and that he could have answered them with the same readiness, had he chosen to have given himself the trouble. Questions were then proposed on justice, on the sovereign good, and on the art of government. Zadig's answers were judged to be the most solid. "What a pity is it, (said they) that such a great genius should be so bad a knight!"

"Illustrious lords, (said Zadig) I have had the honour of conquering in the tournaments. It is to me that the white armour belongs. Lord Itobad took possession of it during my sleep. He probably thought that it would fit him better than the green. I am now ready to prove in your presence, with my gown and sword, against all that beautiful white armour which he took from me, that it is I who have had the honour of conquering the brave Otamus."

Itobad accepted the challenge with the greatest confidence. He never doubted, but that, armed as he was, with a helmet, a cuirass, and brassards, he would obtain an easy victory over a champion in a cap and night-gown. Zadig drew his sword, saluting the queen, who looked at him with a mixture of fear and joy. Itobad drew his, without saluting any one. He rushed upon Zadig, like a man who had nothing to fear. He was ready to cleave him in two. Zadig knew how to ward off his blows, by opposing the strongest part of his sword to the weakest of that of his adversary, in such a manner that Itobad's sword was broken. Upon which Zadig, seizing his enemy by the waist,

threw him on the ground ; and fixing the point of his sword at the extremity of his breast-plate ; “ Suffer thyself to be disarmed, (said he) or thou art a dead man.” Itobad, always surprised at the disgraces that happened to such a man as he, was obliged to yield to Zadig, who took from him with great composure his magnificent helmet, his superb cuirass, his fine brassarts, his shining cuisses ; clothed himself with them ; and in this dress ran to throw himself at the feet of Astarte. Cador easily proved that the armour belonged to Zadig. He was acknowledged king by the unanimous consent of the whole nation, and especially by that of Astarte, who, after so many calamities ; now tasted the exquisite pleasure of seeing her lover worthy, in the eyes of all the world, to be her husband. Itobad went home to be called Lord in his own house. Zadig was king, and was happy. He recollected what the angel Jesrad had said to him. He even remembered the grain of sand that became a diamond. The queen and Zadig adored providence. He left the capricious beauty, Missouf, to run through the world. He sent in search of the robber, Arbogad, to whom he gave an honourable post in his army, promising to advance him to the first dignities, if he behaved like a true warrior ; and threatening to hang him, if he followed the profession of a robber.

Setoc, with the fair Almona, was called from the heart of Arabia, and placed at the head of the commerce of Babylon. Cador was preferred, and distinguished according to his great services. He was the friend of the king ; and
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the king was then the only monarch on earth that had a friend. The little mute was not forgotten. A fine house was given to the fisherman; and Orcan was condemned to pay him a large sum of money, and to restore him his wife; but the fisherman, who was now become wise, took only the money.

But, neither could the beautiful Semira be comforted, for having believed that Zadig would be blind of an eye; nor did Azora cease to lament her having attempted to cut off his nose: their griefs, however, he softened by his presents. The envious man died of rage and shame. The empire enjoyed peace, glory, and plenty. This was the happiest age of the earth. It was governed by love and justice. The people blessed Zadig, and Zadig blessed heaven.



THE WORLD

The world was once the same as now, but the people were different. They were not as wicked as we are now, and they were not as good as we are now. They were just as human as we are now, and they were just as mortal as we are now.

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

The history of the world is a long and tedious story. It is a story of wars and peace, of love and hate, of hope and despair. It is a story of the triumph of good over evil, and of the triumph of evil over good. It is a story of the human race, and of the human condition.

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The WORLD as it GOES,

The VISION of BABOUĆ*.

Written by himself.

AMONG the genii, who preside over the empires of the earth, Ithuriel held one of the first ranks, and had the department of Upper Asia. He one morning descended into the abode of Babouc, the Scythian, who dwelt on the banks of the Oxus, and said to him ; “ Babouc, the follies and vices of the Persians have drawn upon them our indignation ; yesterday was held an assembly of the genii of Upper Asia, to consider whether we should chastise Persopolis, or destroy it entirely. Go to that city ; examine every thing ; return and give me a faithful account ; and, according to thy report, I will then determine whether to correct or extirpate the inhabitants.” “ But, lord, (said Babouc with great humility) I have never been in Persia, nor do I

* This appears to be a satire on the city of Paris.

know a single person in that country." "So much the better, (said the angel) thou wilt be the more impartial; thou hast received from heaven the spirit of discernment, to which I now add the power of inspiring confidence. Go, see, hear, observe, and fear nothing; thou shalt every where meet with a favourable reception."

Babouc mounted his camel, and set out with his servants. After having travelled some days, he met, near the plains of Senaar, the Persian army, which was going to attack the forces of India. He first addressed himself to a soldier, whom he found at a distance from the main army; and asked him what was the occasion of the war. "By all the gods, (said the soldier) I know nothing of the matter. It is none of my business; my trade is to kill and be killed, to get a livelihood. It is of no consequence to me whom I serve. To-morrow, perhaps, I may go over to the Indian camp; for it is said they give their soldiers nearly half a copper drachma a day more than we have in this cursed service of Persia: if thou desirest to know why we fight, speak to my captain."

Babouc, having given the soldier a small present, entered the camp. He soon became acquainted with the captain, and asked him the subject of the war. "How canst thou imagine that I should know it? (said the captain) or of what importance is it to me? I live about two hundred leagues from Persopolis; I hear that war is declared; I instantly leave my family, and, having nothing else to do, go, according to our custom, to raise my fortune, or to fall by a glorious death." "But are not thy compa-

nions (said Babouc) a little better informed than thee?" "No, (said the officer) there are none but our principal satrapes, that know the true cause of our cutting one another's throats."

Babouc, struck with astonishment, introduced himself to the generals, and soon became familiarly acquainted with them. At last one of them said; "The cause of this war, which for twenty years past hath desolated Asia, sprang originally from a quarrel between a eunuch belonging to one of the concubines of the great king of Persia, and the clerk of a factory belonging to the great king of India. The dispute was about a claim, which amounted nearly to the thirtieth part of a daric. Our first minister and that of India maintained the rights of their masters with becoming dignity: the dispute grew warm: both parties sent into the field an army of a million of soldiers. This army must be every year recruited with upwards of four hundred thousand men. Massacres, burning of houses, ruin and devastation, are daily multiplied; the universe suffers; and their mutual animosity still continues. The first ministers of the two nations frequently protest, that they have nothing in view but the happiness of mankind; and every protestation is attended with the destruction of a town, or the desolation of a province*.

Next day, on a report being spread that peace was going to be concluded, the Persian and Indian generals made haste to come to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody.

* Such indeed are the trifling causes, which often produce horror, misery, and devastation.

Babouc beheld every crime, and every abomination: he was witness to the arts and stratagems of the principal satrapes, who did all that lay in their power to expose their general to the disgrace of a defeat. He saw officers killed by their own troops, and soldiers stabbing their already expiring comrades, in order to strip them of a few bloody garments, torn and covered with dirt. He entered the hospitals, to which they were conveying the wounded, most of whom died through the inhuman negligence of those who were well paid by the king of Persia to assist these unhappy men. "Are these men, (cried Babouc) or are they wild beasts? Ah! I plainly see that Persepolis will be destroyed."

Full of this thought, he went over to the camp of the Indians, where, according to the prediction of the genii, he was as well received as in that of the Persians; but he saw there the very same crimes which had already filled him with horror. "Oh! (said he to himself) if the angel Ithuriel should exterminate the Persians, the angel of India must certainly destroy the Indians." But being afterwards more particularly informed of all that passed in both armies, he heard of such acts of generosity, humanity, and greatness of soul, as at once surprised and charmed him: "Unaccountable mortals! as ye are, (cried he) how can you thus unite so much baseness and so much grandeur, so many virtues and so many vices?"

Mean while the peace was proclaimed; and the generals of the two armies, neither of whom had gained a complete victory, but who, for their own private interest, had shed the
blood

blood of so many of their fellow-creatures went to solicit their courts for rewards. The peace was celebrated in publick writings, which announced the return of virtue and happiness to the earth. "God be praised, (said Babouc) Persepolis will now be the abode of spotless innocence, and will not be destroyed, as the cruel genii intended. Let us haste, without delay, to this capital of Asia."



He entered that immense city by the ancient gate, which was entirely barbarous, and offended the eye by its disagreeable rusticity. All that part of the town favoured of the time when it was built; for, notwithstanding the obstinacy of men, in praising ancient at the expence of modern times, it must be owned, that the first essays in every art are rude and unfinished.

Babouc mingled in a croud of people, composed of the most nasty and deformed of both sexes, who were thronging with a stupid air into a large and gloomy inclosure. By the constant hum; by the gestures of the people; by the money which some persons gave to others for the liberty of sitting down, he imagined that he was in a market, where chairs were sold; but observing several women fall down on their knees, with an appearance of looking directly before them, while in reality they were leering at the men by their sides, he was soon convinced that he was in a temple. Shrill, hoarse, savage, and discordant voices, made the vault re-echo with ill-articulated sounds, that produced the same effect as the braying of wild
wild

asses, when, in the plains of Piétavia, they answer the cornet that calls them together. He stopped his ears ; but he was ready to shut his eyes and hold his nose, when he saw several labourers enter the temple with crows and spades, who removed a large stone, and threw up the earth on both sides, from whence exhaled a pestilential vapour : at last some others approached, deposited a dead body in the opening, and replaced the stone upon it. “ What ! (cried Babouc) do these people bury their dead in the place where they adore the Deity ? What ! are their temples paved with carcasses ? I am no longer surprised at those pestilential diseases * that frequently depopulate Persepolis. The putrefaction of the dead, and the infected breaths of such numbers of the living, assembled and crowded together in the same place, are sufficient to poison the whole terrestrial globe. Oh ! what an abominable city is Persepolis ! The angels probably intend to destroy it, in order to build a more beautiful one in its place, and to people it with inhabitants who are more virtuous, and better singers. Providence may have its reasons for so doing ; to its disposal let us leave all future events.”

* Indeed one would imagine that the European churches, especially in this kingdom, had been contrived in order to disgust the people, and deter them from public worship. The chilling dampness which reigns in every church, especially in the winter, is not more pernicious to the health, than the earthy, cadaverous smell is to the sense ; and the eye is entertained with a variety of funereal epitaphs and ornaments, which cannot fail to excite superstitious horror, in minds naturally susceptible of gloomy impressions.

Mean while the sun approached his meridian height. Babouc was to dine at the other end of the city with a lady, for whom her husband, an officer in the army, had given him some letters: but he first took several turns in Persepolis; where he saw other temples, better built and more richly adorned, filled with a polite audience, and resounding with harmonious music; he beheld publick fountains, which, tho' ill-placed, struck the eye by their beauty; squares where the best kings that had governed Persia seemed to breathe in bronze, and others where he heard the people crying out; "When shall we see our beloved master?" He admired the magnificent bridges built over the river; the superb and commodious quays; the palaces raised on both sides; and an immense house, where thousands of old soldiers, covered with scars and crowned with victory, offered their daily praises to the god of armies*. At last he entered the house of the lady, who, with a set of fashionable people, waited his company to dinner. The house was neat and elegant; the repast delicious; the lady young, beautiful, witty, and engaging; and the company worthy of her; and Babouc every moment said to himself, "The angel Ithuriel has little regard for the world, or he would never think of destroying such a charming city."

* We perceive our author has an eye to the celebrated fountain on the *Pont Neuf*, the *Place des Victoires*, the two great bridges over the *Seine*, with the stone quays on each side, the palace of the *Louvre*, and the hospital for invalids.



In the mean time he observed that the lady, who had begun by tenderly asking news about her husband, spoke still more tenderly to a young magi, towards the conclusion of the repast. He saw a magistrate, who, in presence of his wife, paid his court with great vivacity to a widow, while that indulgent widow had one arm around the magistrate's neck, and held out her other hand to a young citizen, remarkable for his modesty and graceful appearance. The magistrate's wife rose first from table, to go to converse in an adjoining closet with her director, who came too late, and for whom they had waited dinner; and the director, a man of great eloquence, spoke to her with such vehemence and holy zeal, that when she returned, her eyes were humid, her cheeks inflamed, her gait irregular, and her voice trembling.

Babouc then began to fear that the genii Ithuriel had but too much reason. The talent he possessed of gaining confidence let him that same day into all the secrets of the lady. She confessed to him her affection for the young magi, and assured him that in all the houses in Persopolis, he would meet with much the same behaviour as he had found in hers. Babouc concluded that such a society could not possibly subsist; that jealousy, discord, and vengeance, must desolate every house; that tears and blood must be daily shed; that the husbands must certainly kill the gallants of their wives, or be killed by them; and, in fine, that Ithuriel would

do well to destroy immediately a city abandoned to continual disasters.

* * * * *

Such were the gloomy ideas that possessed his mind, when a grave man in a black gown appeared at the gate, and humbly begged to speak to the young magistrate. This stripling, without rising or taking the least notice of the old gentleman, gave him some papers, with a haughty and careless air, and then dismissed him. Babouc asked who this man was. The mistress of the house said to him in a low voice, "He is one of the best advocates in the city, and hath studied the laws these fifty years. The other, who is but twenty-five years of age, and has only been a satrape of the law for two days, hath ordered him to make an extract of a process he is going to determine, though he has not as yet examined it." "This giddy youth acts wisely, said Babouc, in asking counsel of an old man. But why is not the old man himself the judge?" "Thou art surely in jest, said they; those who have grown old in laborious and inferior posts, are never raised to places of dignity. This young man has a great post, because his father is rich; and the right of dispensing justice is purchased here like a farm." "O manners! O unhappy city! cried Babouc, this is the height of anarchy and confusion. Those who have thus purchased the right of judging will doubtless sell their judgments; nothing do I see here but an abyss of iniquity."

While he was thus expressing his grief and surprise, a young warrior, who that very day

had returned from the army, said to him, why wouldst thou not have seats in the courts of justice to be purchased? I myself purchased the right of braving death at the head of two thousand men, who are under my command: it has this year cost me forty thousand darics of gold to lye on the earth thirty nights successively in a red dress, and at last to receive two wounds with an arrow, of which I still feel the smart. If I ruin myself to serve the emperor of Persia, whom I never saw, the satrape of the law may well pay something for enjoying the pleasure of giving audience to pleaders." Babouc was filled with indignation, and could not help condemning a country, where the highest posts in the army and the law were exposed to sale. He at once concluded, that the inhabitants must be entirely ignorant of the art of war, and the laws of equity; and that, though Ithurriel should not destroy them, they must soon be ruined by their detestable administration.

He was still further confirmed in his bad opinion by the arrival of a fat man, who, after saluting all the company with great familiarity, went up to the young officer, and said, "I can only lend thee fifty thousand darics of gold; for indeed the taxes of the empire have this year brought me in but three hundred thousand." Babouc enquired into the character of this man, who complained of having gained so little, and was informed, that in Persopolis there were forty plebeian kings, who held the empire of Persia by lease, and paid a small tribute to the monarch*.

* These are the farmers-général of France, who are suffered to amass vast fortunes by fleecing the people, in consideration of supplying the government,

After dinner he went into one of the most superb temples in the city, and seated himself amidst a crowd of men and women, who were come thither to pass away the time. A magi appeared in a machine elevated above the heads of the people, and talked a long time of vice and virtue. He divided into several parts what needed no division at all : he proved methodically what was sufficiently clear ; and he taught what every body knew ; he threw himself into a passion with great composure, and went away sweating, and out of breath. The assembly then awoke, and imagined they had been present at a very instructive discourse. Babouc said, " This man has done his best to tire two or three hundred of his fellow-citizens ; but his intention was good ; and there is nothing in this that should occasion the destruction of Persepolis."

Upon leaving the assembly, he was conducted to a public entertainment, which was exhibited every day in the year. It was in a kind of great hall, at the end of which appeared a palace. The most beautiful women in Persepolis, and the most considerable satrapes were ranged in order, and formed so fine a spectacle, that Babouc at first believed that this was all the entertainment. Two or three persons, who seemed to be kings and queens, soon appeared in the vestibule of the palace. Their language was very different from that of the people ; it was measured, harmonious, and sublime. No body slept. The audience kept a profound silence,
which

which was only interrupted by expressions of sensibility and admiration. The duty of kings, the love of virtue, and the dangers arising from unbridled passions were all described by such lively and affecting strokes, that Babouc shed tears. He doubted not but that these heroes and heroines, these kings and queens whom he had just heard, were the preachers of the empire: he even purposed to engage Ithuriel to come and hear them; confident that such a spectacle would for ever reconcile him to the city*.

As soon as the entertainment was finished, he resolved to visit the principal queen, who had recommended such pure and noble morals in the palace. He desired to be introduced to her majesty, and was led up a narrow staircase to an ill-furnished apartment in the second story, where he found a woman in a mean dress, who said to him with a noble and pathetic air, "This employment does not afford me a sufficient maintenance; one of the princes whom thou sawest has got me with child; I shall soon be brought to bed, I want money; and without money there is no lying in." Babouc gave her an hundred darics of gold, saying, "Had there been no other evil in the city but this, Ithuriel would have been to blame for being so much offended."

From thence he went to spend the evening at the house of a tradesman who dealt in magnificent trifles. He was conducted thither by a man of sense, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance. He bought whatever pleased his fancy; and the toyman with great politeness

* Here he alludes to theatrical entertainments.

sold him every thing for more than it was worth. On his return home his friend shewed him how much he had been cheated. Babouc set down the name of the tradesman in his pocket-book, in order to point him out to Ithuriel as the object of peculiar vengeance on the day when the city should be punished. As he was writing, he heard somebody knock at the door: this was the toyman himself, who came to restore him his purse which he had left by mistake on the counter. "How canst thou, cried Babouc, be so generous and faithful, when thou hast had the assurance to sell me these trifles for four times their value?" "There is not a tradesman," replied the merchant, of ever so little note in the city, that would not have returned thee thy purse: but whoever said that I sold thee these trifles for four times their value, is greatly mistaken; I sold them for ten times their value; and this is so true, that wert thou to sell them again in a month hence, thou wouldst not get even this tenth part. But nothing is more just; it is the variable fancies of men that set a value on these baubles: it is this fancy that maintains an hundred workmen whom I employ: it is this that gives me a fine house and a handsome chariot and horses: it is this, in fine, that excites industry, encourages taste, promotes circulation, and produces abundance.

"I sell the same trifles to the neighbouring nations at a much higher rate than I have sold them to thee, and by these means I am useful to the empire." Babouc, after having reflected a moment, erased the tradesman's name from his tablets.

Babouc

Babouc, not knowing as yet what to think of Persepolis, resolved to visit the magi and the men of letters; for, as the one studied wisdom, and the other religion, he hoped that they in conjunction would obtain mercy for the rest of the people. Accordingly, he went next morning into a college of magi. The archimandrite confessed to him, that he had an hundred thousand crowns a-year for having taken the vow of poverty, and that he enjoyed a very extensive empire in virtue of his vow of humility; after which he left him with an inferior brother, who did him the honours of the place.

While the brother was shewing him the magnificence of this house of penitence, a report was spread abroad, that Babouc was come to reform all these houses. He immediately received petitions from each of them, the substance of which was, "Preserve us and destroy all the rest." On hearing their apologies all these societies were absolutely necessary: on hearing their mutual accusations, they all deserved to be abolished. He was surprised to find that all the members of these societies were so extremely desirous of edifying the world, that they wished to have it entirely under their dominion.

Soon after appeared a little man, who was a demi-magi, and who said to him, "I plainly see that the work is going to be accomplished; for Zerdust is returned to earth; and the little girls prophecy, pinching themselves before, and whipping themselves behind. We there-
fore

fore implore thy protection against the great lama." "What! said Babouc, against the royal pontiff, who resides at Tibet?" "Yes, against him himself." "What! you are then making war upon him, and raising armies?" "No, but he says that man is a free agent, and we deny it. We have wrote several pamphlets against him, which he never read; hardly has he heard our name mentioned; he hath only condemned us in the same manner as a man orders the trees in his garden to be cleared from caterpillars." Babouc was incensed at the folly of these men who made profession of wisdom; at the intrigues of those who had renounced the world; and at the ambition, pride, and avarice of such as taught humility and a disinterested spirit; from all which he concluded that Ithuriel had good reason to destroy the whole race.



On his return home, he sent for some new books to alleviate his grief, and, in order to exhilarate his spirits, invited some men of letters to dine with him; when, like wasps attracted by a pot of honey, there came twice as many as he had desired. These parasites were equally eager to eat and to speak; they praised two sorts of persons, the dead and themselves; but none of their contemporaries, except the master of the house. If any of them happened to drop a smart and witty expression, the rest cast down their eyes, and bit their lips, out of mere vexation that it had not been said by themselves. They had less dissimulation than the magi, because

cause they had not such grand objects of ambition. Each of them behaved at once with all the meanness of a valet, and all the dignity of a great man. They said to each other's face the most insulting things, which they took for strokes of wit*. They had some knowledge of the design of Babouc's commission. One of them entreated him in a low voice to extirpate an author who had not praised him sufficiently, about five years before; another requested the ruin of a citizen who had never laughed at his comedies; and a third demanded the destruction of the academy, because he had not been able to get admitted into it. The repast being ended, each of them departed by himself; for in the whole crowd there were not two men that could endure the company or conversation of each other, except at the houses of the rich, who invited them to their tables. Babouc thought that it would be no great loss to the public if all these vermin were destroyed in the general catastrophe.



Having now got rid of these men of letters, he began to read some new books, where he discovered the true spirit by which his guests had been actuated. He observed with particular indignation, those slanderous gazettes, those archives of bad taste, dictated by envy, baseness, and hunger; those ungenerous satires, where

* This is a good memorandum for those authors who are continually reviling each other in the most scandalous terms for the entertainment of the public.

the vulture is treated with lenity, and the dove torn in pieces; and those dry and insipid romances, filled with characters of women to whom the author was an utter stranger.

All these detestable writings he committed to the flames, and went to pass the evening in walking. In this excursion he was introduced to an old man possessed of great learning, who had not come to increase the number of his parasites. This man of letters always fled from crowds; he understood human nature; availed himself of his knowledge; and imparted it to others with great discretion. Babouc told him how much he was grieved at what he had seen and read.

"Thou hast read very despicable performances, said the man of letters; but in all times, in all countries, and in all kinds of literature, the bad swarm, and the good are rare. Thou hast received into thy house the very dregs of pedantry; for in all professions those who are least worthy of appearing, are always sure to present themselves with the greatest impudence. The truly wise live among themselves in retirement and tranquillity; and we have still some men and some books worthy of thy attention." While he was thus speaking, they were joined by another man of letters; and the conversation became so entertaining and instructive, so elevated above vulgar prejudices, and so conformable to virtue, that Babouc acknowledged he had never heard the like. "These are men, said he to himself, whom the angel Ithuriel will not presume to touch, or he must be a merciless being indeed*."

* Is not this a compliment which the author pays to Mr. de Voltaire.

Though reconciled to men of letters, he was still enraged against the rest of the nation. "Thou art a stranger, said the judicious person, who was talking to him; abuses present themselves to thy eyes in crowds, while the good, which lies concealed, and which is even sometimes the result of these very abuses, escapes thy observation." He then learned that among men of letters there were some who were free from envy; and that even among the magi themselves there were some men of virtue. In fine, he concluded that these great bodies, which, by their mutual shocks, seemed to threaten their common ruin, were, at bottom, very salutary institutions; that each society of magi was a check upon its rivals; and that though these rivals might differ in some speculative points, they all taught the same morals, instructed the people, and lived in subjection to the laws, not unlike to those preceptors who watch over the heir of a family, while the master of the house watches over them. He conversed with several of these magi, and found them possessed of exalted souls. He likewise learned that even among the fools who pretended to make war on the great lama, there had been some men of distinguished merit; and, from all these particulars, he conjectured that it might be with the manners of Persopolis as it was with the buildings; some of which moved his pity, while others filled him with admiration.



He

He said to the man of letters, "I plainly see that these magi, whom I at first imagined to be so dangerous, are, in reality, extremely useful; especially when a wise government hinders them from rendering themselves too necessary; but thou wilt at least acknowledge, that your young magistrates, who purchase the office of a judge as soon as they can mount a horse, must display in their tribunals the most ridiculous impertinence, and the most iniquitous perverseness. It would doubtless be better to give these places gratuitously to those old civilians who have spent their lives in the study of the law."

The man of letters replied; "Thou hast seen our army before thy arrival at Persepolis; thou knowest that our young officers fight with great bravery, though they buy their posts; perhaps thou wilt find that our young magistrates do not give wrong decisions, though they purchase the right of dispensing justice."

He led him next day to the grand tribunal, where an affair of great importance was to be decided. The cause was known to all the world. All the old advocates that spoke on the subject were wavering and unsettled in their opinions; they quoted an hundred laws, none of which were applicable to the question. They considered the matter in a hundred different lights, but never in its true point of view. The judges were more quick in their decision than the advocates in raising doubts. They were unanimous in their sentiments. They decided justly, because they followed the light of reason;

the others reasoned falsely, because they only consulted their books.

Babouc concluded that the best things frequently arose from abuses. He saw the same day, that the riches of the receivers of the public revenue, at which he had been so much offended, were capable of producing an excellent effect; for the emperor having occasion for money, he found in an hour by their means what he could not have procured in six months by the ordinary methods. He saw that those great clouds, swelled with the dews of the earth, restored in plentiful showers what they had thence derived. Besides, the children of these new gentlemen, who were frequently better educated than those of the most ancient families, were sometimes more useful members of society; for he whose father hath been a good accomptant may easily become a good judge, a brave warrior, and an able statesman*.

* * * * *

* This is in the whole a very weak apology. Certain it is, nothing tends so much to the prejudice and disgrace of religion as the disputes and want of charity among the clergy; and nothing promotes corruption in a judge so much as the practice of rising the bench, by means of bribery. Nothing weakens military discipline, and discourages merit, equal to the scandalous sale of commissions, by which a worthless upstart with money in his pocket raises himself over the head of the brave veteran; and as for the method of farming revenues, it can never be of any service except to a tyrant, who founds his power on the misery of his people.

Babouc was insensibly brought to excuse the avarice of the farmer of the revenues, who, in reality, was not more avaricious than other men, and besides was extremely necessary. He overlooked the folly of those who ruined themselves, in order to obtain a post in the law or army; a folly that produces great magistrates and heroes. He forgave the envy of men of letters, among whom there were some that enlightened the world; and he was reconciled to the ambitious and intriguing magi, who were possessed of more great virtues than little vices. But he had still many causes of complaint. The gallantries of the ladies especially, and the fatal effects which these must necessarily produce, filled him with fear and terror.

As he was desirous of prying into the characters of men of every condition, he went to wait on a minister of state; but trembled all the way, lest some wife should be assassinated by her husband in his presence. Having arrived at the statesman's, he was obliged to remain two hours in the anti-chamber before his name was sent in, and two hours more after that was done. In this interval, he resolved to recommend to the angel Ithuriel both the minister and his insolent porters. The anti-chamber was filled with ladies of every rank, magi of all colours, judges, merchants, officers, and pedants; and all of them complained of the minister. The miser and the usurer said, "Doubtless this man plunders the provinces." The capricious reproached him with fickleness; the voluptuary said, "He thinks of nothing but his pleasures." The factious hoped to see him soon ruined by a cabal; and the women flattered

tered themselves that they should soon have a younger minister.

Babouc heard their conversation, and could not help saying, "This is surely a happy man; he hath all his enemies in his anti-chamber; he crushes with his power those that envy his grandeur; he beholds those that detest him grovelling at his feet." At length he was admitted into the presence-chamber, where he saw a little old man bending under the weight of years and business; but still lively and full of spirits.

The minister was pleased with Babouc, and to Babouc he appeared to be a man of great merit. The conversation became interesting. The minister confessed that he was very unhappy; that he passed for rich, while in reality he was poor; that he was believed to be all-powerful, and yet was constantly contradicted; that he had obliged none but a parcel of ungrateful wretches; and that, in the course of forty years labour, he had hardly enjoyed a moment's rest. Babouc was moved with his misfortunes; and thought that if this man had been guilty of some faults, and Ithuriel had a mind to punish him, he ought not to cut him off, but to leave him in possession of his place.



While Babouc was talking to the minister, the beautiful lady with whom he had dined, entered hastily, her eyes and her forehead discovering the symptoms of grief and indignation. She burst into reproaches against the statesman; she shed tears; she complained bitterly that her husband

husband had been refused a place to which his birth allowed him to aspire, and which he had fully merited by his wounds and his service; she expressed herself with such force; she uttered her complaints with such a graceful air; she overthrew objections with so much address, and enforced her arguments with so much eloquence, that she did not leave the chamber till she had made her husband's fortune.

Babouc gave her his hand, and said, "Is it possible, madam, that thou canst take so much pains to serve a man whom thou dost not love, and from whom thou hast every thing to fear?"

"A man whom I do not love! cried she; know, Sir, that my husband is the best friend I have in the world; that there is nothing I would not sacrifice for him, except my lover; and that he would do any thing for me, except that of leaving his mistress. I must introduce you to her acquaintance: she is a charming woman, sprightly, and sweet-tempered; we sup together this very night, with my husband and my little magi; come and share our joy."

The lady conducted Babouc to her own house. The husband, who was at last arrived, overwhelmed with grief, received his wife with transports of joy and gratitude. He embraced by turns his wife, his mistress, the little magi, and Babouc. Wit, harmony, cheerfulness, and all the graces, embellished the repast. "Know, said the lady with whom he supped, that those who are sometimes called dishonest women have almost always the merit of very honest men; and to convince thee of this, I invite thee to dine with me to-morrow at the beautiful Theona's. There are some old ves-

tals that tear her character in pieces ; but she does more good than all of them together. She would not commit the least act of injustice to gain the greatest advantage : she gives the most generous advice to her lover ; she consults only his glory ; and he would blush before her, should he let slip any opportunity of doing good ; for nothing can more effectually excite a man to the performance of virtuous actions, than to have for the witness and judge of his conduct a mistress whose esteem he wishes to deserve."

Babouc did not fail to keep the appointment. He saw a house where all the pleasures seemed to reign, with Theona at the head of them, who well knew how to preserve the most perfect order. Her easy wit made all around her happy ; she pleased almost without intending to do so ; she was as amiable as beneficent ; and, what enhanced the merit of all her good qualities, she was a beauty.

Babouc, though a Scythian, and sent by a genii, found, that should he continue much longer in Persopolis, he would forget Ithuriel for Theona. He began to grow fond of a city, the inhabitants of which were polite, affable, and beneficent, though fickle, slanderous, and vain. He was much afraid that Persopolis would be condemned. He was even afraid to give in his account.

This, however, he did in the following manner : he caused a little statue, composed of all kinds of metals, of earth, and stones the most precious and the most vile, to be cast by one of the best founders in the city, and carried it to Ithuriel. "Wilt thou break, said he, this pretty

pretty statue, because it is not wholly composed of gold and diamonds?" Ithuriel immediately understood his meaning, and resolved to think no more of punishing Persepolis, but to leave "The world as it goes." For, said he, if all is not well, all is passable." Thus Persepolis was suffered to remain; nor did Babouc complain like Jonas, who was so highly incensed at the preservation of Nineveh. But when a man has been three days in a whale's belly, he cannot be supposed to be in so good a humour, as when he has been at an opera, or a comedy, and hath supped with good company.

MICROMEGAS:

A

COMIC ROMANCE.

BEING

A SEVERE SATIRE

UPON THE

PHILOSOPHY, IGNORANCE, and SELF-
CONCEIT of MANKIND.

MICROMEGAS*.

CHAP. I.

A Voyage to the Planet SATURN, by an Inhabitant of the Star SIRIUS.

IN one of the planets that revolve round the star known by the name of Sirius, was a certain young gentleman of promising parts, whom I had the honour to be acquainted with, in his last voyage to this our little ant-hill. His name was Micromegas, an appellation admirably suited to all great men, and his stature amounted to eight leagues in height, that is, four and twenty thousand geometrical paces, five feet in each.

Some of your mathematicians, a set of people always useful to the public, will, perhaps, instantly seize the pen, and calculate, that Mr. Micromegas, inhabitant of the country of Sirius,

* A name compounded of two Greek words, signifying *little* and *great*. The intelligent reader will easily perceive that this piece is intended as a satire upon the pride and insignificance of philosophers; and that the author had Gulliver's Travels in his eye,

being

being, from head to foot, four and twenty thousand paces in length, making one hundred and twenty thousand royal feet; that we denizens of this earth, being, at a medium, little more than five feet high, and our globe nine thousand leagues in circumference; these things being premised, I say, they will conclude, that the periphery of the globe which produced him, must be exactly one and twenty millions six hundred thousand times greater than that of this our tiny-ball. Nothing in nature is more simple and common. The dominions of some sovereigns of Germany or Italy, which may be compassed in half an hour, when compared with the empires of Ottoman, Muscovy, or China, are no other than faint instances of the prodigious difference which nature hath made in the scale of beings. The stature of his excellency being of these extraordinary dimensions, all our painters and statuaries will easily agree, that the round of his belly might amount to fifty thousand royal feet: a very agreeable and just proportion.

His nose being equal in length to one third of his face, and his jolly countenance engrossing one seventh part of his height, it must be owned, that the nose of this same Sirian, was six thousand three hundred and thirty-three royal feet to a hair, which was to be demonstrated.—With regard to his understanding, it is one of the best cultivated I have known; he is perfectly well acquainted with abundance of things, some of which are of his own invention: for, when his age did not exceed two hundred and fifty years, he, according to the custom of his country, studied at the most celebrated university of the

the whole planet, and by the force of his genius, found out upwards of fifty propositions of Euclid; having the advantage by more than eighteen, of Blaise Paschal, who (as we are told by his own sister) demonstrated two and thirty for his amusement, and then left off, choosing rather to be an indifferent philosopher, than a great mathematician*.—About the four hundred and fiftieth year of his age, or latter end of his childhood, he dissected a great number of small insects not more than one hundred feet in diameter, which are not perceivable by ordinary microscopes, of which he composed a very curious treatise, which involved him in some trouble: the musti of the nation, though very old and very ignorant, made shift to discover in his book, certain lemmas that were suspicious, unseemly, rash, heretick and unsound; and pro-

* Our author is here too severe on the famous Paschal, whose Provincial Letters have been universally admired, and translated into many different languages. His genius for mathematics was altogether surprising. Though his father carefully interdicted him from reading books of this science, he, at the age of twelve, had, by the force of his natural talents, discovered and demonstrated thirty-one propositions in the first book of Euclid. At the age of sixteen, he composed a treatise on conic sections. At nineteen, he invented a curious machine for the purposes of arithmetical calculation. At twenty-three, he made some improvements in mechanics, and was the first, who, by repeated experiments, clearly demonstrated that the effects hitherto ascribed to nature's horror of a vacuum, were produced from the pressure of the circumambient air. It is not to be doubted, but that he would have made much more considerable progress in mathematics and natural philosophy, had he not been persuaded about this time of life by his sister, who was a nun, to retire from the world, and dedicate his studies to the interests of religion.

secuted.

fecuted him with great animosity; for, the subject of the author's inquiry, was, whether in the world of Sirius, there was any difference between the substantial forms of a flea and a snail.

Micromegas defended his philosophy with such spirit as made all the female sex his proselytes; and the process lasted two hundred and twenty years, at the end of which, in consequence of the musti's interest, the book was condemned by judges who had never read it, and the author expelled from court, for the term of eight hundred years.

Not much afflicted at his banishment from a court that teemed with nothing but turmoils and trifles, he made a very humorous song upon the musti, who gave himself no trouble about the matter, and set out on his travels from planet to planet, in order (as the saying is) to improve his mind and finish his education. Those who never travel but in a post-chaise or berlin, will, doubtless, be astonished at the equipages used above: for we that strut upon this little mole-hill, are at a loss to conceive any thing that surpasses our own customs. But our traveller was a wonderful adept in the laws of gravitation, together with the whole force of attraction and repulsion; and made such seasonable use of his knowledge, that sometimes, by the help of a sun-beam*, and sometimes by the convenience

* Surely our author might have found a more adequate conveyance. There is a sort of vraisemblance or probability to be observed even in the most extravagant fiction, and this is monstrously violated by representing such an enormous mass of matter with a necklace of diamonds, the least of which was 160 feet in diameter, riding on a sun-beam.

of a comet, he and his retinue glided from sphere to sphere, as a bird hops from one bough to another. He in a very little time, posted through the milky way; and I am obliged to own, he saw not a twinkle of those stars supposed to adorn that fair empyrean, which the illustrious doctor Derham brags to have observed through his telescope. Not that I pretend to say the doctor was mistaken. God forbid! but Micromegas was upon the spot, an exceeding good observer, and I have no mind to contradict any man. Be that as it will, after many windings and turnings, he arrived at the planet Saturn; and accustomed as he was to the sight of novelties, he could not for his life repress that supercilious and conceited smile which often escapes the wisest philosopher, when he perceived the smallness of that globe, and the diminutive size of its inhabitants: for really Saturn is but about nine hundred times larger than this our earth, and the people of that country meer dwarfs, about a thousand fathoms high. In short, he at first derided those poor pigmies, just as an Italian fidler laughs at the music of Lully, at his first arrival in Paris: but, as this Sirian was a person of good sense, he soon perceived that a thinking being may not be altogether ridiculous, even though he is not quite six thousand feet high; and therefore he became familiar with them, after they had ceased to wonder at his extraordinary appearance. In particular, he contracted an intimate friendship with the secretary of the academy of Saturn, a man of good understanding, who, though in truth he had invented nothing of his own, gave a very good account of the inventions of others, and enjoyed in peace the reputation

putation of a little poet and great calculator*. And here, for the edification of the reader, I will repeat a very singular conversation that one day passed between Mr. secretary and Micromegas.



CHAP. II.

The Conversation betwixt MICROMEGAS and the Inhabitant of SATURN.

HIS excellency having laid himself down, and the secretary approached his nose, "It must be confessed," said Micromegas, "that nature is full of variety,"— "Yes," replied the Saturnian, "nature is like a parterre whose flowers—" "Pshaw!" cried the other, "a truce with your parterres."—"It is," resumed the secretary, "like an assembly of fair and brown women whose dresses—" "What a plague have I to do with your brunettes?" said our traveller. "Then it is like a gallery of pictures, the strokes of which—" "Not at all," answered Micromegas, "I tell you once for all, nature is like nature, and comparisons are odious." "Well, to please you," said the secretary— "I won't be pleased," replied the Sirian, "I want to be instructed: begin therefore, without further preamble, and tell me how many senses the people of this world enjoy."—

* Here our author is supposed to glance at the learned Mappertius, whom the king of Prussia placed at the head of his academy in Berlin.

"We have seventy and two," said the academician, "but, we are daily complaining of the small number; as our imagination transcends our wants; for, with these seventy-two senses, our five moons and ring, we find ourselves very much restricted; and notwithstanding our curiosity, and the no small number of those passions that result from these few senses, we have still time enough to be tired of idleness." "I sincerely believe what you say," cried Micromegas, "for, though we Sirians have near a thousand different senses, there still remains a certain vague desire, an unaccountable inquietude incessantly advertising us of our own unimportance, and giving us to understand, that there are other beings who are much our superiors in point of perfection. I have travelled a little, and seen mortals both above and below myself in the scale of being: but, I have met with none who had not more desire than necessity, and more want than gratification; perhaps, I shall one day arrive in some country, where nought is wanting; but, hitherto I have had no certain information of such an happy land." The Saturnian and his guest exhausted themselves in conjectures upon this subject, and after abundance of argumentation equally ingenious and uncertain, being fain to return to matter of fact, "To what age do you commonly live?" said the Sirian. "Lack-a-day! a meer trifle," replied the little gentleman. "It is the very same case with us," resumed the other, "the shortness of life is our daily complaint; so that this must be an universal law in nature." "Alas!" cried the Saturnian, "few, very few on this globe, outlive five hundred great revolutions of the sun: (these, according to our way of reck-

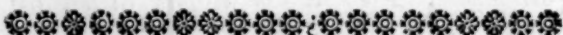
oning, amount to about fifteen thousand years.) So, you see we in a manner begin to die the very moment we are born: our existence is no more than a point, our duration an instant, and our globe an atom. Scarce do we begin to learn a little, when death intervenes, before we can profit by experience: for my own part, I am deterred from laying schemes, when I consider myself as a single drop in the midst of an immense ocean: I am particularly ashamed in your presence, of the ridiculous figure I make among my fellow-creatures."

To this declaration, Micromegas replied, "If you were not a philosopher, I should be afraid of mortifying your pride, by telling you, that the term of our lives, is seven hundred times longer than the date of your existence: but, you are very sensible, that when the texture of the body is resolved, in order to reanimate nature in another form, which is the consequence of what we call death; when that moment of change arrives, there is not the least difference betwixt having lived a whole eternity, or a single day. I have been in some countries where the people live a thousand times longer than with us, and yet they murmured at the shortness of their time: but, one will find every where, some few persons of good sense, who know how to make the best of their portion, and thank the author of nature for his bounty. There is a profusion of variety scattered through the universe, and yet there is an admirable vein of uniformity that runs thro' the whole: for example, all thinking beings are different among themselves, though at bottom they resemble one another, in the powers and passions of the soul: matter, though inter-

minable, hath different properties in every sphere. How many principal attributes do you reckon in the matter of this world?" "If you mean those properties," said the Saturnian, "without which we believe this our globe could not subsist, we reckon in all three hundred, such as extent, impenetrability, motion, gravitation, divisibility, et cætera."— "That small number," replied the traveller, "probably answers the views of the creator, on this your narrow sphere. I adore his wisdom in all his works. I see infinite variety, but every where proportion. Your globe is small; so are the inhabitants: you have few sensations; because your matter is endued with few properties: these are the works of unerring providence. Of what colour does your son appear when accurately examined?" "Of a yellowish white," answered the Saturnian; "and in separating one of his rays, we find it contains seven colours." "Our sun," said the Sirian, "is of a reddish hue, and we have no less than thirty-nine original colours. Among all the suns I have seen, there is no sort of resemblance; and in this sphere of yours, there is not one face like another."

After divers questions of this nature, he asked how many substances essentially different, they counted in the world of Saturn? and understood that they numbered but thirty; such as God, space, matter, beings endued with sense and extension, beings that have extension, sense, and reflection, thinking beings who have no extension, those that are penetrable, those that are impenetrable, and the rest. But this Saturnian

nian philosopher was prodigiously astonished, when the Sirian told him, they had no less than three hundred, and that he himself had discovered three thousand more in the course of his travels. In short, after having communicated to each other what they knew, and even what they did not know, and argued during a complete revolution of the sun, they resolved to set out together, on a small philosophical tour.



C H A P. III.

The Voyage of those Two INHABITANTS of the other World.

OUR two philosophers were just ready to embark for the atmosphere of Saturn, with a jolly provision of mathematical instruments, when the Saturnian's mistress, having got an inkling of their design, came all in tears, to make her remonstrances. She was a little handsome brunette, not above six hundred and three-score fathom high; but her agreeable attractions made amends for the smallness of her stature. "Ah! cruel man," cried she, "after a resistance of fifteen hundred years, when at length I surrendered, and scarce have passed two hundred more in thy embrace, to leave me thus, before the honey moon is over, and go a rambling with a giant of another world! go, go, thou art a meer virtuoso devoid of tenderness and love! if thou wert a true Saturnian, thou wouldst be faithful and invariable. Ah! whither art thou going?"

going? what is thy design? our five moons are not so inconstant, nor our ring so changeable as thee! but take this along with you, henceforth I ne'er shall love another man." The little gentleman embraced and wept over her, notwithstanding his philosophy; and the lady, after having swooned with great decency, went to console herself with the conversation of a certain beau.

Mean while, our two virtuosi set out, and at one jump leaped upon the ring, which they found pretty flat, according to the ingenious guess of an illustrious inhabitant of this our little earth: from thence they easily slipped from moon to moon; and a comet chancing to pass, they sprung upon it with all their servants and apparatus. Thus carried about one hundred and fifty millions of leagues, they met with the satellites of Jupiter, and arrived upon the body of the planet itself, where they continued a whole year; during which, they learned some very curious secrets, which would actually be sent to the press, were it not for fear of the gentlemen inquisitors, who have found among them some corollaries very hard of digestion. Nevertheless, I have read the manuscript in the library of the illustrious archbishop of who has granted me permission to peruse his books, with that generosity and goodness, which can never be enough commended: wherefore, I promise he shall have a long article in the next edition of Moreri, where I shall not forget the young gentlemen his sons, who give us such pleasing hopes of seeing perpetuated the race of their illustrious father. But to return to our travellers. When they took leave of Jupiter,

piter, they traversed a space of about one hundred millions of leagues, and coasting along the planet Mars, which is well known to be five times smaller than our little earth, they describ- two moons subservient to that orb, which have escaped the observation of all our astronomers. I know father Castel will write, and that pleasantly enough, against the existence of these two moons; but I entirely refer myself to those who reason by analogy: those worthy philosophers are very sensible, that Mars, which is at such a distance from the sun, must be in a very uncomfortable situation, without the benefit of a couple of moons: be that as it may, our gentlemen found the planet so small, that they were afraid they should not find room to take a little repose; so that they pursued their journey like two travellers who despise the paultry accommodation of a village, and push forward to the next market town. But the Sirian and his companion soon repented of their delicacy; for, they journeyed a long time, without finding a resting place, 'till at length, they discerned a small speck, which was Earth. Coming from Jupiter, they could not but be moved with compassion at sight of this miserable spot, upon which, however, they resolved to land, lest they should be a second time disappointed. They accordingly moved towards the tail of the comet, where finding an Aurora Borealis ready to set sail, they embarked, and arrived on the northern coast of the Baltic, on the fifth day of July, new stile, in the year

CHAP. IV.

What befel them upon this our GLOBE.

HAVING taken some repose, and being desirous of reconnoitring the narrow field in which they were, they traversed it at once from north to south; every step of the Sirian and his attendants, measuring about thirty thousand royal feet: whereas, the dwarf of Saturn, whose stature did not exceed a thousand fathoms, followed at a distance quite out of breath; because, for every single stride of his companion, he was obliged to make twelve good steps at least. The reader may figure to himself (if we are allowed to make such comparisons) a very little rough spaniel dodging after a captain of the Prussian grenadiers.

As those strangers walked at a good pace, they compassed the globe in six and thirty hours; the sun it is true, or rather the earth, describes the same space in the course of one day; but, it must be observed, that it is much more easy to turn upon an axis, than to walk a-foot. Behold them then returned to the spot from whence they had set out, after having discovered that almost imperceptible sea, which is called the Mediterranean; and the other narrow pond that surrounds this mole-hill, under the denomination of the great ocean; in wading through which, the dwarf had never wet his mid-leg, while the other scarce moistened his heel. In going and coming through both hemispheres, they did all that lay in their power to discover whether or not the globe was inhabited. They
N stooped,

stooped, they lay down, they groped in every corner; but their eyes and hands were not at all proportioned to the small beings that crawl upon this earth; and, therefore, they could not find the smallest reason to suspect that we and our fellow citizens of this globe had the honour to exist.

The dwarf, who sometimes judged too hastily, concluded at once, that there was no living creature upon earth; and his chief reason was, that he had seen nobody. But, Micro-megas, in a polite manner, made him sensible of the unjust conclusion; "For," said he, "with your diminutive eyes, you cannot see certain stars of the fiftieth magnitude, which I distinctly perceive; and do you take it for granted that no such stars exist?" "But, I have groped with great care," replied the dwarf. "Then your sense of feeling must be bad," resumed the other. "But, this globe," said the dwarf, "is ill contrived; and so irregular in its form, as to be quite ridiculous. The whole together looks like a chaos. Do but observe these little rivulets; not one of them runs in a strait line: and these ponds, which are neither round, square nor oval, nor indeed of any regular figure; together with those little sharp pebbles (meaning the mountains) that roughen the whole surface of the globe, and have tore all the skin from my feet. Besides, pray take notice of the shape of the whole, how it flattens at the poles, and turns round the sun in an aukward oblique manner, so as that the polar circles cannot possibly be cultivated. Truly, what makes me believe there is no inhabitant on this sphere, is a full persuasion, that

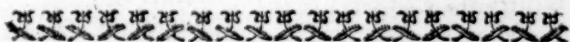
that no sensible being would live in such a disagreeable place." "What then?" said Micromegas, "perhaps the beings that inhabit it come not under that denomination; but, in all appearance, it was not made for nothing. Every thing here seems to you irregular; because, you fetch all your comparisons from Jupiter or Saturn. Perhaps this is the very reason for the seeming confusion which you condemn; have not I told you that in the course of my travels, I have always met with variety?" The Saturnian replied to all these arguments, and perhaps the dispute would have known no end, if Micromegas in the heat of the contest had not luckily broke the string of his diamond necklace; so that the jewels fell to the ground, consisting of pretty small unequal karats, the largest of which weighed four hundred pounds, and the smallest, fifty*. The dwarf, in helping to pick them up, perceived as they approached his eye, that every single diamond was cut in such a manner as to answer the purpose of an excellent microscope. He therefore took up a small one, about one hundred and sixty feet in diameter, and applied it to his eye; while Micromegas chose another of two thousand five hundred. Though they were of excellent powers, the observers could perceive nothing by their assistance, so that they were altered and adjusted: at length, the inhabitant of Saturn discerned something almost imperceptible, mov-

* If the largest weighed 400 pounds, and one of the smallest amounted to 160 feet in diameter, what must have been the density of the matter which composed these diamonds?

ing between two waves in the Baltic : this was no other than a whale, which, in a dextrous manner, he caught with his little finger, and placing it on the nail of his thumb, shewed it to the Syrian, who laughed heartily at the excessive smallness peculiar to the inhabitants of this our globe. The Saturnian, by this time convinced that our world was inhabited, began to imagine we had no other animals than whales; and being a mighty arguer, he forthwith set about investigating the origin and motion of this small atom, curious to know whether or not it was furnished with ideas, judgment, and free will. Micromegas was very much perplexed upon this subject ; he examined the animal with the most patient attention, and the result of his inquiry was, that he could see no reason to believe a soul was lodged in such a body. The two travellers were actually inclined to think there was no such thing as mind, in this our habitation, when by the help of their microscope, they perceived something as large as a whale, floating upon the surface of the sea. It is well known, that at this period, a flight of philosophers were upon their return from the polar circle, where they had been making observations, for which nobody has hitherto been the wiser*. The gazettes record, that their vessel

* Cassini, who had measured a degree of the meridian in France, and published in 1718 his book upon the size and figure of the earth, in which he concludes it is lengthened at the poles, in contradiction to the theory of Newton and Huygens ; the French king ordered a company of academicians to measure a degree of the equator, and another to take the dimensions of a degree at the polar circle, in order to determine this dispute. Messrs. Goden, Bouguer,

vessel ran ashore on the coast of Bosnia, and that they with great difficulty, saved their lives; but, in this world one can never dive to the bottom of things: for my own part, I will ingenuously recount the transaction just as it happened, without any addition of my own; and this is no small effort in a modern historian.



CHAP. V.

Micromegas stretched out his hand gently towards the place where the object appeared, and advanced two fingers, which he instantly pulled back, for fear of being disappointed, then opening softly and shutting them all at once, he very dextrously seized the ship that contained those gentlemen, and placed it on his nail, avoiding too much pressure, which might have crushed the whole in pieces. "This," said the Saturnian dwarf, "is a creature very different from the former:" upon which, the Sirian placing the supposed animal in the hollow of his hand, the passengers and

Bouguer, and de la Condamine, were sent to Peru; while Maupertuis, Clairaut, Camus, Monnier, and Onthier, set out for Lapland. The observations of both companies, reinforced by those of Don Jorge Juan, and Antonio d'Ulloa, two Spanish philosophers employed by his catholic majesty, confirmed the theory of Sir Isaac Newton, that the earth was an oblate spheroid, flattened at the poles. A curious account of the voyage to Lapland, and of the observations there made, is to be found in the works of Maupertuis, published at Lyons in the year 1756.

crew, who believed themselves thrown by a hurricane upon some rock, began to put themselves in motion. The sailors having hoisted out some casks of wine, jumped after them into the hand of Micromegas: the mathematicians having secured their quadrants, sectors, and Lapland mistresses, went over board at a different place, and made such a bustle in their descent, that the Sirian, at length, felt his fingers tickled by something that seemed to move. An iron crow chanced to penetrate about a foot deep into his fore finger; and from this prick he concluded, that something had issued from the little animal he held in his hand; but at first he suspected nothing more: for, the microscope that scarce rendered a whale and a ship visible, had no effect upon an object so imperceptible as man.—I do not intend to shock the vanity of any person whatever; but here I am obliged to beg your people of importance, to consider, that supposing the stature of a man to be about five feet, we mortals make just such a figure upon the earth, as an animal the sixty thousandth part of a foot in height, would exhibit upon a bowl ten feet in circumference. When you reflect upon a being who could hold this whole earth in the palm of his hand, and is endued with organs proportioned to those we possess, you will easily conceive, that there must be a great variety of created substances, —and pray, what must such beings think of those battles by which a conqueror gains a small village, to lose it again in the sequel? I do not at all doubt, but if some captain of grenadiers should chance to read this work, he would add two large feet at last

to the caps of his company ; but, I assure him his labour will be vain ; for, do what he will, he and his soldiers will never be other than infinitely diminutive and inconsiderable. What wonderful address must have been inherent in our Sirian philosopher, that enabled him to perceive those atoms of which we have been speaking. When Leuwenhoek and Hartsoecker observed the first rudiments of which we are formed, they did not make such an astonishing discovery. What pleasure, therefore, was the portion of Micromegas, in observing the motion of those little machines, in examining all their pranks, and pursuing them in all their operations ! with what joy did he put his microscope into his companion's hand ; and with what transport did they both at once, exclaim, " I see them distinctly,---don't you perceive them carrying burdens, lying down and rising up again ?" So saying, their hands shook with eagerness to see, and apprehension to lose such uncommon objects.---The Saturnian making a sudden transition, from the most cautious distrust, to the most excessive credulity, imagined he saw them in the very work of propagation, and cried aloud, " I have surprised nature in the very fact." Nevertheless, he was deceived by appearances : a case too common, whether we do or do not make use of microscopes.

C H A P. VI.

What happened in their intercourse with Men.

MICROMEGAS being a much better observer than his dwarf, perceived distinctly that those atoms spoke; and made the remark to his companion, who was so much ashamed of being mistaken in the article of generation, that he would not believe such a puny species could possibly communicate their ideas: for, though he had the gift of tongues, as well as his companion, he could not hear those particles speak; and therefore supposed they had no language: besides, how should such imperceptible beings have the organs of speech? and what in the name of God can they say to one another? in order to speak, they must have something like thought, and if they think, they must surely have something equivalent to a soul: now, to attribute any thing like a soul to such an insect species, appears a meer absurdity.—“But just now,” replied the Sirian, “you believed they made love to each other; and do you think this could be done without thinking, without using some sort of language, or at least, some way of making themselves understood? or do you suppose it is more difficult to advance an argument than to produce a child? for my own part, I look upon both these faculties as a-like mysterious.” “I will no longer venture to believe or deny,” answered the dwarf: “in short, I have no opinion at all. Let us endeavour to examine these insects, and we will reason upon them afterwards.—” “With all my heart,” said

said Micromegas, who taking out a pair of scissars, which he kept for paring his nails, cut off a paring from his thumb nail, of which he immediately formed a large kind of speaking trumpet, like a vast tunnel, and clapped the pipe to his ear* : as the circumference of this machine included the ship and all the crew, the most feeble voice was conveyed along the circular fibres of the nail ; so that, thanks to his industry, the philosopher could distinctly hear the buzzing of our insects that were below ; in a few hours he distinguished articulate sounds, and, at last, plainly understood the French language. The dwarf heard the same, though with more difficulty.

The astonishment of our travellers increased every instant. They heard a nest of mites talk in a pretty sensible strain : and that *Lusus Naturæ* seemed to them inexplicable. You need not doubt but the Sirian and his dwarf glowed with impatience to enter into conversation with such atoms. Micromegas being afraid that his voice, like thunder, would deafen and confound the mites, without being understood by them, saw the necessity of diminishing the sound : each, therefore, put into his mouth a sort of small tooth-pick, the slender end of which reached to the vessel. The Sirian setting the dwarf upon his knees, and the ship and crew upon his nail, held down his head and spoke softly.— In fine, having taken these and a great many

* How a man should make such a funnel of the paring of his own nail, we cannot conceive. It would have answered much better, had he stuffed all the philosophers in his ear together.

more precautions, he addressed himself to them in these words :

“ O ye invisible insects, whom the hand of the Creator hath deigned to produce in the abyss of infinite littleness, I give praise to his goodness, in that he hath been pleased to disclose unto me those secrets that seemed to be impenetrable ; perhaps the court of Sirius will not disdain to behold you with admiration : for my own part, I despise no creature, and therefore offer you my protection.”

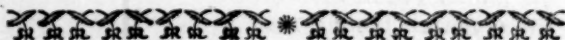
If ever there was such a thing as astonishment, it seized upon the people who heard this address, and who could not conceive from whence it proceeded. The chaplain of the ship repeated exorcisms, the sailors swore, and the philosophers formed a system : but, notwithstanding all their systems, they could not divine who the person was that spoke to them. Then the dwarf of Saturn, whose voice was softer than that of Micromegas, gave them briefly to understand, what species of beings they had to do with. He related the particulars of their voyage from Saturn, made them acquainted with the rank and quality of monsieur Micromegas ; and after having pitied their smallness, asked if they had always been in that miserable state, so near a-kin to annihilation ; and what their business was upon that globe which seemed to be the property of whales ; he also desired to know if they were happy in their situation, if they propagated their species, if they were inspired with souls ? and put a hundred questions more of the like nature.

A certain mathematician on board, more courageous than the rest, and shocked to hear his
soul

foul called in question, planted his quadrant, and having taken two observations of this interlocutor, "You believe then, Mr. what d'ye-callum," said he, "that because you measure from head to foot, a thousand fathoms"—
"A thousand fathoms!" cried the dwarf, "good heaven! how should he know the height of my stature? a thousand fathoms! my very dimensions to an hair. What, measured by a mite! this atom, forsooth, is a geometrician, and knows exactly how tall I am: while I, who can scarce perceive him through a microscope, am utterly ignorant of his extent!" "Yes, I have taken your measure," answered the philosopher, "and I will now do the same by your tall companion." The proposal was embraced; his excellency laid himself along: for, had he stood upright, his head would have reached too far above the clouds. Our mathematicians planted a tall tree in a certain part of him, which doctor Swift would have mentioned without hesitation, but which I forbear to call by it's name, out of my inviolable respect for the ladies; then, by a series of triangles joined together, they discovered, that the object of their observation was a strapping youth, exactly one hundred and twenty thousand royal feet in length.

In consequence of this calculation, Micromegas uttered these words: "I am now more than ever convinced, that we ought to judge of nothing by its external magnitude. O God! who hast bestowed understanding upon such seemingly contemptible substances, thou canst with equal ease produce that which is infinitely small, as that which is incredibly great: and if

it be possible, that among thy works there are beings still more diminutive than these, they may, nevertheless, be endowed with understanding superior to the intelligence of those stupendous animals I have seen in heaven, a single foot of whom is larger than this whole globe on which I have alighted." One of the philosophers bid him be assured, that there were intelligent beings much smaller than man, and recounted not only Virgil's whole fable of the bees, but also described all that Swammerdam hath discovered, and Reaumur dissected. In a word, he informed him, that there are animals which bear the same proportion to bees, which bees bear to man; the same as the Sirian himself was to those vast beings whom he had mentioned; and as those huge animals were to other substances, before whom they would appear like so many particles of dust. Here the conversation became very interesting, and Micromegas proceeded in these words.



CHAP. VII.

A conversation that passed between our travellers and the men they had encountered.

“O Ye intelligent atoms, in whom the Supreme Being hath been pleased to manifest his omniscience and power, without all doubt your joys on this earth must be pure and exquisite: for being unincumbered with matter, and, to all appearance, little else than soul, you
must

must spend your lives in the delights of love and reflexion, which are the true enjoyments of a perfect spirit. True happiness I have nowhere found; but, certainly here it dwells." At this harangue, all the philosophers shook their heads, and one among the rest more candid than his brethren, frankly owned, that, excepting a very small number of inhabitants, who were very little esteemed by their fellows, all the rest were a parcel of knaves, fools, and miserable wretches. "We have matter enough," said he, "to do abundance of mischief; if mischief comes of matter, and too much understanding; if evil flows from understanding: you must know, for example, that this very moment, while I am speaking, there are one hundred thousand animals of our own species, covered with hats, slaying an equal number of fellow creatures who wear turbans; at least, they are either slaying or slain: and this hath been nearly the case all over the earth, from time immemorial." The Sirian shuddering at this information, begged to know the cause of those horrible quarrels among such a puny race; and was given to understand, that the subject of the dispute was some pitiful mole-hill no bigger than his heel: not that any one of those millions who cut one another's throats, pretends to have the least claim to the smallest particle of that clod; the question is to know, whether it shall belong to a certain person, who is known by the name of Sultan, or to another whom (for what reason I know not) they dignify with the appellation of Cæsar. Neither one nor t'other has ever seen, or ever will see the pitiful corner in question, and scarce one of those wretches who
sacri-

sacrifice one another, hath ever beheld the animal on whose account they are mutually sacrificed!

“ Ah miscreants! (cried the indignant Sirian) such excess of desperate rage is beyond conception. I have a good mind to take two or three steps, and trample the whole nest of such ridiculous assassins under my feet.” “ Don’t give yourself the trouble, (replied the philosopher) they are industrious enough in procuring their own destruction; at the end of ten years the hundredth part of those wretches will be no more: for, you must know, that though they should not draw a sword in the cause they have espoused, famine, fatigue, and intemperance would sweep almost all of them from the face of the earth. Besides, the punishment should not be inflicted upon them, but upon those sedentary and slothful barbarians, who from their close-stools, give orders for murdering a million of men, and then solemnly thank God for their success.”

Our traveller, moved with compassion for the little human race, in which he discovered such astonishing contrasts, “ Since you are of the small number of the wise, (said he) and in all likelihood, do not engage yourselves in the trade of murder for hire; be so good as to tell me what is your occupation?” “ We anatomize flies, (replied the philosopher) we measure lines, we make calculations, we agree upon two or three points which we understand, and dispute upon two or three thousand that are beyond our comprehension.” Then the strangers being seized with the whim of interrogating those thinking atoms, upon the subjects about
which

which they were agreed, "How far, (said the Sirian) do you reckon the distance between the great star of the constellation Gemini, and that called Caniculus?" To this question all of them answered with one voice, "Thirty-two degrees and an half." "And what is the distance from hence to the moon?" "Sixty semi-diameters of the earth." He then thought to puzzle them by asking the weight of the air; but they answered distinctly, that common air is about nine hundred times specifically lighter than an equal column of the lightest water, and nineteen hundred times lighter than current gold. The little dwarf of Saturn, astonished at their answers, was now tempted to believe those very people forcerers, whom but a quarter of an hour before, he would not allow to be inspired with souls.

"Well, (said Micromegas) since you know so well what is without you, doubtless you are still more perfectly acquainted with that which is within; tell me what is the soul, and how your ideas are framed?" Here the philosophers spoke all together, as before; but each was of a different opinion: the eldest quoted Aristotle; another pronounced the name of Descartes; a third mentioned Mallebranche; a fourth Leibnitz; and a fifth Locke: an old peripatetician lifting up his voice, exclaimed with an air of confidence, "The soul is perfection and reason, having power to be such as it is:" as Aristotle expressly declares, page 633, of the Louvre edition.

Εντελεχεια τις ἔστι, καὶ λόγος τῇ δυνάμει ἔχον-
τος τοιοῦτο ἔεται.

" I

"I am not very well versed in Greek," said the giant: "Nor I neither," replied the philosophical mite. "Why then do you quote that same Aristotle in Greek?" resumed the Sirian: "Because, (answered the other) it is but reasonable we should quote what we do not comprehend, in a language we do not understand."

Here the Cartesian interposing, "The soul (said he) is a pure spirit or intelligence, which hath received in the mother's womb all the metaphysical ideas; but upon leaving that prison, is obliged to go to school, and learn a-new that knowledge which it hath lost, and will never more attain." "So it was necessary (replied the animal of eight leagues) that thy soul should be learned in thy mother's womb, in order to be so ignorant when thou hast got a beard upon thy chin: but, what dost thou understand by spirit?" "To what purpose do you ask me that question? (said the philosopher) I have no idea of it: indeed it is supposed to be immaterial." "At least, thou knowest what matter is?" resumed the Sirian. "Perfectly well, (answered the other.) For example, that stone is grey, is of a certain figure, has three dimensions, specifick weight, and divisibility." "Right, (said the giant) I want to know what that object is, which, according to thy observation, hath a grey colour, weight, and divisibility? Thou seest a few qualities, but dost thou know the nature of the thing itself?" "Not I truly," answered the Cartesian. Upon which the other told him, he did not know what nature was. Then addressing himself to another sage who stood upon his thumb, he asked what is the soul?

soul? and what are her functions? "Nothing at all, (replied this disciple of Mallebranche) God hath made every thing for my convenience; in him I see every thing, by him I act: he is the universal agent, and I never meddle in his work." "That is being a nonentity indeed:" said the Sirian sage, who turning to a follower of Leibnitz, "Hark ye, friend, what is thy opinion of the soul?" "In my opinion, (answered this metaphysician) the soul is the hand that points at the hour, while my body does the office of a clock; or, if you please, the soul is the clock, and the body is the pointer; or again, my soul is the mirror of the universe, and my body the frame. All this is clear and uncontrovertible."

A little partizan of Locke, who chanced to be present, being asked his opinion on the same subject, "I do not know (said he) by what power I think: but well I know, that I should never have thought without the assistance of my senses: that there are immaterial and intelligent substances, I do not at all doubt; but that it is impossible for God to communicate the faculty of thinking to matter, I doubt very much. I revere the eternal power, to which it would ill become me to prescribe bounds: I affirm nothing, and am contented to believe, that many more things are possible, than are usually thought so." The Sirian smiled at this declaration, and did not look upon the author as the least sagacious of the company: and as for the dwarf of Saturn, he would have embraced this adherent of Locke, had it not been for the extreme disproportion in their different sizes. But, unluckily, there was another animalcule

malcule in a square cap, who taking the word from all his philosophical brethren, affirmed, that he knew the whole secret, which was contained in the abridgement of St. Thomas : he surveyed the two celestial strangers from top to toe, and maintained to their faces, that their persons, their fashions, their suns and their stars, were created solely for the use of man. At this wild assertion, our two travellers let themselves tumble topsy turvy, seized with a fit of that inextinguishable laughter, which (according to Homer) is the portion of the immortal gods ; their bellies quivered ; their shoulders rose and fell ; and during these convulsions, the vessel fell from the Sirian's nail into the Saturnian's pocket, where these worthy people searched for it a long time with great diligence. At length, having found the ship, and set every thing to rights again, the Sirian resumed the discourse with those diminutive mites, promised to compose for them a choice book of philosophy, which would teach them abundance of admirable sciences, and demonstrate the very essence of things. Accordingly, before his departure, he made them a present of the book, which was brought to the academy of sciences at Paris ; but when the old secretary came to open it, he saw nothing but blank paper, upon which " Ay, ay, (said he) this is just what I suspected."

END OF VOL XI.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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DIO CLES IAN



THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

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MISCELLANIES

IN

HISTORY, LITERATURE,
AND PHILOSOPHY.

OF THE JEWS.

YOU desire me to give you a faithful picture of the spirit and history of the Jews; and, without entering into the ineffable ways of Providence, you want to discover, in the manners of that people, the true origin of those events which Providence hath brought about.

Certain it is, of all the nations in the world, that of the Jews is the most remarkable. However contemptible they may be in the eyes of a politician, they are nevertheless well worthy of the serious attention of a philosopher.

The Guebres, the Banians, and the Jews, are the only people that preserve a being, notwithstanding their dispersion; and, without making an alliance with any other nation, per-

B

petuate

petuate their race among strangers, from whom they keep themselves intirely distinct.

In former times the Guebres were infinitely more numerous than the Jews, as being the remains of the ancient Persians, who held the Jews in subjection: at present, however, they are only to be found in one corner of the East.

The Banians, sprung from those ancient people from whom Pythagoras derived his philosophy, are only to be met with in Persia and the Indies: but the Jews are scattered through the whole earth; and, were they now to be collected into one body, would compose a nation far more numerous than they were during the short period that they were masters of Palestine. Those people who have committed to writing the history of their origin, have, almost all of them, endeavoured to heighten it with prodigies: with them, every thing is miraculous: their oracles foretel nothing but conquests; and such of them as have really become conquerors, have made no difficulty to believe the truth of ancient oracles, so amply justified by the event. But what distinguishes the Jews from all other nations is, that their oracles alone are true: of this we are not permitted to entertain the least doubt. These oracles, which they understand in the literal sense, have foretold, a hundred times, that they should one day become masters of the world; notwithstanding which, they were never in possession of more than one paltry spot for a few years; nor have they, at present, a single village they can call their own. They are therefore bound to believe, and in fact they do believe, that these predictions will be one day

day accomplished, and that they shall obtain the empire of the universe.

Among the Mussulmans and Christians they are considered as people of the meanest and most despicable character, and yet they believe themselves to be of the greatest importance. This pride, in the midst of their abasement, is justified by an unanswerable argument; to wit, that they are really the fathers of both the Christians and the Mussulmans. The Christian and Mahometan religions acknowledge that of the Jews for their mother; whom, nevertheless, by a strange kind of contradiction, they at once respect and abhor.

It is not our intention here to recount that long train of prodigies, which astonish the imagination, and exercise our faith. We only mean to examine those events which are purely historical, stripped of the divine agency, and of those miracles which God condescended, for so long a time, to work in favour of this people.

At first, we behold in Egypt a single family of seventy persons. This, in the space of two hundred and fifteen years, produced a nation capable of furnishing six hundred thousand fighting men, which, together with the old men, women, and children, may be supposed to amount to two millions of souls: a prodigious increase! to which the history of mankind cannot furnish a parallel instance. This multitude, having left Egypt, continued in the deserts of Arabia Petræa for forty years, during which their numbers were considerably diminished in that cold and barren country.

The remaining part of the nation advanced a little to the northward of these deserts.

It appears, that their principles were the same with those which were afterwards adopted by the natives of Arabia Petraea and Deserta; for they put to death, in cold blood, the inhabitants of the small towns which they took, and reserved only the young women. The interest of population hath always been the chief aim of both the one and the other. We find that when the Arabs conquered Spain, they imposed a tax of marriageable virgins upon all the provinces; and, even at this day, the Arabs of the Desert never make a treaty without stipulating for some presents and young women.

The Jews arrived in a sandy and mountainous country, in which there were some villages, inhabited by a small nation called the Medianites*; from whom they took, in the course of one campaign, six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand oxen, sixty-one thousand asses, and thirty-two thousand maids. All the men, all the married women, and all the male children, were put to the sword. The young women and the booty were divided among the people and the priests.

They afterwards made themselves masters of the town of Jericho†, in the same country; but,

* They derived their name from Median, said to be the son of Abraham and Ketura; and inhabited the country of Arabia Petraea. But that the whole nation was thus extirpated seems a little improbable, inasmuch as we find the Israelites enslaved by the Medianites in the sequel; a state of slavery from which they were delivered by Gideon.

† Josephus tells us, that the plain of Jericho was planted with the tree which produces the real balm of Gilead, whence the city took the name of Jericho, which signifies sweet odour. But none of those trees are now to be seen on this spot.

having previously devoted the inhabitants to destruction, they put them all to the sword, not even sparing the young women; and granted life to none but to a harlot named Rahab, who had assisted them in surprising the town.

It hath long been matter of dispute among the learned, whether the Jews offered human sacrifices to the Deity, like other nations; but this is merely a controversy about words. Those, it is true, whom they devoted to destruction, were not butchered upon the altar with all the parade of religious rites; but they were nevertheless sacrificed, without its being lawful to spare so much as a single person. In the twenty-ninth chapter of Leviticus, and twenty-seventh verse, the Mosaic law expressly forbids them to ransom those whom they had devoted to destruction: the words are, "Let them die the death." It was in consequence of this law that Jephtha vowed, and butchered his daughter; that Saul endeavoured to kill his son; and that Samuel the prophet hewed king Agag, Saul's prisoner, in pieces. Certain it is, God is the absolute master of the lives of his creatures; nor does it belong to us to examine his laws. It is our duty to believe these facts, and silently to reverence the designs of the Deity in permitting them.

It is likewise asked, what right could strangers, such as the Jews were, have to the land of Canaan? To which they answer, that they had that right which God gave them.

Hardly had they taken Jericho and Laish, when a civil war broke out among them, in which the tribe of Benjamin, men, women, and children, was almost intirely extirpated. Of

the whole, there only remained six hundred males; and, in order to prevent the total ruin of one of their tribes, they thought proper to destroy a whole town of the tribe of Manasseh with fire and sword, killing all the men, children, married women, and widows, and taking thence six hundred virgins, whom they gave to the six hundred surviving Benjaminites to repair their tribe, that so the number of their twelve tribes might be always complete.

Mean while the Phœnicians, a powerful people established in these quarters from time immemorial, being alarmed at the depredations and cruelties of these new-comers, chastised them frequently; and the neighbouring princes uniting against them, they were reduced to a state of servitude for upwards of two hundred years.

At last they made a king, and chose him by lot. This king could not possibly be powerful; for in the first battle which the Jews under his command fought with the Philistines, their masters, they had neither sword nor spear, nor a single weapon of iron. But David, their second king, makes war with more advantage and success. He takes the town of Salem*; is famous afterwards under the name of Jerusalem; and then the Jews begin to make some figure in the confines of Syria.

* It is supposed to have been founded by Melchisedec; to have been taken by the Jebusites, who possessed it till the time of Joshua, who reduced the city, and caused their king Adonizedec, with four princes his allies, to be put to death. After the death of Joshua they recovered it, and built the citadel of Sion, of which they were dispossessed by David.

From this time their religion and government assume a more august form. Hitherto they had had no temples; a convenience possessed by all the nations around them. Solomon built a very superb one, and reigned over this people for about forty years.

The reign of Solomon is not only the most flourishing period of the Jews, but all the kings of the earth together could not produce a treasure nearly equal to that of Solomon's. His father David, who was not even possessed of iron, left Solomon twenty-five thousand six hundred and forty-eight millions of French livres in ready money ||, according to the present computation. His fleets, which traded to Ophir, brought him annually sixty-eight millions in pure gold, not to mention silver and precious stones. He had forty thousand stables, as many coach-houses, twelve thousand stables for his cavalry, seven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines. And yet he had neither wood nor workmen to build his palace and the temple: these he borrowed from Hiram, king of Tyre, who likewise furnished him with gold, in return for which Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities. The commentators acknowledge that these facts are dubious, and suspect that some error in the calculation must have escaped the transcribers; the only persons, it seems, that could possibly be mistaken.

|| The sum contributed by David and his princes towards the building of the temple, according to the value of the Mosaic talent, and the account given in the book of Chronicles, must have exceeded eight hundred millions sterling.

The twelve tribes, of which the nation consisted, were separated upon Solomon's death. The kingdom was torn in pieces, and divided into two petty provinces, the one called Judea, the other Israel; the latter containing nine tribes and a half, the former only two and a half. There reigned between these two nations a hatred, the more implacable as they were neighbours and relations, and professed a different form of religion; for at Sichem and Samaria they worshipped Baal, a word of Sidonian extraction; whereas at Jerusalem, Adonai was the object of their worship. At Sichem two calves were consecrated, and at Jerusalem two cherubims; the latter of which were two-winged animals, with two heads a-piece, and placed in the sanctuary. Thus each party, having their own kings, their own God, their own worship, and their own prophets, were perpetually engaged in a cruel war with one another.

During the course of this war, the kings of Assyria, who conquered the greatest part of Asia, fell upon the Jews, with the rapidity of an eagle darting down upon two fighting lizards. The nine tribes and a half, settled at Samaria and Sichem, were carried off, and dispersed beyond all possibility of return, and without its ever being distinctly known whither they were led into captivity.

As the distance from Samaria to Jerusalem is but twenty leagues, and their territories lie contiguous, when one of these towns was razed by the powerful conquerors, the other could not hold out long. Thus we find that Jerusalem was often sacked: it was tributary to
the

the kings Hazael and Rezin; reduced to slavery by Teglathpalezer; thrice taken by Nebuchadnezzar, or Nebuchadnezer; and at last destroyed. Zedekiah, whom the conqueror had appointed king or governor, was carried captive, together with all his people, into Babylon; so that no Jews were left remaining in Palestine, except a few families of country slaves to sow the land.

With regard to the little country of Samaria and Sichem, which was more fertile than that of Jerusalem, it was repeopled by colonies of strangers, who were sent thither by the kings of Assyria, and took the name of Samaritans.

The two tribes and a half, continuing in a state of slavery for seventy years together in Babylon, and the neighbouring towns, had thereby an opportunity of learning the customs of their masters, and of enriching their language by a proper mixture of the Chaldean tongue. From that time the Jews understood no other alphabet, or characters, than those of the Chaldeans; and it is an indisputable fact, that they even forgot the Hebrew dialect, substituting in its place from thenceforward the Chaldean tongue. Josephus, the historian, declares, that he wrote at first in the Chaldean tongue, which was the language of his country. It appears, that the Jews imbibed a small tincture of the sciences of the magi. They soon became bankers, brokers, and chapmen; by which means they rendered themselves necessary, as they still are, and acquired immense fortunes.

Their great riches enabled them to procure from Cyrus a permission to rebuild Jerusalem;

but when the time came, at which they were to have set out on their return home, those who had grown rich at Babylon did not chuse to quit such a beautiful country for the mountains of Celosyria, nor to abandon the fertile banks of the Tigris and Euphrates for the brook of Kidron. It was only the dregs and refuse of the nation that returned with Zorobabel. The Jews of Babylon contributed only by their charitable collections towards rebuilding the city and temple; and even these collections were very inconsiderable. Esdras says, that he could not make up in the whole above seventy thousand crowns for rebuilding that temple, which was to be the temple of the universe.

The Jews were still subject to the Persians, as they were likewise soon after to Alexander; and when that great man, the most excuseable of all conquerors, began, in the first years of his victorious reign, to build Alexandria, and to make it the center of commerce to the whole world, the Jews flocked thither to follow their trade of brokerage; and then it was that their rabbies acquired some knowledge of the learning of the Greeks, the language of which people was now become absolutely necessary to all the trading Jews.

After the death of Alexander, they continued in subjection to the kings of Syria in Jerusalem, and to the kings of Egypt in Alexandria; and when a war broke out between these monarchs, the Jews always underwent the common fate of subjects, and fell to the conqueror's share.

From the time of their Babylonish captivity, the governors of Jerusalem never assumed the
name

name of king. The administration of civil affairs was intrusted to the high priests, who were nominated by their masters. This dignity they sometimes purchased at a very high price, as is still done by the Greek patriarch of Constantinople.

Under Antiochus Epiphanes they raised a rebellion: the city was once more pillaged, and its walls laid level with the ground.

At length, after a train of the like disasters, they obtained from Antiochus Sidetes, for the first time, about one hundred and fifty years before the vulgar æra, the liberty of coining money. From this time their governors assumed the name of kings, and even wore a diadem. Antigonus was the first that was adorned with this ensign of royalty, which, after all, when stript of power, can confer but little honour.

The Romans now began to be formidable to the kings of Syria, who held the Jews in subjection; but these last gained the senate of Rome by their presents and submissive behaviour. The wars, which the Romans were waging in Asia Minor, seemed to promise a long respite to this unhappy people; but hardly had Jerusalem begun to enjoy the least degree of liberty, when it was rent by civil wars, and rendered much more miserable under its shadows of kings, than ever it had been in all the various kinds of slavery in which it had been involved.

The better to compose their intestine commotions, they chose the Romans for their umpires. Most of the kingdoms of Asia Minor, of the southern part of Africa, and of three

fourths of Europe, already acknowledged the Romans for their lords and sovereigns.

Pompey came into Syria to administer justice to the different nations, and to depose some petty tyrants. Being imposed upon by Aristobulus, who contended for the sovereignty of Jerusalem, he avenged himself both on him and his party. He took the city, hanged some of the most seditious, whether priests or Pharisees, and, long after that, condemned Aristobulus, the king of the Jews, to undergo a capital punishment.

The Jews, always wretched, always slaves, and always rebellious, drew upon them once more the Roman arms. Crassus and Cassius were sent to chastise them; and Metellus Scipio caused one Alexander, a son of king Aristobulus, and the author of all these disturbances, to be crucified.

Under Julius Cæsar they were perfectly quiet and peaceable. Herod, who hath since become famous among us, as well as among them, and was for a long time a simple tetrarch, purchased the crown of Judæa from Anthony at a very high price. But Jerusalem refused to acknowledge this new king, because he was descended from Esau, and not from Jacob, and was besides an Idumæan; and yet this circumstance of his being a stranger was the very thing that induced the Romans to chuse him, the better to curb this seditious people.

The Romans supported the king of their own nomination with an army; and Jerusalem was once more taken by assault, sacked, and pillaged.

Herod,

Herod, being afterwards supported by Augustus, became one of the most powerful princes among all the petty monarchs of Arabia. He repaired Jerusalem, and rebuilt the fortress that surrounded the temple, for which the Jews had so great a veneration. He even began to build the temple anew; but could not bring the work to perfection, for want of money and workmen. Hence it appears, that, after all, Herod was far from being rich; and that the Jews, though fond of their temple, were still fonder of their money.

The name of king was merely a favour granted by the Romans, and by no means a title of succession: for, soon after Herod's death, Judæa was reduced into the form of a lesser Roman province, and governed by the procurator of Syria; though the title of king was sold, from time to time, for a round sum of money, sometimes to a Jew, and sometimes to one of another country; as it was to Agrippa the Jew, under the emperor Claudius.

Berenice, so famous for having engaged the affections of one of the best Roman emperors, was a daughter of Agrippa. This was the lady who, on account of the bad treatment which she suffered from her countrymen, drew upon Jerusalem the vengeance of the Roman arms. She demanded justice; but the factions in the city prevented her from obtaining her request. The seditious spirit of the people carried them into new excesses. Cruelty hath ever been their distinguishing characteristic, and severe and exemplary punishments their just lot.

This memorable siege, which ended in the destruction of the city, was conducted by Ti-

tus and Vespasian. It is alledged by Josephus, whose accounts indeed are mostly exaggerated, that in the course of this short war, a million of Jews and upwards, were put to the sword: no wonder that an author, who assigns fifteen thousand inhabitants to every little village, should kill a million of men! what remained of the people, were exposed in the public markets, and every Jew was sold for much the same price that is usually paid for the unclean animal which they dare not eat.

In this last dispersion, they still hoped for a deliverer, and under the reign of Adrian, whom they cursed in their prayers, there arose one Barcoshebas, who called himself a new Moses, a Shilo, a Christ. A number of these unhappy wretches having crowded to his standard, which they believed to be sacred, were entirely destroyed, together with their leader; and this gave a finishing stroke to the fortunes of that nation, from which it was never afterwards able to recover. The only thing that hath preserved them from utter destruction is their prevailing opinion, that barrenness is a disgrace. There are two duties which the Jews consider as the most indispensable of all others, namely, the getting of money and children.

From this short sketch, it appears that the Jews have always been either fugitives, or free-booters, or slaves, or rebels. At this very day they are vagabonds in the earth, and detested by the rest of mankind; confident as they are, that the heaven and the earth and all its inhabitants were created for them alone.

It is evident, as well from the situation of Judea, as from the genius of the people, that
they

they must ever have been in a state of subjection. Surrounded as they were, by strong and warlike nations, which they abhorred, they could neither enter into an alliance with them, nor receive any protection from them. They could not possibly defend themselves by a naval force, having soon lost the harbour, which in Solomon's time they had in the Red Sea; and Solomon himself having always employed Tyrians to build and navigate his ships, as well as to raise the temple, and his own palace. Hence too it appears that the Hebrews were strangers to industry, and could never compose a flourishing nation. They had no regular troops, as the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Syrians and the Romans had. Their artists and peasants took to arms upon pressing emergencies, and of consequence could never form a body of brave and warlike troops. Their mountains, or to speak more properly, their rocks, were neither sufficiently high nor sufficiently contiguous to defend the entry into their country. The greatest part of the nation being transported to Babylon, to Persia, or the Indies, or settled in Alexandria, were too closely engaged in trade and brokerage to think of war. Their civil government, whether republican, pontifical, monarchical, or reduced, as it often was, to a state of anarchy, was as imperfect as their military discipline.

You ask me what was the philosophy of the Hebrews. My answer shall be very short; they had no philosophy at all. Their legislator does not so much as mention the immortality of the soul, nor a future state of rewards and punishments. Josephus and Philo Judeus believe that

souls are material. Their doctors admit of corporeal angels; and during their abode at Babylon, they gave these angels the same names which the Chaldeans gave them; such as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel. The word *fatan* is of Babylonish extraction, and is much the same with the *Aremanes* of Zoroaster. The name *Asmodeus* too is a Chaldean word; and *Tobias*, who lived at Nineveh, is the first that used it. It was not till a long time after this that the Pharisees broached the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The Sadducees always denied the spirituality and immortality of the soul, as also the existence of angels; and yet the Sadducees always communicated with the Pharisees: there were even some high priests of the former sect. This difference of opinions in these two great bodies was not productive of any disturbances. During the latter years of their abode at Jerusalem, the Jews were only attached to their ceremonial law. The man who should have tasted of pudding or rabbit, would have been stoned; but he that denied the immortality of the soul, might attain to the dignity of high priest.

It is commonly supposed, that the hatred which the Jews bore to all other nations, was owing to their detestation of idolatry; but it is more probable that it proceeded from the barbarous manner in which they extirpated some colonies of the Canaanites, and the indignation which the neighbouring nations must of course have conceived against them. As they did not know of any other nations but such as bordered on their own country, they imagined that in hating these they hated the whole earth, and thus

thus accustomed themselves to become the general enemies of mankind.

To be convinced that the idolatry of the neighbouring nations was not the true cause of their hatred, we need only consult the history of the Jews, where we shall see that they themselves were frequently idolaters. Solomon sacrificed to strange gods; nor can we hardly find one king after him, that did not permit the worship of their gods, and offer them incense. The province of Israel preserved its two calves and sacred groves, or adored other deities.

This idolatry, of which the Heathens are commonly accused, is a subject but little understood. Perhaps it would be no difficult matter to clear the theology of the ancients from this aspersion. All civilized nations have ever had a knowledge of one supreme being, the sovereign lord of gods and men. The Egyptians themselves acknowledged a first principle, which they called Knef, and to which every thing besides was subordinate. The ancient Persians adored the good principle Ormazdes, and were very far from sacrificing to the bad principle Arimanes, whom they considered in much the same light as we do the devil. The ancient Brachmans acknowledged one supreme being. The Chinese never joined any inferior being with the Deity, nor had they any idol till the worship of Fohi, and the superstition of the bonzees corrupted the minds of the people. The Greeks and Romans, notwithstanding the great number of their gods, acknowledged Jupiter as the absolute sovereign of heaven and earth: nor does Homer him-
self,

self, even in his most absurd poetical fictions, so much as once deviate from this truth. He always represents Jupiter as the only omnipotent being, who sends good and evil upon the earth, and who by a single motion of his eyebrows makes both gods and men to tremble. It is true they raised altars and offered sacrifices to other gods; but then they always considered them as of an inferior order, and dependant on the supreme being. There is not a single instance, in all the records of antiquity, where the name of the sovereign of heaven and earth is given to an inferior deity, such as to Mercury, Apollo, or Mars. The thunder hath ever been an attribute of the supreme lord of all.

The notion of a supreme being, and of his providence and eternal decrees, is to be found in the works of all the poets and philosophers. In a word, it would perhaps be as unreasonable to suppose that the ancients equalled their heroes, their genii and inferior deities to that being whom they called the father and sovereign of the gods, as it would be to imagine that we considered saints and angels as equal to the deity.

You further ask me whether the ancient philosophers and legislators derived their knowledge from the Jews, or the Jews from them. For an answer to this question we must consult Philo Judeas, who owns that before the septuagint translation of the bible, the books of the Jewish nation were entirely unknown to foreigners. Besides, it can hardly be supposed that great and mighty nations should borrow
their

their laws and knowledge from a handful of obscure slaves. Add to this, that the Jews had no books in the time of Hoziah. Under his reign the only remaining copy of the law was found by accident. From the time of the Babylonish captivity, they understood no alphabet but that of the Chaldeans. They were not famous for any art or manufacture; and even in the time of Solomon they were obliged to hire foreign workmen at a high price. To suppose that the Egyptians, the Greeks, and Persians, derived their knowledge from the Jews, is to suppose that the Romans learned their arts and sciences from the Low Bretons. The Jews were utterly unacquainted with natural philosophy, geometry, and astronomy. Far from having any public schools for the education of youth, they have not so much as a word to express that institution. The inhabitants of Mexico and Peru regulated their year with much greater exactness than the Jews. Their abode at Babylon and Alexandria, where some of them might have been supposed to have acquired a little learning, contributed only to improve them in the practice of usury. They never understood the art of coining money; even when they had obtained a permission for that purpose from Antiochus Sidetes, it was four or five years before they could avail themselves of it; and after all it is alledged that the money was coined at Samaria. Hence it is that Jewish medals are so rare, and that most of them are spurious. In a word, after the most exact scrutiny, you will find the Jews to be an ignorant and barbarous people, who have
long

long joined the most sordid avarice to most abominable superstition, and to an implacable hatred of all other nations, among which, however, they are allowed to reside, and to acquire immense fortunes. "And yet we do not think they should be committed to the flames."

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OF
CONSTANTINE and JULIAN.

OF all the ages that succeeded the reign of Augustus, that of Constantine is the most remarkable. The mighty innovations which he introduced into the world, will render his name famous to the latest posterity. He began, it is true, by reviving the spirit of barbarity. Not only were there no Ciceros, no Horaces, no Virgils to be found in his reign; there were not even any Lucans or Senecas; not one judicious or faithful historian; nothing was to be seen but suspected satires, or more dangerous panegyrics.

The Christians began about this time to write history; but took neither Livy nor Thucydides for their model. The professors of the ancient religion of the empire wrote with as little elegance of style, and as little regard to truth. The two parties, inflamed with mutual rancour, loaded each other with the grossest and most undistinguishing abuse; and hence it is that we find the same man sometimes exalted into a God, and sometimes degraded into a devil.

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The Romans began visibly to decline in all the polite sciences, and even in the lowest mechanic arts, as well as in virtue and eloquence, after the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He was the last emperor of the Stoic sect; a sect that raises man above himself, by making him severe to his own failings, and compassionate towards the failings of others. After the death of this truly philosophic emperor, all was tyranny and confusion. The soldiers frequently disposed of the imperial crown. The senate fell into such contempt, that in the time of Galien a law was enacted expressly prohibiting the senators from following a military life. We find at one and the same time no less than thirty leading men, each at the head of a party, assuming the title of emperor, in thirty different provinces. About the middle of the third century, the barbarians poured in from all quarters upon the empire, which was already torn in pieces by intestine broils, and which, nevertheless, maintained itself for some time by the mere force of its military discipline.

During these commotions christianity gained ground by degrees, especially in Egypt and Syria, and on the borders of Asia Minor. The Romans admitted of all kinds of religion, as well as of all sorts of philosophical sects. They permitted the worship of Osiris; and, notwithstanding their frequent revolts, they even granted the Jews some very considerable privileges. But the people in the provinces rose against the Christians, who were likewise persecuted by the magistrates; and even imperial edicts were frequently published against them. Nor ought we to wonder that christianity was held
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in such general detestation, whilst so many other kinds of religion were tolerated. The Egyptians, the Jews, and the votaries of the Syrian goddess, and of such a multiplicity of other strange gods, never declared open war against the gods of the empire, nor ever exclaimed against the prevailing religion; but one of the first duties of a christian was to extirpate the established religion of the empire. The heathen priests complained loudly of the great diminution of sacrifices and offerings; and the people, always headstrong and fanatical, rose against the Christians, who were nevertheless protected by several emperors. Adrian forbade the Romans to molest them on any account. Marcus Aurelius gave strict orders that they should not be persecuted on the score of religion. Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Philip, and Galien, allowed them an entire liberty of conscience. In the third century they had public churches, which were very magnificent, and crowded with hearers; and so great was the liberty they enjoyed, that they held no less than sixteen councils in the course of this century. The road to posts of honour being shut against the first Christians, who were mostly of an obscure extraction, they applied themselves to commerce, and by that means acquired immense fortunes. This hath ever been the resource of all those sectaries who are disqualified for enjoying any post in the state; such as the Calvinists in France, the Non-conformists in England, the Catholics in Holland, the Armenians in Persia, the Banians in India, and the Jews in every part of the globe. At last the toleration became unlimited,

limited, and the spirit of the government grew so gentle, that the Christians were admitted to all kind of honours and dignities. They did not sacrifice to the gods of the empire: the Romans never concerned themselves whether they went to the temples or not; they allowed every one a full liberty of conscience with regard to religious duties, and no body was obliged to perform them. The Christians enjoyed the same liberty with others; and so true is it, that they attained to posts of honour, that in 303, we find Dioclesian and Galerius depriving them of this advantage in that persecution, which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel.

We ought to adore the divine providence in all its ways; but according to your orders, I confine myself to political history.

One Manes*, in the reign of Probus, and about the year 278, broached a new religion in Alexandria. This sect was composed of the ancient principles of the Persians, and of some doctrines of Christianity. Probus and his successor Carus, let Manes and the Christians live in peace. Numerien gave them a full liberty of conscience. Dioclesian protected the Christians, and tolerated the Manichæans for twelve

* His first name was Curbicus, and his rank in life that of a slave to a widow, by whom he was adopted. At her death he assumed the name of Manes, pretended to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, and even the Holy Ghost. He taught the good and evil principles of the magi, and the transmigration of souls: he denied the resurrection, and forbade marriage. In a word, his doctrines are composed of a great number of absurdities, borrowed from the religion of the Jews, Persians, and other pagans.

years;

CONSTANTINE and JULIAN. 25

years; but in 296 he issued out an edict against the Manichæans, and banished them as enemies to the empire, and friends to the Persians. The Christians were not comprehended in this edict, but continued to live in peace under Dioclesian, and to make open profession of their religion in every part of the empire, till the two last years of that prince's reign.

In order to finish the picture which you desire me to draw, I must here beg leave to give you a short account of the state of the Roman empire at this period. Notwithstanding the violent shocks which it had lately sustained, as well from internal commotions, as from the incursions of the barbarians, it still comprehended all that is now possessed by the grand signor, except Arabia, all the German dominions of the house of Austria; and indeed all the provinces of Germany as far as the Elbe. It likewise contained Italy, France, Spain, England, half of Scotland, all Africa, to the desert of Dara, and even the Canary isles. And yet these extensive and widely distant countries were all held in subjection by an army not near so considerable as what France or Germany, when engaged in war, usually send into the field.

This mighty empire continued to gather strength; and even an increase of territory from the time of Cæsar, to that of Theodosius, as well by its laws, its policy, and acts of generosity, as by the force of its arms and the terror of its name. It is still matter of great surprise, that not one of the many nations that were conquered by the Romans, hath ever been able, since the recovery of their liberty, either

to make such large and spacious roads, or to build such magnificent amphitheatres and public baths as were left them by their conquerors. Countries now almost reduced to deserts, and over-run with barbarity, were then populous, and blessed with a regular government; such as Epirus, Macedonia, Thessalia, Illyria, Pannonia, and especially Asia Minor, and the borders of Africa. It must be owned indeed that Germany, France, and England, were far from being then what they are at present. These three countries seemed to have gained most by the recovery of their liberty; and yet it has required near twelve countries to put them into the flourishing condition in which they now are. But with regard to all the rest, it must be acknowledged that they have lost greatly by changing their laws and masters. The ruins of Asia Minor and of Greece, the scanty number of inhabitants that is now to be found in Egypt, and the barbarity that overspreads Africa, are standing monuments of the Roman grandeur. The many flourishing towns with which these countries were once covered, are now changed into wretched villages; and even the very soil has grown barren under the hands of its stupid and brutish inhabitants.

But I must now endeavour to give you a few remarks on the reign of Dioclesian, who was one of the most powerful emperors that ever swayed the Roman scepter, and has been the subject of such panegyrick, and of much satire.

OF DIOCLESIAN.

AFTER several weak or tyrannical reigns, Rome at last found a good emperor in Probus, who was nevertheless murdered by the legions. They chose in his place one Carus, who was killed by a thunderbolt not far from the Tigris, as he was making war upon the Persians. His son Numerian was immediately proclaimed by the soldiers. Historians tell us, and with an air of great gravity too, that this youth deplored the death of his father with such floods of tears as almost deprived him of his sight; and that in making a campaign he was ever after obliged to be surrounded with four curtains. He was killed in his bed by his father-in-law Aper, who ascended the throne in his place. But a Gaulish druid having foretold that Dioclesian, one of the generals of the army, should become emperor immediately after having killed a wild boar, which in Latin is called Aper, that general assembled the army, killed Aper with his own hand, in presence of the soldiers, and thus accomplished the druid's prediction. The historians who relate this oracle as an undoubted fact, deserve to be fed with the fruit of the tree which the druids so greatly revere*. Certain it is, Dioclesian killed the emperor's father-in-law; and this it seems was his first title to the throne. The second was, that Numerian had a brother called Carinus, who was likewise emperor, and who having opposed the elevation of Dioclesian,

* That is acorns.

was killed by one of his own military tribunes. Such were the claims which Dioclesian had to the crown; and for a long time indeed no other were regarded.

He was a native of Dalmatia, and born in the little town of Dioclæa, from which he took his name. If what is alledged be true, that his father was a common labourer, and that he himself in his youth was the slave of a certain senator, called Anulinus, it is the highest compliment that can be paid to his memory, inasmuch as he must have owed his elevation entirely to his own merit; for it is evident that he gained the esteem, and conciliated the affections of the soldiers to such a degree, as to make them forget his birth, and raise him to the throne. Lactantius, a christian author, but a little too partial, pretends to affirm that Dioclesian was the greatest coward in the empire. But it is extremely improbable, that the Roman soldiers should chuse a coward for their emperor, and that this coward should have passed through all the different ranks of the army. Lactantius, no doubt, is much to be commended for his pious zeal against a heathen emperor, though it were to be wished that he had been a little more prudent in his manner of expressing it.

He kept these fierce soldiers, who made and unmade their emperors with equal ease, in a state of order and subjection for twenty years; which is another proof, notwithstanding all that Lactantius hath said to the contrary, that he was as great a prince as he was a brave soldier. Under his government the empire soon recovered its former splendour. The Gauls,
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the Africans, the Egyptians, and the English, who severally revolted, were all reduced to their former allegiance to the Roman empire; and the Persians were entirely subdued. Such a constant course of success abroad, and a more happy administration at home; laws equally humane and wise, as may still be seen in the Justinian code; Rome, Milan, Autun, Nicomedia, and Carthage, embellished by his munificence, all conspired to procure him the love and esteem of both the eastern and western parts of the empire; so that two hundred and forty years after his death, the first year of his reign was considered as the common æra, in the same manner as the foundation of Rome had formerly been. This is what is usually called the æra of Dioclesian. Some affect to call it the æra of the martyrs: but that is an error of at least eighteen years; for it is indisputably certain that Dioclesian did not persecute a single Christian for the first eighteen years of his reign. On the contrary, one of the first things he did, after ascending the throne, was to grant a company of the pretorian guards to a Christian, called Sebastian, who is likewise to be found in the catalogue of saints.

He was not afraid to admit a colleague on the throne, in the person of a soldier of fortune like himself. This was a friend of his own, one Maximilianus Hercules. The similarity of their fortunes was the foundation of their friendship. Maximilianus Hercules was born of mean and poor parents, and like Dioclesian, had raised himself by his courage. Some people have found fault with Maximilianus for as-

suming the surname of Hercules, and with Dioclesian for taking that of Jovius*; not remembering that we every day see clergymen of the name of Hercules, and citizens who are called Cæsar or Augustus.

Dioclesian created two Cæsars more. The first was another Maximilianus, surnamed Galerius, who had originally been a shepherd. One would think that Dioclesian, the most haughty and supercilious man in the world, and the first that introduced the custom of kissing the emperor's feet, took a pride in filling the throne of the Cæsars with men of the meanest extraction. A slave and two peasants were now at the head of the empire, which, notwithstanding, was never in a more flourishing condition.

The second Cæsar he created was a person of illustrious birth, being by his mother the grand-nephew of the emperor Claudius II. his name Constantius Chlorus. By these four princes was the empire governed. This association might have produced four civil wars in the space of one year; but Dioclesian knew so well how to overawe his colleagues, that he always obliged them to pay him a proper respect, and to live in harmony among themselves. These princes, though dignified with the lofty title of Cæsars, were in reality no more than his prime ministers. We even find him treating them with all the authority of an absolute sovereign; for when Cæsar Galerius, who had been beat by the Persians, came to Mesopotamia to

* Jovius was no more than a Latin translation of his Greek name Diocles.

give him an account of his defeat, he left him to walk for a mile together by the side of his chariot, and did not receive him into favour, till he had repaired his fault and retrieved his misfortune.

This Galerius had the good fortune to do in the succeeding year 297, in a very signal manner. He beat the king of Persia in person. These kings of Persia had never since the battle of Arbella, been cured of the folly of bringing their wives, their daughters, and eunuchs to the field. Galerius took the king of Persia's wife and family, as Alexander had done before, and treated them with the same respect. The peace was as glorious as the victory. The Persians ceded five provinces to the Romans, extending from the sandy deserts of Palmyra to Armenia.

Dioclesian and Galerius went to Rome to exhibit a new kind of triumph. This was the first time that ever the Romans had seen the wife and children of a Persian monarch in chains. The empire enjoyed peace and plenty. Dioclesian visited all the provinces, and went from Rome to Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. His usual residence was not at Rome, but at Nicomedia, near the Euxine sea; whether it was that he had chosen this place the more narrowly to watch the motions of the Persians and Barbarians, or from an attachment to a retreat which he himself had embellished.

It was in the midst of these successes that Galerius began to persecute the Christians. Why had they been allowed to live in peace so long? and why were they now persecuted? Eusebius says, that one Marcellus a centurion

of Trajan's legion, which was then in Mauritania, happening to assist with his company at a feast that was given on account of the victory obtained by Galerius, threw down his military belt, his arms, and his bundle of vine-branches, which was the badge of his office, saying aloud that he was a Christian, and that he would serve Pagans no longer. The deserter was capitally punished by a council of war; and this is the first avowed instance of that famous persecution. Certain it is, there were many Christians in the Roman army; and the interest of the state required that such a public desertion should not pass unpunished. Marcellus's zeal, no doubt, was extremely pious; but unhappily it was far from being reasonable. If in this feast, which was given in Mauritania, the guests eat any kinds of meat that had been offered to heathen gods, the law did not command Marcellus to partake with them; but neither surely did christianity command him to give an example of sedition; and there is no country in the world where such an inexcusable action would not be severely punished.

Nevertheless, after this adventure of Marcellus, it does not appear that the Christians underwent any fresh persecution till the year 303. At Nicomedia they had a superb cathedral, opposite the palace, and even higher than it. Historians do not inform us why Galerius demanded of Dioclesian the instant demolition of this church; but they tell us that Dioclesian was a long time in coming to a resolution; and that it was almost a year before he would give his consent. After this, is it not somewhat
strange

strange that Dioclesian should be called a persecutor? at last in 303 the church was demolished, and an edict published, depriving the Christians of all marks of honour, and of all places of trust. From the very circumstance of their being deprived of these, it is evident that they once possessed them. Some Christian or other was so foolish as to pull down the imperial edict from the post to which it was affixed, and publicly tear it in pieces. This surely could not proceed from a principle of religion; but from a spirit of rebellion. Hence it is probable that an indiscreet zeal, and which, in the language of scripture, was not according to knowledge, occasioned this fatal persecution. Some time after, the palace of Galerius was burnt; Galerius accused the Christians of having set fire to it; and they, in their turn, accused him of having done it himself in order to find a pretext for blackening their character. The accusation which Galerius brings against the Christians seems to be unjust; that which they bring against him is no less so; for the edict being already published, what need had he of a new pretext? If, in fact, he wanted new arguments to engage Dioclesian in a persecution, that would only be a fresh proof of Dioclesian's aversion to abandon the Christians, whom he had always protected; as it would plainly shew that new motives were necessary to push him on to violent measures.

It cannot be denied that there were many Christians put to the torture in the empire; but we can hardly reconcile with the lenity of the Roman laws all those exquisite torments and mutilations, those plucked out tongues,

those mangled and broiled limbs, and those public insults upon modesty, inconsistent with common decency, which we every where read of. No Roman law ever enjoined such punishments. The populace indeed, from their hatred to the Christians, might possibly be carried to the commission of some shocking cruelties; but we do not find that these cruelties had the sanction either of the emperor or the senate.

The just grief of the Christians probably vented itself in exaggerated complaints. The *Acta Sincera* inform us, that when the emperor was at Antioch, the pretor condemned to the flames a Christian child called Romain; and that the Jews, who were present at the execution, wickedly fell a laughing, and said, "We had once three children, Shadrech, Meshch, and Abednego, who were not burnt though cast into the fiery furnace; but these christians burn fast enough." But, to the utter confusion of the Jews, a heavy shower of rain fell at that very instant, and extinguished the pile, and the boy came out of it, saying, "where then is the fire?" The *Acta Sincera* add, that the emperor gave him his life; but that the judge ordered his tongue to be cut out. But is it credible that a judge should cut out the tongue of a boy to whom the emperor had granted a pardon?

But what follows is still more surprising. 'Tis pretended, that an old christian physician, called Ariston, who happened to be present with his anatomical knife, cut out the boy's tongue, in order to make his court to the pretor. Little Romain was immediately sent to prison, and

the jailer asked him the news. The child gave him a long account of the manner in which the old physician had cut out his tongue. It must be observed, that, before the operation, the boy stammered greatly in his speech; but that he now spoke with surprising volubility. The jailer did not fail to acquaint the emperor with this miracle. The old physician was sent for, and examined: he swore that he had performed the operation according to the rules of art, and shewed them the child's tongue, which he had kept in a box as a sacred relick. "Give me the first man that comes in, says he: I will cut out his tongue in your majesty's presence, and then you shall see whether or not he can speak." The proposal was accepted, and a poor man pitched upon for the purpose. The physician cut out as much of his tongue as he had done of the boys, and the man expired in an instant.

I am willing to believe that the Acts which relate this fact, are as sincere as their title imports; but surely they are more simple than sincere: and it is strange that Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, should relate such a prodigious number of the like facts, which are more apt to occasion scandal than to promote edification.

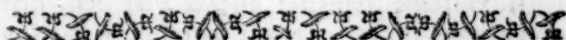
You must further observe, that in 303, when it is alledged that Dioclesian was present at this pretty adventure, he was actually at Rome, and spent the whole year in Italy. It is pretended that it was at Rome, and even in the emperor's presence, that St. Genestus, the comedian, was converted on the stage, as he was playing a comedy against the Christians. This

comedy plainly shews, that the taste of Plautus and Terence was then extinct. What is now called comedy, or Italian farce, seem to have taken its rise in those times. St. Genestus acted a sick person. The physician asked him what was his disease. "I feel myself too heavy," says Genestus. "Would you chuse to be pared a little," says the physician, "to make you more light?" "No," replies Genestus; "but I will die a Christian, that so I may be raised with a handsome shape." Upon which the actors, dressed like priests and conjurers, came to baptize him. At that instant Genestus became a Christian; and, instead of finishing his part, began to preach to the emperor and the people. This miracle is likewise contained in the *Acta Sincera*.

Certain it is, there were many real martyrs; but it is equally certain, that the provinces were not deluged with blood, as is commonly supposed. Mention is made of about two hundred martyrs that suffered in the whole extent of the Roman empire, during the last years of Dioclesian's reign; and it appears, even from the letters of Constantine himself, that Dioclesian had a less share in this persecution than Galerius*.

* Nevertheless he is said to have entered so eagerly into the spirit of this persecution, that he caused trophies to be erected, with inscriptions (some of them still extant in Spain) importing, that he had extended the Roman empire both in the East and West, extinguished the name of the Christians, who had embroiled the republic, abolished their superstition over all the earth, and augmented the worship of the gods.

Dioclesian fell sick in the course of this year, and, finding his strength impaired, was the first that gave the world an example of abdicating an empire; though it is hard to say whether this abdication was voluntary or forced. What is certain is, that, having recovered his health, he lived nine years after, equally honoured and undisturbed, in his country-house at Salona, the place of his birth. He was wont to say, that he had never begun to live till the day of his retirement; and, when pressed to remount the throne, he declared, that it was not worth the tranquillity he now enjoyed; and that he took more pleasure in cultivating his garden, than he had ever done in governing the world. What is the natural inference from all these facts? Is it not that, notwithstanding his many failings, he reigned like a great emperor, and died like a philosopher?



OF CONSTANTINE.

AT present I do not mean to speak of that confusion which overspread the empire, after the abdication of Dioclesian. Upon his death, there were no less than six emperors at once. Constantine triumphed over them all; changed the religion of the empire; and was the author not only of that grand revolution, but likewise of all the other innovations that have since taken place in the West. You want to know his real character. Ask it of

38 OF CONSTANTINE.

Julian, of Zozimus, of Sozomenus, and of Victor. They will tell you, that, at first, he was a great prince; afterwards a public robber; and, last of all, a voluptuary, a debauchee, and a prodigal. They will paint him as an ambitious, cruel, and blood-thirsty tyrant. But ask it, on the other hand, of Eusebius, of Gregory of Nazianze, and of Lactantius, and they will tell you, that he was a man possessed of every virtue. Between these two extremes, how shall we discover the truth? By well-vouched facts, and by these alone. He had a father-in-law; him he obliged to hang himself. He had a brother-in-law; him he strangled. He had a nephew, of twelve or thirteen years of age; his throat he cut. He had a son and heir; his head he took off. He had a wife; and her he stifled in a bath †. An old French author says, “that he loved to make a clean house.”

If to these domestic crimes you add, that happening to be one day hunting a band of Franks that inhabited the banks of the Rhine, and having taken their kings, who were probably of the family of our Pharamond and Clodion the Hairy, he exposed them to wild beasts for his diversion; you may then safely conclude, that he was not the most humane and polite man in the world.

Let us now take a cursory view of the principal events of his reign. His father, Constantius Chlorus, was in England, where he had borne the title of emperor for a few months.

† We have, in another place, made some remarks on this heavy charge.

Constantine was at Nicomedia with the emperor Galerius, from whom he asked leave to go and visit his father, who was sick. Galerius granted his request; and Constantine set out on the post-horses of the empire, which were called Veredarii. It was no less dangerous, it seems, to be a post-horse than to be a member of Constantine's family; for the moment he had finished his journey, he caused all the horses to be hamstrung, for fear that Galerius should revoke his permission, and order him to return to Nicomedia. Finding his father on his death-bed, he procured himself to be declared emperor by the few Roman troops that were then in England.

A Roman emperor chosen at York, by five or six thousand men, could not possibly be recognized at Rome as lawfully elected: he wanted, at least, the formula of *senatus populusque Romanus*. The senate, the people, and the pretorian guards, unanimously fixed their choice upon Maxentius, son to Cæsar Maximilianus Hercules, himself already a Cæsar, and brother of that Fausta whom Constantine had married, and afterwards put to death. This Maxentius is called a tyrant and usurper by our historians, who are always sure to side with the strongest party. He protected the heathen religion, in opposition to Constantine, who already began to declare for the Christians. A heathen, and vanquished! how could he fail to be reckoned an abominable wretch?

Eusebius tells us, that when Constantine was going to Rome to attack Maxentius, both he and the whole army saw in the clouds the large standard of the emperors, called Labarum,
mounted

mounted with a large Greek R, with a St. Andrew's Cross, and two Greek words, the meaning of which was, "By this you shall conquer." Some authors alledge, that this sign appeared at Besançon; others say that it was at Cologne; some at Treves, and others at Troye. Strange! that heaven should explain itself in Greek in all these different countries. It would have been more natural, at least in the judgment of short-sighted mortals, for this sign to have made its appearance in Italy on the day of battle; but then the inscription must have been in Latin. A learned antiquary, of the name of Laifel, hath refuted the authenticity of this phænomenon; in consequence of which he hath been branded with the appellation of an infidel.

After the victory which Constantine obtained, the senate were not backward in adoring the conqueror, and execrating the memory of the conquered. They immediately stripped the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius to adorn that of Constantine, to whom they likewise erected a golden statue; an honour which, before that time, had never been paid to any but the gods. This he received, notwithstanding the Labarum; as also the title of high priest, which he retained all his life. His first care, according to Nazairus and Zozimus, was to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, together with his principal friends; after which he assisted, with great humanity, at the spectacles and public games.

The old Dioclesian was then dying in his retreat at Salona. Constantine need not have been in such a hurry to demolish his statue at Rome,

Rome. He might have remembered, if he pleased, that this emperor had been his father's benefactor, and had even been the means of raising him to the throne. Having thus vanquished Maxentius, his next business was to get rid of Licinius, his brother-in-law, who was dignified with the title of Augustus as well as himself; and Licinius, on his part, resolved to make away with Constantine, if he possibly could. But, as their quarrels were not yet come to an open rupture, they granted, conjointly, at Milan, in 313, the famous edict of liberty of conscience. "We give every man," say they, "a liberty of following whatever religion he pleases, that so we may draw down the blessing of heaven upon us and our subjects: and we declare, that we have granted the Christians a free and full permission of professing their religion, provided that every other person shall enjoy the same privileges, that so the peace of our reign may not be disturbed."

Constantine was not as yet a Christian, any more than his colleague Licinius. He had still another emperor or tyrant to destroy, one Maximinus, a determined pagan. Licinius fought Maximinus before he attacked Constantine. Heaven was still more propitious to him, than it had ever been to Constantine himself. The latter had only the appearance of a standard; the former had that of an angel. This angel taught him a prayer, by virtue of which he must undoubtedly conquer the barbarian Maximinus. Licinius put the prayer in writing, recited it three times to his army, and obtained a complete victory. Had this Licinius, brother-in-law to Constantine, enjoyed
a hap-

a happy reign; we should have heard of nothing but his angel; but Constantine having caused him to be hanged, cut the throat of his young son, and rendered himself an absolute sovereign, we now hear of nothing but of Constantine's Labarum.

It is commonly believed that he put his eldest son Crispus, and his wife Fausta, to death, the same year that he assembled the council of Nice. Zozimus and Sozomenus pretend, that when the heathen priests told him that his crimes were inexpiable, he immediately made open profession of Christianity, and demolished several temples in the East. It is not likely that the heathen priests would neglect such a favourable opportunity of bringing back to their party the high priest, by whom they had been abandoned: and yet there might possibly be amongst them some rigid fanaticks; for such are every where to be found. But, what is still more surprising, Constantine the Christian underwent no penance for his parricides. It was at Rome that he committed these barbarous crimes, and from that time he could never endure to reside in it: he therefore left it intirely, and went to build the city of Constantinople. How can he presume to say, as he does in one of his rescripts, that he transferred the seat of the empire to Constantinople by the express orders of God? Is not this at once to mock the Deity, and to insult the common sense of mankind? Had God given him any orders, would it not have been not to assassinate his wife and son?

Dioclesian had set the example of transferring the seat of the empire towards the borders

ders of Asia. The Romans, enslaved and degenerated as they already were, could not endure the pride, the despotism, and the effeminacy of the Asiatics. The emperors would never have dared to introduce the custom of making their subjects kiss their feet at Rome, nor to fill their palaces with crowds of eunuchs. Dioclesian began at Nicomedia to put the Roman court upon the same footing with that of the Persian monarchs; and Constantine accomplished the pernicious scheme at Constantinople. From that time Rome lost her ancient spirit, and gradually fell into decay; and thus Constantine gave the most fatal blow that ever was given to the Roman empire.

Of all the emperors, he was certainly the most despotic. Augustus had left the Romans, at least, the shadow of liberty. Tiberius, and even Nero himself, had cajoled the senate and the people. But Constantine was above condescending to these political arts. By disbanding, immediately upon his elevation to the throne, the brave pretorian soldiers, who considered themselves as masters of the Roman emperors, he established his authority upon a solid foundation. He made an intire separation between the sword and the gown. The depositaries of the laws, now crushed by the military power, were, at best, but enslaved lawyers. The Roman provinces were governed on a new plan*. The great aim of Constantine

was

* The empire was divided into four general governments, each under the authority of a *prefectus prætorii*; though he had no power over the troops, the command of which was given to provincial generals, who had under them

was to be absolute in every thing ; and, in fact, he was so both in church and state. We see him convoking and opening the council of Nice ; entering amidst the fathers, covered with jewels and adorned with a diadem ; taking the first place, and banishing indiscriminately one while Arius, and at another St. Athanasius. He put himself at the head of Christianity, without being a Christian ; for, in those times, none but such as were baptized were distinguished by that appellation ; so that, in effect, Constantine was only a catechumen. Even the custom of waiting the approach of death, in order to be dipt in the water of regeneration, began to be discontinued by some individuals. If Constantine imagined, that, by deferring his baptism, he might commit all manner of crimes with impunity, in hopes of obtaining a full pardon at last, it was very unlucky for the rest of the world, that such an opinion should have been put into the head of a man so powerful and despotic.

them counts and dukes. Each general government was subdivided into dioceses, the governors of which were stiled vicars of the *prefecti prætorii* ; and every diocese was composed of several petty provinces, ruled by consulars, presidents, or correctors. This subdivision had been first made by Dioclesian,

OF JULIAN.

LET us suppose, for a moment, that Julian abandoned the heathen for the christian religion. Let us next consider him as a man, a philosopher, and an emperor; and then let us try if we can find a prince of a more excellent character. Within these few years his name was never mentioned without the epithet of Apostate; and it is, perhaps, one of the greatest efforts of reason, that we have at length ceased to distinguish him by that opprobrious appellation. The study of the liberal arts has inspired the learned with the spirit of toleration. Who would believe, that, in one of the numbers of the Paris Mercury in 1741, the author should severely censure a public writer, for being so much wanting to common decency as to call this emperor "Julian, the Apostate." Had any one, an hundred years ago, refused to call him an apostate, he himself would have been sure to incur the imputation of atheism.

What is equally certain and surprising is, that if you lay aside the consideration of his unhappy change, and neither follow him to the christian churches, nor the pagan temples; but observe him narrowly in his house, in the camp, in battle, in his manners, his conduct, and writings; you will find him equal, in every respect, to Marcus Aurelius. And hence, perhaps, you may be convinced that this man, who is commonly represented as an abominable wretch, is nevertheless the first, or, at least, the

the second of mankind. Always sober, and always temperate; keeping no mistresses; lying upon a bear's skin, and in that simple couch giving but a few hours to sleep; dividing his time between study and business; generous, friendly, and modest: had he been a private man, he would have been the object of universal admiration.

If we consider him as a hero, we shall find him always at the head of his troops, re-establishing military discipline without severity, and equally beloved and respected by his soldiers; leading his armies almost always on foot, and sharing with them in all their dangers; successful in all his expeditions; and at last ending his days in gaining a complete victory over the Persians. His death was that of a hero, and his last words were those of a philosopher: "I cheerfully submit," said he, "to the eternal decrees of heaven; convinced that he who would wish to live when he must die, is more cowardly than him who would wish to die when he ought to live." He continued, to his last hour, to discourse on the immortality of the soul. No fruitless complaints, no unmanly fears; he talked of nothing but submission to the Divine Providence. Consider, now, that the person who died thus had been an emperor for thirty-two years, and then say if you ought to insult his memory.

If we view him as an emperor, we find him refusing the title of *dominus*, to which Constantine aspired; relieving his subjects, diminishing the taxes, encouraging the arts, reducing from seventy ounces to three or four hundred marks those crowns of gold which his predecessors

cessors exacted from all the towns, enforcing the execution of the laws, keeping his officers and ministers to their duty, and preventing all kind of bribery and corruption.

Ten christian soldiers conspire his death: they are discovered, and Julian forgives them. The people of Antioch, equally insolent and effeminate, insult him: he punishes them, with his usual greatness of soul; and, capable as he was of making them feel the whole weight of imperial power, he only makes them sensible of the superiority of his genius. Compare with this the punishments which Theodosius (now almost sainted) inflicts at Antioch: all the citizens of Thessalonica butchered, on an occasion of much the same nature; and then say, which of the two men you think the most virtuous.

Gregory of Nazianzene, and Theodoret, seem to consider it as their duty to blacken the character of this prince, because he abandoned the christian religion; never remembering that one of the most glorious triumphs of this religion was to withstand the efforts of a great and wise man, after having resisted so many tyrants. One of these authors says, that he filled Antioch with blood, from a spirit of cruel revenge. How could a fact so notorious escape the observation of all other historians? On the contrary, it is well known that he shed no blood at Antioch, but the blood of victims. The other has the impudence to affirm, that when he was just expiring, he threw his blood against heaven, and exclaimed, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" How, in the name of wonder, could such a ridiculous story ever gain credit?

Or

Or is such an action, and such words, consistent with the rest of his character?

But perhaps it may be asked, by men of more sense than these defamers of Julian, how it was possible for a statesman, a genius, and a true philosopher, as Julian confessedly was, to abandon Christianity, in which he had been educated, in favour of the heathen religion, to the absurd and ridiculous nature of which he could not be a stranger? If Julian, say they, listened too much to his reason in examining the mysteries of Christianity, he ought, one would think, to have listened still more to that reason in examining the fables of the heathens.

Perhaps, by tracing him through the course of his life, and observing his character with greater attention, we shall be able to discover the true cause of that strong aversion he had to Christianity. Constantine, his grand-uncle, the first emperor that embraced the new religion, had embrued his hands in the blood of his wife, his son, his brother-in-law, his nephew, and his father-in-law. Constantine's three sons began their bloody reign by butchering their uncle and their cousins. From that time nothing was to be seen but murders and civil wars. Julian's father and eldest brother, all his relations, and even himself, though a child, were condemned to death by his uncle Constantius. Happily he escaped the general massacre. His first years were past in exile; and at last he owed the preservation of his life, his fortune, and the title of Cæsar, to the good offices of the empress Eusebia, wife to his uncle Constantius, who, after having had the cruelty

to banish him in his infancy, had now the imprudence to make him a Cæsar, and afterwards the still greater imprudence to provoke him by persecution.

He was an eye-witness of the intolerable insolence with which a bishop behaved to Eusebia, his benefactress. This was one Leontius, bishop of Tripoli. He sent the empress word, "that he would not pay her a visit, unless she would promise to receive him in a manner suitable to his episcopal character; to wit, that she should meet him at the door, incline her body, in order to receive his benediction, and not presume to sit down till he should give her leave." The heathen priests behaved to the empresses in a very different manner. This pride, so opposite to the true spirit of Christianity, could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of a young man, already in love with philosophy and simplicity of manners.

He found himself, it is true, in a christian family; but it was a family noted for parricide. He saw bishops at court; but these bishops were haughty and insolent, artful and cunning, and perpetually anathematizing one another. The two sects of Arius and Athanasius filled the empire with bloodshed and confusion; whereas the heathens, on the other hand, had no religious controversies. We may therefore naturally suppose, that Julian, educated as he was by heathen philosophers, and daily accustomed to hear their lectures, was thereby the more confirmed in that unhappy aversion to Christianity, with which the abuse of it had at first inspired him. Politicians were no more surprised to see Julian forsake the christian for

the heathen religion, than to see Constantine abandon Paganism for Christianity. It is probable, that both of them changed for reasons of state, and that these reasons concurred with stoical pride in determining the mind of Julian. The heathen religion had no dogmas: it demanded nothing but sacrifices; nor did it even require these under very severe penalties, the priests not daring to form a religious government in the heart of the civil. These and the like motives might easily induce a man of Julian's character to take a step, which, in other respects, is so unjustifiable. He wanted a party: had he piqued himself merely on his stoical character, he would have had the priests and false zealots of both religions to oppose him. The people would never have allowed a prince to confine himself to the sole adoration of a pure Being, and to the practice of justice. He was, therefore, obliged to pitch upon one of these contending parties; and Julian probably submitted to the pagan ceremonies with no more sincerity than most princes and great men go to places of public worship, to which they are led by the people, and frequently forced to appear what they are not. The Turkish Sultan must bless Omar; the Persian Sophi must bless Ali; and Marcus Aurelius himself was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries.

We ought not, therefore, to be surpris'd that Julian degraded his reason so far as to condescend to the observance of superstitious rites; but we cannot help being filled with the highest indignation at Theodoret, the only author who says that he sacrificed a woman in the temple of the Moon at Carres. This infamous story

story deserves to be ranked in the same catalogue with that absurd fiction of Ammianus, who says that the genius of the empire appeared to Julian before his death; and with that no less ridiculous falsehood, that when Julian attempted to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, globes of fire issued from the earth, and destroyed the works and workmen.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The Christians and Pagans have been equally industrious in inventing and propagating stories about Julian; with this only difference, that the stories of the Christians are all defamatory. Can any one believe, that a philosopher could sacrifice a woman to the moon, and tear out her entrails with his own hands? Can such brutality dwell in the mind of a rigid Stoick?

Julian never put one Christian to death. It is true, he granted them no favours; but neither did he persecute them*. As a just emperor, he left them to enjoy their estates; and as a philosopher, he wrote against them. He forbade them to teach in their schools the works of profane authors, which they endeavoured to decry; but surely this was not persecution. He allowed them the free exercise of their religion, and hindered them from destroying one another by their bloody quarrels. This was

* Notwithstanding this elegant apology, Julian will be still considered as a persecutor of the Christians, against whom he exercised acts of cruelty and injustice on many occasions.

rather to be their protector. They ought, therefore, to load him with no other reproach than that of abandoning their religion, and of deceiving and hurting himself: and yet they have found means to render execrable to all posterity a prince whose name, but for his change of religion, the only blemish in his character, would have been dear to mankind.

M. de



M. de VOLTAIRE'S
S P E E C H,
On his RECEPTION into the
FRENCH ACADEMY.

With NOTES.

Delivered on Monday the 9th of May, 1746.



ADVERTISEMENT
OF
THE EDITORS.

THOUGH an academical oration is commonly no more than a vain ceremony full of hackneyed compliments, and stuffed with the elogy of a predecessor, who perhaps was a man of but very mean parts; yet this discourse, which several gentlemen have begged us to reprint, ought to be exempted from the common law, which condemns to oblivion most of these formal and unmeaning pieces. The speech, it is presumed, will be found to have some merit, and the notes are useful.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR founder transfused into your establishment all the greatness and dignity of his own soul, by ordaining that you should always be free and equal. And indeed he acted wisely in raising above dependence those who were above all selfish and interested views, and who, as generous as himself, did letters the honour which they so well deserve, namely, that of studying them for their own sake*. It was to be feared that the ardour of prosecuting these noble studies might one day be relaxed. In order, therefore, to preserve it in its full vigour, you made a law, by which you bound yourselves to admit none as members of your academy but such as resided in Paris. From this law, however, you have wisely deviated in receiving in your number those extraordinary geniuses who were called elsewhere by their honourable employments, but who by their sensible or sublime performances were always present with you; for it would be to violate

* The French academy is the oldest establishment of that kind in France. It was at first composed of some men of letters, who met together for the sake of mutual conversation. It is not divided into honorary and pensionary members. Its privileges are merely honorary, such as that enjoyed by the commendals of the palace, of not being obliged to plead out of Paris; that of addressing the king in a body with the superior courts; and that of being accountable to none but the king.

the spirit of a law not to transgress the letter of it in favour of great men. If the late president Bouhier, after having flattered himself with the pleasing hopes of consecrating the rest of his days to your company, was obliged to pass them at a considerable distance, both he and the academy were comforted for their mutual loss, by reflecting that he cultivated your sciences with his usual industry in the city of Dijon, which hath produced so many great men †, and where genius seems to be one of the characteristics of the citizens.

He put us in mind of those times when the most austere magistrates, accomplished like him in the knowledge of the laws, unbended their minds from the cares of state, by indulging in the amusements of literature. What pitiful wretches are those who despise these agreeable studies; who place a kind of solitary grandeur in shutting themselves up within the narrow circle of their own employments! Do they not know that Cicero, after having filled the first place in the world, still continued to plead the causes of his fellow citizens, wrote on the nature of the gods, conversed with men of letters, went to the theatre, condescended to cultivate the friendship of Æsopos and Roscius, and left little minds to enjoy their solemn gravity, which is only the mask of ignorance and weakness?

The president Bouhier was a man of great learning; but did not resemble those useless and

† Messieurs de la Monnoye, Bouhier, Lantin, and above all, the eloquent Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who is commonly considered as the last father of the church.

unfociable ſcholars, who neglect the ſtudy of their own tongue to acquire an imperfect knowledge of ancient languages; who think they have a right to deſpiſe their own times, becauſe they imagine they have ſome little acquaintance with former ages; who admire a paſſage in *Æſchylus*, but have never enjoyed the pleaſure of ſhedding a tear at our own plays. He tranſlated *Petronius's* poem on the civil war; not that he conſidered that declamation, which is full of falſe thoughts, as nearly equal to the chaſte and elegant ſublimity of *Virgil*: on the contrary, he knew that *Petronius's* ſatire *, though diſtinguiſhed here and there by charming ſtrokes of wit, is no more than the whimſical production of a young man of mean condition, whoſe manners and ſtile were alike irregular. Some men who pretend to be the moſt perfect maſters of taſte and pleaſure, eſteem the whole of *Petronius's* works; but *Mr. Bouhier*, a man of greater judgment, does not even eſteem all that he tranſlated. It is one proof, among many others, how much

* *St. Evremont* admires *Petronius*, becauſe he takes him for a great courtier, and believed himſelf to be ſuch. This was the folly of the times. *St. Evremont* and ſeveral others aſſert that *Nero* is repreſented under the name of *Trimalchion*: but can an old fat and ridiculous farmer of the revenues, and his old wife, an impertinent citizen, be ſaid to reſemble a young emperor and his young ſpouſe *Oſtavia*, or the young *Popæa*? Can the debaucheries and petty thefts of a few roguiſh ſcholars be ſaid to reſemble the pleaſures of the maſter of the world? *Petronius*, the author of the ſatire, is evidently a young man of ſpirit, who made a figure among a ſet of obſcure debauchees, and not the conſul *Petronius*,

reason hath been improved in the present age, that a translator is no longer a blind admirer of his author; but can treat him with the same impartiality as he would treat a cotemporary. He exercised his talents on this poem, on the hymn to Venus, and on Anacreon, in order to shew that the poets ought to be translated into verse; an opinion which he defended with great warmth; nor will it be thought strange that my sentiments are the same with his.

Allow me, gentlemen, to enter a little more deeply into these literary discussions: my doubts before such learned judges as you will be equal to decisions. In this manner I may possibly contribute to the improvement of the arts; and I had much rather pronounce in your presence an useful than an eloquent discourse.

Why is it that Homer, Theocritus, Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, have been happily translated into Italian and English *? why is it that these nations have none of the ancient poets in prose, and that we have none of them in verse? I will endeavour to assign the reason.

* Horace is translated into Italian verse by Palavicini; Virgil by Hannibal Caro; Ovid by Auguillara; and Theocritus by Ricolini. The Italians have five good translations of Anacreon. With regard to the English, Dryden hath translated Virgil and Juvenal; Pope, Homer; Creech, Lucretius †, &c.

† Of Virgil there are three English translations besides that by Dryden, viz, Lauderdale's, Trap's, and Pitt's; and we expect soon to see a fourth complete translation of the *Æneid* by Mr. Strahan. We have also Theocritus translated by Creech, and Horace by Francis,

To surmount the difficulties that oppose us in the execution of any work, constitutes no inconsiderable part of its merit. No great achievements without great labour; nor is there a nation in the world where it is more difficult to transfuse the true spirit of ancient poetry than it is in ours. The first poets formed the genius of their language. The Greeks and the Romans at first employed poetry in painting all the sensible objects of nature. Homer describes whatever strikes the eye. The French, who have not yet begun to improve any of the more sublime kinds of poetry, except the dramatic, neither could nor ought to describe any thing that does not affect the soul. We have insensibly debarred ourselves from all those objects which other nations have ventured to paint. There is nothing that Danté does not describe after the example of the ancients. He accustomed the Italians to express every thing; but how could we in the present age imitate the author of the Georgicks, who particularly mentions all the instruments of agriculture? In effect we hardly know them; and our effeminate pride, bred and nourished in the bosom of that peace and luxury which we enjoy in our cities, unhappily affixes a mean idea to these rural labours, and to the description of those useful arts which the lords and legislators of the universe cultivated with their own victorious hands. Had our good poets known how to express little things with propriety, our tongue would have added that merit, which is far from being inconsiderable, to the advantage of having become the first language in the world for the charms of conversation, and the expression of

sentiment. The language of the heart, and the file of the theatre have entirely prevailed; they have embellished the French tongue; but have confined its beauties within too narrow limits.

And when I say, gentlemen, that the great poets have determined the genius of languages *,
I ad-

* It is impossible in a ceremonial discourse to enter into the reasons of this difficulty that attends our poetry. It proceeds from the idiom of the language; for though M. de la Motte, and several others after him, have asserted in full academy, that languages have no idioms, yet it appears demonstrable that each language hath its own peculiar idiom.

This idiom is its fitness to express certain ideas with propriety, and its unfitness to express others with precision. Both these peculiarities arise, 1. From the terminations of words. 2. From auxiliary verbs and participles. 3. From the greater or less number of rhimes. 4. From the length or shortness of words. 5. From the greater or less variation of cases. 6. From articles and pronouns. 7. From elisions. 8. From inversions. 9. From the quantity of syllables. And, in fine, from an infinite number of minute circumstances, which can only be perceived by those who have thoroughly studied the principles of a language.

1. The terminations of words, such as *perdre, vaincre, un coin, sucre, raspe, crotte, perdu, soudre, fief, coffre*, these harsh syllables grate the ear, a property for which all the northern tongues are remarkable.

2. Auxiliary verbs and participles. *Victis hostibus, "les ennemis ayant été vaincus."* There are four words for two. "Læso & invictomilitæ." This is the inscription of the invalids at Berlin: were we to translate it into French, it would be *pour les soldats qui ont été blessés & qui n'ont pas été vaincus*; how flat and languid! Hence it appears that Latin is more proper for inscriptions than French.

3. The number of rhimes. Open a dictionary of Italian rhimes, and one of French rhimer, you will always find a greater

I advance nothing that is not well known to you. The Greeks did not begin to write history

greater number of rhimes in the Italian; and you will further remark, that in the French there are twenty low and ridiculous rhimes for two that can enter into the noble and majestic stile.

4. The length and shortness of words. It is this that renders a language more or less proper for the expression of certain maxims, and the measure of certain verses.

We have never been able to translate into French in one good verse :

Quanto si mostra men tanto è più bella.

Nor have the Italians ever been able to translate into good verses :

Tel brille au second rang, qui s'eclipse au premier.

C'est un poids bien pesant qu'un nom trop tôt fameux.

5. The greater or less variation of cases. *Mon père, de mon père, à mon père*; meus pater, mei patris, meo patri; this is clear and distinct,

6. Articles and pronouns. "De ipsius negotio ei loquebatur." *Con elle parlava dell' affaire di lui; il lui parlait de son affaire.* No amphibology in the Latin. It is almost unavoidable in the French. We know not whether *son affaire* is that of the man who speaks, or to him to whom the speech is addressed: the pronoun *il* is cut off in the Latin, and it is it that makes the French and the Italian so flat and insipid.

7. Elisions.

Canto l'arme pietose, e il capitano.

We cannot say,

"Chantons la Piété et la vertu heureuse."

8. Inversions. *César cultiva tous les arts utiles*; we cannot turn this phrase in any other manner. In Latin it can be expressed in twenty different ways:

"Cæsar omnes utiles artes coluit."

What a surprising difference!

tory till four hundred years after Homer's time; and it was from that great painter of nature that their tongue derived that superiority which it afterwards obtained over all the languages of Europe and Asia. Among the Romans, Terence was the first that expressed himself with elegance and purity; and it was Danté, and after him Petrarch, that gave the Italian tongue that charming sweetness which it hath ever since preserved. It is to Lopez de Vega* that the Spanish owes its pomp and majesty; and it was Shakespear†, rude and unpolished as he was, that infused into the English language that strength and energy, which they have never since been able to increase, without overstraining, and consequently without weakening it. Whence proceeds this grand effort of poetry, by which it forms and finally fixes the genius of nations, and of their languages? The cause of it is evident: the first good verses, or even

9. The quantity of syllables. This is the soul of harmony. The long and short syllables in the Latin form a truly musical cadence. The more of this property any language possesses, it is the more harmonious. Observe the Italian verses, and you will find that the penult is always long:

Capitáno, máno, sêno christo, acquisto.

From all these particulars we may safely conclude that every tongue hath its own peculiar idiom, which men of superior parts discover first, and soon demonstrate to others, by unfolding the true genius of the language.

* The stile of Lopez de Vega is not more pure and stately than that of Cervantes, who was his cotemporary, and indeed his senior in writing.

† There is no English writer more chaste, energetic, and copious than Spencer, who was prior to Shakespear.

such

such as are but seemingly so, are deeply imprinted on the memory by the aid of harmonious numbers. Their bold and natural turns become familiar; and men, who are all born with a desire and capacity of imitation, insensibly acquire the same manner of expression, and even the same way of thinking with those whose daring imaginations at first got the ascendancy over the minds of others. Will you not agree with me, gentlemen, when I say that the true merit and reputation of our tongue began with the author of the *Cid*, and of *Cinna* *?

Before him Montagne was the only writer that engaged the attention of the few foreigners who understood the French; but Montagne's style is neither pure nor correct, nor accurate, nor noble. He is alike remarkable for ease and energy: he expresses great things with plainness and simplicity; and it is this simplicity with which we are charmed; we become fond of the author's character; we are pleased to find our own picture in what he says of himself; we love to converse with him, and to change our discourse and opinions with him. I have heard many people admire the language of Montagne; but it is his imagination that we ought to admire: the former is bold and daring, but the latter is far from being so.

Marot, who formed his language by that of Montagne, is hardly known beyond the limits of his native country; and even among us he is chiefly valued for some simple tales,

* Pierre Corneille.

64 M. de VOLTAIRE'S SPEECH.

and some licentious epigrams, the merit of which consists almost always in the subject; and it was owing to our injudicious regard for this trifling merit that our language remained so long unimproved. Poems, history, and books of morality, were all written in the tragic stile. The judicious Despreaux says, *Imiter de Marot l'elegant badinage*. I am inclined to think that he would have said *le naïf badinage*, were it not that this word, which is more proper, would have rendered his verse less harmonious. In effect we have no good performances but such as force their way into foreign nations, and are there studied and translated; but into what foreign language has ever Marot been translated?

Our tongue, for a long time after him, was no better than a familiar jargon, in which we were sometimes happy enough to compose some pieces of humour; but when humour is our only merit, we can never expect to be admired by other nations.

*Enfin Malherbe vint, & le premier en France
Fit sentir dans les vers une juste cadence,
D'un met mis en sa place enseigna le pouvoir.*

At last great Malherbe came, and first taught
France the art,
To rough unpolish'd verse just cadence to
impart.
Of words in order plac'd he shew'd the mighty
power.

If Malherbe was the first that shewed what
happy effects might be produced by the great
art of well-placed words, and well-turned pe-

riods, he must be allowed to have been the first that was elegant. But are a few harmonious stanzas sufficient to engage strangers to cultivate our language? They read that admirable poem the *Jerusalem Liberata*, *Orlando Furioso*, *Pastor Fido*, and the beautiful pieces of Petrarch : and can they rank with these masterly performances a small number of French verses, well wrote indeed ; but feeble, and almost destitute of imagination ?

Thus the French tongue would have for ever remained in its former state of mediocrity, without one of those extraordinary men, who are made to change and elevate the spirit of a whole nation. It was the greatest of your first academicians, it was Corneille alone, that began to make our language be admired by foreigners, at the very time that cardinal Richlieu began to make the crown to be respected by the neighbouring nations. Both of them spread our glory throughout Europe. Corneille was succeeded, I will not say by men of greater genius, but by better writers. A man arose, who was, at once, more animated and more correct ; less various indeed, but therefore less unequal ; sometimes as sublime, and always as majestic, without running into bombast : an enemy to declamation, he spoke to the heart with more truth, and with more charms *.

One of their cotemporaries, incapable perhaps of those sublime conceptions which elevate the soul, and of those delicate feelings which melt it into pity, but made to enlighten and direct those whom nature had blessed with both

* Racine.

these qualities, laborious, severe, accurate, pure, harmonious, and who, in fine, might be said to be the poet of reason, began unhappily by writing satires; but soon after equalled, and perhaps surpassed, Horace in his Moral Epistles, and his Art of Poetry. He gave precepts and examples; and was at last convinced, that the art of instructing, when executed with a masterly hand, succeeds better than the art of satirizing, because satire dies with those who have been the victims of its rage; whereas reason and virtue are eternal †. You had, in every branch of literature, that crowd of great men which nature produced, as in the age of Leo X. and in that of Augustus. Then it was that foreigners began to read our authors with avidity; and, thanks in part to cardinal Richlieu, they adopted our language, as they are now eager to deck themselves with the manufactures of our ingenious artists, for which we are indebted to the labours of the great Colbert.

A monarch admired by all men for his five victories, and still more by the learned on account of his great knowledge, hath chosen our language for his own, and hath adopted it into his court and his dominions: he speaks it with that energy and propriety which study alone can never bestow, and which is the true mark of genius. Not only does he study it: he even sometimes embellishes and improves it; for great souls will always seize those happy turns and expressions which can never occur to weak minds §. Stockholm is blessed with a new Chris-

† Boileau.

§ The late king of Sweden.

tina, equal to the first in genius, superior in every thing else; and she pays the same honour to our language. The French is studied at Rome, where it was formerly despised. It is now become as familiar to the sovereign pontiff as the learned languages, in which he writes when he instructs the christian world which he governs. Several Italian cardinals have wrote in French, in the Vatican, with as much elegance as if they had been born at Versailles. Your works, gentlemen, have forced their way to that capital of the most remote empire of Asia and Europe, and the most extensive in the universe; to that city, which, about forty years ago, was a desert*, inhabited only by wild beasts: there your dramatic pieces are now represented; and the same good taste which introduced the Italian music into the city of Peter the Great, and of his worthy daughter, hath likewise introduced your eloquence.

This honour, paid by so many nations to our excellent writers, is a proof that Europe owes to us its preservation from degeneracy. I will not say that every thing is hastening towards a shameful decay; the common complaint of those satirists, who endeavour to justify their own weakness by that which they impute to the age. I own, indeed, that the glory of our arms is supported with more dignity than that of our learning; but the fire which formerly enlightened us is not yet extinct. Have not these latter years produced the only book of

* The place where Petersburg now stands was formerly a marshy and barren desert.

chronology, in which the manners of men, and the characters of courts and ages, are painted with a masterly hand? a work, which, were it but drily instructive, like so many others, would nevertheless be the best of the kind; but in which the author † hath found out the happy secret of mixing pleasure with instruction; a secret attainable only by those men who are superior to their works.

The causes of the rise and fall of the Roman empire have been demonstrated in a shorter book still, written by a bold and daring genius †, who goes to the bottom of every subject, while he only seems to skim on the surface. Never had we more elegant and faithful translators than at present: true philosophers have at last begun to write history. A man, equally remarkable for the elegance of his style and the solidity of his judgment ‖, is formed amidst the tumults of war. There are several of these amiable geniuses whom Tibullus and Ovid would have considered as their disciples, and wished to have for their friends. The theatre, I confess, is threatened with a sudden fall; but, at least, I see here that truly tragic genius*,

‡ The president Hénaut. In some translations of this discourse, the name of the abbé Langlet has been inserted in the note, instead of that of M. Hénaut: a strange kind of mistake!

† The president Montesquieu.

‖ The marquis de Vauvenargues, a young man of the greatest hopes, who died in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

* M. Crébillon, author of *Electra* and *Radamista*. These plays, which are filled with strokes truly tragical, are frequently acted.

whose example I have endeavoured to follow, when I ventured to take a few steps in the same career. I view him with a mixture of sorrow and satisfaction, as we behold, on the ruins of our native country, an hero who hath bravely fought in its defence. I observe several among you, who, in imitation of the great Moliere, have rendered comedy a school of manners and of decency; a school which deserves as much encouragement in France as a less chaste theatre enjoyed at Athens. If that celebrated author, who first adorned philosophy with all the graces of poetry, belongs to a more remote age, he is still the honour and the consolation of yours.

Great talents must always be rare, especially when the taste and genius of a nation are formed. It is then with men of letters as it is with forests, where the trees, crowded together, and reared up, will not suffer any one to raise its head above the rest. When commerce is in a few hands, some people make prodigious fortunes, while the greater number remain poor; but when commerce is more widely diffused, wealth becomes general, and great fortunes are rare. We have, gentlemen, a great deal of genius in France, and that is the very reason why we shall find for the future very few superior geniuses.

But, notwithstanding this universal improvement of the nation, I will not deny that our language, elegant as it now is, and fixed as, one would imagine, it ought to be by so many excellent performances, may nevertheless be easily corrupted. We ought to apprize strangers that it already loses much of its purity in almost
all

all the books composed in that famous republic, which hath been so long our ally †, and in which the French is the prevailing language, notwithstanding the factions that oppose France. But if it is corrupted in that country by a mixture of idioms, it is in danger of being corrupted among ourselves by a mixture of different styles. Whatever vitiates the taste of a nation, will, in the end, vitiate its language. Some writers endeavour to enliven the most serious and instructive works, by familiar and colloquial expressions. Some introduce the burlesque style of Marot into the most noble subjects; which is much the same absurdity as if they were to dress a prince in the garb of a harlequin. Some make use of new terms, which are intirely useless, and should never be hazarded but when they are absolutely necessary. There are several other faults, with which I am the more sensibly affected, because I have fallen into some of them myself. But, to preserve me from such errors for the future, I shall find among you, gentlemen, those assistances which my learned predecessor acquired by his studies. Intimately acquainted with the works of Cicero, he had from thence derived this advantage, that he studied to speak the French language with as much purity as that consul spoke the Latin. But it belongs to that gentleman, who hath made the works of that great orator his particular study, and was the friend of the president Bouhier, to revive among us the eloquence of the one, and to display to you the merit of the other. To-day he has a double task to per-

† The United Provinces.

form: he has a friend to lament and celebrate, and a friend to receive and encourage. He may tell you with more eloquence than I, but not with more sensibility, what charms friendship gives to the labours of men devoted to the study of letters; how it serves to conduct, correct, excite, and solace them; and how it inspires the soul with that pleasing and agreeable composure, without which we can never be master of our own ideas.

In this manner it was that the Academy was at first formed. It hath an origin still more noble than that which it received from cardinal Richlieu; it took its first rise in the bosom of friendship. Men united by this respectable tie, and by their common taste for the fine arts, met together, without aspiring to fame: they were less illustrious than their successors, but not less happy. Decency, candour, concord, and sound criticism, which is so opposite to satire, inspired their meetings. The same virtues and good qualities will always animate yours: they will be the constant pursuit of men of letters; and will serve, perhaps, to reform those who make themselves unworthy of the name. The true lovers of the arts are always friends. Who hath a better right to say so than I? I would take the liberty, gentlemen, to enlarge on the instances of friendship with which most of you have been pleased to honour me, were it not that I am bound in duty to forget my own private concerns, in order to talk of the great object of all your labours, of those interests before which all others should vanish; I mean the glory of the nation.

I know

I know that panegyric, unless it is managed with the greatest delicacy, is a very nauseous and disagreeable subject: I know that the public, ever fond of novelty, imagines that every topic of praise is already exhausted on your founder and protectors. But ought I to refuse the debt I owe, because those who have paid it before me have left me nothing new to say on the subject? It is with these panegyrics, which are so frequently repeated, as with public solemnities, which are always the same, and which revive the memory of events dear to a whole people: they are necessary. To celebrate such men as cardinal Richlieu and Lewis XIV. to praise a Sequier, a Colbert, a Turenne, and a Condé, what is it but to cry aloud, Ye kings, ye ministers, and ye generals, in times to come, imitate these great men? Is it not well known that Trajan's panegyric excited Antoninus to the study and practice of virtue? And does not Marcus Aurelius, the greatest man and the greatest emperor that ever lived, does not he confess, in his writings, the spirit of emulation with which the virtues of Antoninus filled him. When Henry IV. heard the appellation of "Father of his people" given to Lewis XII. in parliament, he felt himself inspired with an ambition of imitating him, and he actually surpassed him.

Think ye, gentlemen, that the honours paid by so many mouths to the memory of Lewis XIV. had not a strong influence on the mind of his successor from his earliest youth? It will one day be said, that both of them attained to immortality, sometimes by the same, and sometimes by different roads. Both of them will be equal

equal in this respect, that they never disburdened themselves of the load of public affairs, but out of gratitude to good ministers; and this circumstance, perhaps, will constitute their greatest glory. Posterity will say, that both of them loved justice, and commanded their armies. The one fought, by the most noble achievements, the glory which he so well deserved: he called her to him from the height of his throne; and she was his constant attendant in all his conquests, and in all his enterprizes, till at last she filled the world with his name. He displayed a great soul, as well in adversity as prosperity, in the field, in his palace, and in all the courts of Europe and of Asia. The sea and the land bore witness to his power; and the most inconsiderable objects had no sooner acquired a connexion with him, than they presently assumed a new character, and received the stamp of his grandeur. The other protects kings and emperors, subdues provinces, and interrupts the course of his conquests to go and relieve his subjects; to which god-like office he flies from the bosom of death, whose fatal stroke he had hardly escaped. He obtains victories, and performs the most noble exploits with such an ease and unconcern as would make us imagine, that what strikes other men with astonishment, is only to him in the ordinary and common course of nature. He conceals the greatness of his soul, without endeavouring to conceal it; but is not able to weaken those rays of majesty, which piercing, in spite of all his endeavours to the contrary, the veil of his modesty, from thence derives a more durable lustre.

Lewis XIV. signalized himself by the most glorious achievements, by the great love he entertained for all the arts, and by the royal encouragement he so chearfully gave them. O you, his august successor, you have already imitated his noble example; and you wait only for that peace, which you endeavour to obtain by your victories, to accomplish all your generous projects, which cannot be executed but in the bosom of quiet and tranquillity.

You began your victories in that very province where those of your great-grandfather were begun, and you have already extended them to a greater distance. He lamented, that, in the course of his glorious campaigns, he could not oblige an enemy worthy of such a noble antagonist, to engage with him in a pitched battle. That glory, which he so ardently desired, you have enjoyed. Happier than the great-Henry, who hardly gained any victories but over his own subjects, you have conquered the eternal and intrepid enemies of your crown. Your son, next to you the object of our prayers and our dread, learned at your side to behold danger and misfortune without being troubled, and the most glorious triumph without being dazzled. When we were trembling for you in Paris, you were in a field of carnage. Composed in those moments of horror and confusion, composed amidst the tumultuous joy of your victorious troops, you embraced that general, who only wished to live that he might see you triumph; that man, whom your virtues and his own conspired to make your subject, and whom France will ever number among her dearest and most illustrious chil-

children*. You rewarded, by your approbation and praises, all those who had contributed to the victory; and this reward is the most glorious that Frenchmen can receive.

But what will for ever be preserved in the annals of the Academy, and must afford the greatest satisfaction to each of you, gentlemen, is, that one of your fellow-members performed the most important service to your protector, and to France, in that glorious battle. He it was that after having run from rank to rank, and after having fought in so many different places, flew to give and to execute that advice which was so seasonable, so salutary, and so readily embraced by the king, whose penetrating eye discerned every thing in those moments when the mind is most apt to wander. Enjoy, gentlemen, enjoy the pleasure of hearing in this

* The late count de Saxe.

We wish our author had been a little more moderate in this panegyric on the character of his sovereign, as it favours much of adulation.

His candour too would have been more conspicuous, if, in mentioning the victory which the French king obtained at Fontenoy over the eternal enemies of his nation, he had owned, that above sixty thousand French had with great difficulty obliged about twenty thousand English troops to retire; and that twenty thousand English troops, unassisted by their allies, were on the verge of obtaining a complete victory over the whole French army, headed by their king and dauphin, posted in the most advantageous manner, and fortified with a great number of batteries.

The virtues of his most Christian majesty's heart we shall not presume to dispute; but, surely, to celebrate him as a hero in the field, to compare him in point of courage to Henry IV. or in power and magnificence to Lewis XIV. is a strain of encomium that even throws ridicule upon his character.

assembly the very words which your protector said to the nephew * of your founder on the field of battle; "I shall never forget the important service you have done me." But if this glory be so dear to you, how dear must be to all France, and how dear will one day be to Europe in general, those pacific steps which Lewis XV. took after his victories! He still pursues the same measures; he never attacks his enemies, but in order to disarm them: he does not desire to conquer them, but in order to make them agree to reasonable terms of accommodation. Did they but know the real sentiments of his heart, they would make him their arbiter, instead of their enemy; and that, perhaps, would be the only method of gaining advantages over him §. The virtues which render him such a formidable foe they have fully experienced, from the time of his assuming the command of his armies; but those which ought to engage their trust and confidence, and ought to be the bond of union among different nations, require a longer time to be discovered by an enemy.

We, in this respect more happy, we have known the goodness of his heart from the moment of his mounting the throne. We have thought of him as all ages, and all nations, will ever think. Never was love more sincere, or more emphatically expressed, than ours. All our hearts felt its force, and your eloquent mouths were the interpreters of our inward

* The marechal duke de Richlieu.

§ The event justified in 1748, what Mr. de Voltaire had said in 1746.

feelings. Medals, worthy of the most illustrious times of Greece †, eternize his triumphs and our happiness. May I behold in our public places this humane monarch, carved by the hands of our Praxiteles's, and environed with all the symbols of public happiness! And may I read at the feet of his statue those words which are already in all our hearts, "To the Father of his Country!"

† The medals struck at the Louvre are superior to the most beautiful ones of antiquity, not for the elegance or propriety of the inscription; but for ingenuity of the design, and the beauty of the impression.

CONTINUATION
OF THE
MISCELLANIES
IN
HISTORY, LITERATURE,
&c. &c.

A LETTER ON DANTE.

YOU want to know the character of Danté. The Italians call him divine; but he is a hidden divinity: few people understand his oracles. He has had commentators; and that, perhaps, is another reason why he is so little understood. His reputation will be always increasing, because he is never read. There are about twenty beautiful strokes in him, which people get by heart; and they think that sufficient to spare them the labour of examining the rest.

This divine Danté, according to the common report, was a very unhappy man. Do not imagine that he was reckoned divine in his own

own age, or that he thought himself a prophet. It is true, he was a prior; but not a prior of monks: he was a prior of Florence, that is, one of its senators.

He was born in 1260, according to the accounts of his countrymen. Bayle, who wrote at Rotterdam, *currente calamo*, for his bookseller, about four whole centuries after Danté, fixes his birth in 1265. I esteem Bayle neither the more nor the less for being mistaken in about five years. The great thing is not to mistake, either in point of taste, or in point of argument.

The arts began about that time to revive in the country of Danté. Florence was, like Athens, the seat of wit, of grandeur, of levity, of inconstancy, and faction. The White Faction had great credit, and was so called from the name of the "Signora Bianca." The opposite faction was intitled the Party of Blacks, the better to distinguish them from the Whites. The Florentines were not satisfied with these two parties: they had, besides, the Guelfs and the Gibelins. Most of the Whites were Gibelins, of the party of the emperors; and the Blacks inclined to the Guelfs, who were attached to the popes.

All these factions loved liberty, and yet did all that lay in their power to destroy it. Boniface VIII. resolved to avail himself of these divisions to overturn the power of the emperors in Italy. He declared Charles of Valois, brother to the French king Philip the Handsome, his vicar in Tuscany. The vicar came with a numerous army, expelled the Whites and the Gibelins, and drew upon himself the hatred

and detestation of the Blacks and the Guelfs. Danté was a White and a Gibelin. He was expelled among the first, and his house levelled with the ground. Hence we may judge whether he was well disposed to the family of France and the popes during the rest of his life. It is pretended, however, that he made a journey to Paris; and that, to cure himself of the spleen, he commenced theologian, and disputed strenuously in the schools. It is added, that the emperor Henry VII. did nothing for him, Gibelin as he was; that he went to Frederic of Arragon, king of Sicily, and returned as poor as he went. He was obliged to apply to the marquis of Malaspina, and to the great can of Verona. The marquis and the great can did not indemnify him, and he died poor at Ravenna in the fifty-sixth year of his age. It was in these different places that he composed his comedy of Hell, of Purgatory, and of Paradise; and this hotch-potch has been reckoned a beautiful epic poem.

The first objects he saw at the entry of Hell were a he-lion and a she-wolf. In an instant Virgil appears to encourage him: Virgil tells him, that he was born a Lombard; which is exactly the same as if Homer had said that he was born a Turk. Virgil offers to perform to Danté the honours of Hell and of Purgatory, and to lead him to the gate of St. Peter; but acknowledges that he could not enter with him.

Mean while, Charon transports them both in his boat. Virgil tells him, that soon after his arrival in Hell he saw a powerful Being, that came thither in quest of the souls of Abel,
Noah,

Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David. As they advanced farther into the infernal regions, they discovered some very agreeable retreats. In one of these were Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan; in another Electra, Hector, Ænæas, Lucretia, Brutus, and Saladin the Turk; and in a third Socrates, Plato, Hippocrates, and the Arabian Averroës.

At last appeared the real Hell, where Pluto judges the damned. In the crowd the traveller observed some cardinals, some popes, and a great number of Florentines. Is this in the comic stile? no. Is it in the heroic stile? no. In what stile is it then? in the stile of wildness and extravagance.

And yet his work contains some verses so happy and natural, that they have preserved their beauty for four hundred years, and will preserve it for ever. Besides, a poem that sends the popes to Hell, arouses the attention; and the commentators have exhausted all their sagacity and penetration in determining exactly who are the persons whom Danté has damned, and have been at great pains not to deceive themselves in a matter of such importance.

The Italians have founded a chair, and established a lecture, to explain this classic author. You will ask me, why the inquisition does not oppose such a measure? My answer is, the members of the inquisition in Italy understand raillery: they know that a few witty verses can never do any harm. Of this, and of the merit of the work, you may form some judgment by the following translation (which is a very free one) of part of the twenty-third canto. It relates to one of the damned, with whom the

author was acquainted. The spirit speaks thus :

The count de Guido was I call'd on earth,
 A mighty soldier, and as great poltroon ;
 Then with St. Francis I enroll'd my name,
 That, holding by his discipline, I might
 One day obtain a happy place in Heav'n.
 There should I be, had not a knavish pope
 Commanded all my service, and then left
 My wretched soul to Belzebub a prey.
 The truth to tell, while I surviv'd on earth,
 Around Rimini war I long maintain'd,
 Less like an hero than a cheat, I own ;
 And, as a sharper, some renown acquir'd.
 But when my locks assum'd a grizzl'd hue,
 The time when wisdom counsels to retire,
 Remorse began to gnaw my hoary age,
 And to confession strait I had recourse.
 Repentance late arriv'd, and swiftly fled !
 The holy father at that period warr'd,
 Not with the Sultan, nor the ruthless Turk,
 But Christians, whom, like a true Turk, he
 pillag'd.

Now, disregarding tonsure or tiara,
 Or ev'n St. Francis' girdle or his frock,
 " Brother, (said he) it suits my present scheme
 To have Preneste forthwith in my pow'r :
 Advise me—search beneath that rev'rend cowl,
 Some happy stratagem, some shrewd device,
 To add to the dominions I possess,
 The tempting bait to which I have no claim.
 The double keys of Heav'n are in my power :
 These, the weak piety of Celestine
 Converted to no use ; but I can open
 And shut at pleasure Heav'n's eternal gates :

If

If thou wilt serve me, Heav'n shall be thy boon."
 Too well I serv'd him, curst be my zeal !
 Preneſte ſell to him : my lot was death.
 Then good St. Francis haſten'd to my aid,
 Intending to convey my ſoul to Heav'n ;
 But Satan riding poſt, " Hip, Saint—(cry'd he)
 Stop—not ſo faſt ; for, by your leave, I claim
 This counſellor of holy church—he's mine ;
 And right it is that I ſhould have my own."
 Then the good ſaint, confounded and abaſh'd,
 Reſign'd me to the devil without diſpute.
 " Ah ! good ſir Lucifer, I kneeling cry'd,
 A ſaint am I ; behold my robe of grey :
 The holy pope abſolv'd me ere I dy'd !"
 " Certes, reply'd the devil with a ſneer,
 A great reſpect I have for abſolution :
 It ſcours the ſoul from ſins and follies paſt,
 Provided ſtill you run no ſcore aſreſh :
 This nice diſtinction I have often made
 To ſuch as thee ; and, thanks to modern Rome,
 The devil's an adept in theology."
 He ſaid, and grinn'd : no answer I return'd
 To Belzebub, he argu'd with ſuch force.
 Then ſeizing me, with rude and rig'rous arm,
 He on my rueful carcaſe ſtrait beſtow'd
 Twenty good ſtripes, that made me ſmart full
 fore,
 Which Heav'n repay to Boniface the eighth ‡.

‡ Boniface VIII. was a mortal enemy to the Gibelins ;
 and, beſides, a monſter of pride, cruelty, and ambition.

OF THE
CHIMERA
OF THE
SOVEREIGN GOOD.

Happiness is an abstract idea, composed of several pleasing sensations. Plato, who wrote better than he reasoned, formed the fanciful notion of his architypal world, that is, his original world, his general ideas of beauty, of virtue, of order, and of justice, as if there were eternal beings called Order, Virtue, Beauty, and Justice, from which were derived those faint copies of what we mortals call just, beautiful, and good.

It is in imitation of his example, that the philosophers have employed so much time and labour in searching for the sovereign good, as the chymists have done in searching for the philosopher's stone; but there is no such thing as the sovereign good, any more than there is the sovereign square, or the sovereign crimson. There are crimson colours, and there are squares; but there is no general being that is so called. This ridiculous manner of reasoning hath long infected philosophy.

Animals feel a pleasure in performing all their natural functions. In this view the supreme happiness would be an uninterrupted course of pleasures; but such a course is incompatible with our organs and our condition. There is a great pleasure in eating and drinking, and a greater
still

still in the union of the two sexes; but were man to be always engaged in eating, or always entranced in the raptures of enjoyment, his organs would not be sufficient for such violent exercises; he could not perform the duties of social life; and thus the human kind would be destroyed by an excess of pleasure.

To pass continually, and without interruption, from one pleasure to another, is a notion no less chimerical. The woman that has conceived must be brought to bed, which cannot be done without pain; and the man must cleave wood and hew stone, which is far from being a pleasure.

If we give the name of happiness to the few pleasures that are scattered through life, there is such a thing as happiness in reality. If we give it only to a permanent pleasure, or to a continued and diversified course of pleasing sensations, happiness was not made for the terraqueous globe; we must seek for it somewhere else.

If we give the name of happiness to the external advantages which a man enjoys, whether it be wealth, power, or reputation, we are no less deceived. Some colliers are more happy than some sovereigns. Ask Cromwell whether he enjoyed more pleasure when he was protector, than when he went to the tavern in his youth; he will probably tell you, that the time of his usurpation was far from being the happiest part of his life. How many homely dowdies are there that are better satisfied with their lot than Helen or Cleopatra!

There is one observation to be made here: it is this; when we say it is probable that one man is happier than another; that a young mulleteer, for instance, has great advantages over Charles V. or that a millener is better satisfied with

with her condition than a princess, we ought to confine ourselves to this probability. It is very likely that a muleteer, in good health, enjoys more pleasure than Charles V. tormented with the gout; but it is likewise very possible that Charles V. with his crutches, may reflect with so much pleasure on his having held a king of France and a pope prisoners, that his lot may, in every respect, be preferable to that of the young and vigorous muleteer.

It belongs surely to God alone, to that being who beholds all hearts, to determine who is the happiest man. There is only one case in which a man may safely affirm that his condition is better or worse than that of his neighbour; and this case is the time of rivalry, and the moment of victory.

Let us suppose Archimedes to have made an appointment with his mistress in the evening, and Nomentanus to have made an appointment with the same woman, and at the same hour. Archimedes comes to the gate: the servants shut it in his teeth, and open it to his rival, who makes an excellent supper; during which he laughs at Archimedes, and then enjoys his mistress, while the other remains in the street exposed to the cold, the rain, and hail. Nomentanus, it is evident, has a right to say, "I am happier to-night than Archimedes; I enjoy more pleasure than him." But this will only hold on the supposition that Archimedes's mind is entirely engrossed with the vexation of having lost a good supper; of being despised and deceived by a beautiful woman, supplanted by his rival, and exposed to the rain, the hail, and cold. For if the philosopher in the streets should happen to think that neither a whore nor a shower should disturb
the

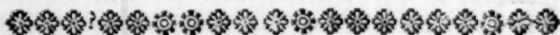
the tranquillity of his mind ; if he is wholly engaged in the contemplation of a beautiful problem, and discovers the proportion between the cylinder and the sphere ; he may enjoy a pleasure an hundred times more exquisite than that of Nomentanus.

Hence it appears that the enjoyment of real pleasure, or the suffering of real pain, are the only cases in which we can compare the condition of one man with that of another, abstracting from every other consideration. Certain it is, the man who enjoys his mistress is more happy at that instant than his despised and disconsolate rival. A man that is in perfect health, and is eating a good partridge, tastes more pleasure to be sure, than one tormented with a chollic. All this is indisputably true ; but farther we cannot go with any degree of safety : we cannot compare the being of one man with that of another : we have no balance to weigh the desires and sensations of different men.

We began this article with Plato and his sovereign good : we shall end it with Solon, and that famous saying of his, which hath been so much admired, viz. " That no man ought to be called happy before his death." This axiom is at bottom but a childish conceit, like many other apothegms, which time hath rendered sacred. The moment of death hath no connexion with the manner of life which a man has led. One may die a violent and an infamous death, and yet to that instant have tasted all the pleasures which human nature is capable of enjoying. It is very possible, and very common for a man that has long been happy, to become unhappy : Who doubts it ? but it is ne-

vertheless certain, that he once had his happy moments.

What then is the meaning of this famous saying of Solon? It is no more than that a man who enjoys pleasure to-day, is not sure of enjoying it to-morrow; a truth so plain and insignificant, that it is not worth the repeating.



Of the PEOPLING of
A M E R I C A.

THE discovery of America, that object of so much avarice and ambition, hath likewise become the object of philosophy. A prodigious number of writers have endeavoured to prove that the Americans are a colony of the ancient world. Some modest metaphysicians have alledged, that the same power which made the grass to grow on the plains of America, might likewise stock the country with inhabitants; but this naked and simple system has not been regarded.

When first the great Columbus gave it as his opinion, that there might possibly be such a new world, it was boldly asserted that it was absolutely impossible; and Columbus was taken for a visionary. When he had actually made the discovery, it was pretended that this new world was known long before.

Some have alledged that one Martin Beheim, a native of Nuremberg, set sail from the coasts of Flanders about the year 1460, to go in quest of this unknown world; and that he reached the
straits

straits of Magellan, of which he left draughts. But as Martin Beheim did not people America, and as it was absolutely necessary that one of Noah's great-grandsons should take this trouble, they have ransacked the records of antiquity to see if they could find any thing that had the least resemblance to a long voyage, and which they could apply to the discovery of this fourth part of the globe. Accordingly they have sent the ships of Solomon to Mexico, and have made them bring from thence the gold of Ophir, though he was obliged to borrow it from king Hiram. They have even found America in Plato*. They have given the honour of its discovery to the Carthaginians; and have quoted on this subject a book of Aristotle's, which he never wrote.

* He might have added Plutarch in his life of Sertorius, and Diodorus Siculus, which last says, that the Phœnicians extended their discoveries along the coast of Africa, till at length one of their ships being driven a great way into the Atlantic ocean, by a storm that lasted many days, arrived at an island unparalleled for its beauty and fertility. The Indians of North America have a constant tradition that their forefathers came from the extremities of Asia; and that America and Asia were joined together by a narrow isthmus, which the sea has broke through. An Indian of Louisiana, who travelled by land in a westward direction as far as the South-sea, told Du Pratz, that one of the natives of the country bordering on that sea, declared, that when he was young he saw a very old man, who remembered to have seen the isthmus of communication between America and Asia; and that at low water the rocks were still visible. A detachment of French Canadians found, in a morass near the river Ohio, the skeletons of four elephants; a species of animals not natural to America: besides, there is a strong resemblance between the North Americans and Tartars, in figure, language, customs, and religion.

Hornius

Hornius pretends to find some analogy between the language of the Hebrews and that of the Caribbees. Father Laffiteau, the Jesuit, has not failed to improve such a curious hint. The Mexicans in the violence of their grief tear their garments: some Asiatics do the same; therefore they are the ancestors of the Mexicans. We may add, with as much reason, the people of Languedoc are fond of dancing; the Hurons likewise dance on their days of rejoicing; and therefore the Languedocians are sprung from the Hurons, or the Hurons from the Languedocians.

The authors of a terrible Universal History pretend, that all the Americans are a colony of the Tartars. They assure us, that this is the opinion most generally received among the learned; but do not inform us whether it be among the learned that think for themselves. According to them, some descendant of Noah had nothing more at heart than to go and fix his quarters in the delicious country of Kamtschatka, to the north of Siberia. His children, having nothing to do, went to visit Canada, either by equipping a fleet for the purpose, or by walking on the ice by way of recreation, along some neck of land, which from that time to the present has never been again discovered. They then began to beget children in Canada, and in a very short time that beautiful country, being no longer able to maintain the prodigious number of inhabitants, they went to people Mexico, Peru, and Chili; and their great grand-daughters were brought to-bed of giants near the straits of Magellan.

As lions are to be found in some of the hotter climates of America, these authors suppose that
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the Christopher Columbus's of Kamtschatka carried over some lions to Canada for their diversion.

But the Kamtschatkatians were not the only people that furnished the new world with inhabitants ; they were charitably assisted by the Tartars of Mantchou ; by the Huns, the Chinese, and the Japonese.

The Tartars of Mantchou are incontestably the ancestors of the Peruvians ; for Mango-Capak was the first inca of Peru. Mango resembles Manco, Manco Mancu, Mancu Mantchu, and from hence, by a small addition, we have Mantchou. Nothing can be better demonstrated.

As to the Huns, they built in Hungary a town that was called Cunadi. Now, by changing cu into ca, we have Canadi, from which Canada evidently derives its name.

A plant resembling the ginseng of the Chinese grows in Canada, therefore the Chinese carried it thither, even before they were masters of that part of Chinese Tartary where their ginseng is produced ; and besides, the Chinese are such great sailors, that they formerly sent fleets to America, without preserving the least correspondence with their colonies.

With regard to the Japonese, as they lie nearest to America, from which they are distant only about twelve hundred leagues, they must certainly have been there in former times ; but they afterwards neglected that voyage.

Such are the learned tracts that are boldly ushered into the world in the present age.. What answer can we give to these systems, and to so many others of the like nature ? None.

The

The History of the TRAVELS of
S C A R M E N T A D O *.

Written by himself.

I Was born in Candia in the year 1600. My father was governor of the city; and I remember that a poet of middling parts, and of a most unmusical ear, whose name was Iro, composed some verses in my praise, in which he made me to descend from Minos in a direct line; but my father being afterwards disgraced, he wrote some other verses, in which he derived my pedigree from no nobler an origin than the amours of Pasiphae and her gallant. This Iro was a most mischievous rogue, and one of the most troublesome fellows in the island.

My father sent me at fifteen years of age to prosecute my studies at Rome. There I arrived in full hopes of learning all kinds of truth; for I had hitherto been taught quite the reverse, according to the custom of this lower world from China to the Alps. Monsignor Profondo, to whom I was recommended, was a man of a very singular character, and one of the most terrible scholars in the world. He was for teaching me the categories of Aristotle; and was just on the point of placing me in the category of his minions; a fate which I narrowly escaped. I saw processions, exorcisms, and some robberies. It was commonly said, but without any foundation,

* The reader will at once perceive that this is a spirited satire on mankind in general, and particularly on persecution for conscience sake.

that *la Signora Olimpia*, a lady of great prudence, sold several things that ought not to be sold. I was then of an age to relish all these comical adventures. A young lady of great sweetness of temper, called *la Signora Fatelo*, thought proper to fall in love with me : she was courted by the reverend father *Poignardini*, and by the reverend father *Aconiti* *, young monks of an order which is now extinct ; and she reconciled the two rivals, by granting her favours to me ; but at the same time I ran the risk of being excommunicated and poisoned. I left Rome highly pleased with the architecture of St. Peter.

I travelled to France : it was during the reign of Lewis the Just. The first question put to me was, whether I chused to breakfast on a slice of the mareschal D'Ancre †, whose flesh the people had roasted, and distributed with great liberality to such as chused to taste it.

This kingdom was continually involved in civil wars, sometimes for a place at court, sometimes for two pages of theological controversy. This fire, which one while lay concealed under the ashes, and at another burst forth with great violence, had desolated these beautiful provinces for upwards of sixty years. The pretext was,

* Alluding to the infamous practice of poisoning and assassination, at that time prevalent in Rome.

† This was the famous Concini, who was murdered on the draw-bridge of the Louvre, by the intrigues of De Luines, not without the knowledge of the king, Lewis XIII. His body, which had been secretly interred in the church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, was next day dug up by the populace, who dragged it through the streets, then burned the flesh, and threw the bones into the river. The mareschal's greatest crime was his being a foreigner.

the defending the liberties of the Gallican church. "Alas! said I, these people are nevertheless born with a gentle disposition: what can have drawn them so far from their natural character? They joke and keep holy days*. Happy the time when they shall do nothing but joke!"

I went over to England, where the same disputes occasioned the same barbarities. Some pious Catholics had resolved, for the good of the church, to blow up into the air with gun-powder the king, the royal family, and the whole parliament, and thus to deliver England from all these heretics at once. They shewed me the place where queen Mary of blessed memory, the daughter of Henry VIII. had caused more than five hundred of her subjects to be burnt. An Irish priest assured me, that it was a very good action; first, because those who were burnt were Englishmen; and secondly, because they did not make use of holy water, nor believe in St. Patrick's Hole. He was greatly surprised that queen Mary was not yet canonized; but he hoped she would receive that honour as soon as the cardinal nephew should be a little more at leisure.

From thence I went to Holland, where I hoped to find more tranquillity among a people of a more cold and phlegmatic constitution. Just as I arrived at the Hague, the people were cutting off the head of a venerable old man. It was the bald head of the prime minister Barneveldt; a man who deserved better treatment from the republic. Touched with pity at this affecting scene, I asked what was his crime, and whether

* Referring to the massacre of the Protestants, perpetrated on the eve of St. Bartholomew.

he had betrayed the state. "He has done much worse," replied a preacher in a black cloak; he believed that men may be saved by good works as well as by faith. You must be sensible, adds he, that if such opinions were to gain ground, a republic could not subsist; and that there must be severe laws to suppress such scandalous and horrid blasphemies." A profound politician said to me with a sigh, "Alas! sir, this happy time will not last long; it is only by chance that the people are so zealous: they are naturally inclined to the abominable doctrine of toleration, and they will certainly at last grant it." This reflexion set him a groaning. For my own part, in expectation of that fatal period when moderation and indulgence should take place, I instantly quitted a country where severity was not softened by any lenitive, and embarked for Spain.

The court was then at Seville: the galleons were just arrived; and every thing breathed plenty and gladness, in the most beautiful season of the year. I observed at the end of an alley of orange and citron trees, a kind of large ring, surrounded with steps covered with rich and costly cloth. The king, the queen, the infants, and the infantas, were seated under a superb canopy. Opposite to the royal family was another throne, raised higher than that on which his majesty sat. I said to one of my fellow-travellers, "Unless this throne be reserved for God, I don't see what purpose it can serve." This unguarded expression was overheard by a grave Spaniard, and cost me dear. Mean while, I imagined we were going to a carousal, or a match of bull-baiting, when the grand inquisitor appeared in
that

that elevated throne, from whence he blessed the king and the people.

Then came an army of monks, who filed off in pairs, white, black, grey, shod, unshod, bearded, beardless, with pointed cowls, and without cowls: next followed the hangman; and last of all were seen, in the midst of the guards and grandees, about forty persons clad in sackcloth, on which were painted the figures of flames and devils. Some of these were Jews, who could not be prevailed upon to renounce Moses entirely: others were Christians, who had married women with whom they had stood sponsors to a child; who had not adored our Lady of Atocha; or who had refused to part with their ready money in favour of the Hieronymite brothers. Some pretty prayers were sung with much devotion, and then the criminals were burnt at a slow fire; a ceremony with which the royal family seemed to be greatly edified.

As I was going to bed in the evening, two members of the inquisition came to my lodging with a figure of St. Hermandad. They embraced me with great tenderness, and conducted me in solemn silence to a well-aired prison, furnished with a bed of mat, and a beautiful crucifix. There I remained for six weeks; at the end of which the reverend father, the Inquisitor, sent for me. He pressed me in his arms for some time with the most paternal affection; and told me that he was sorry to hear that I had been so ill lodged; but that all the apartments of the house were full, and hoped I should be better accommodated the next time. He then asked me with great cordiality if I knew for what reason I was imprisoned; I told the reverend father

ther that it was evidently for my sins. "Very well, says he, my dear child; but for what particular sin? Speak freely." I racked my brain with conjectures, but could not possibly guess. He then charitably dismissed me.

At last I remembered my unguarded expression. I escaped with a little bodily correction, and a fine of thirty thousand reals. I was led to make my obeisance to the grand inquisitor, who was a man of great politeness. He asked me how I liked his little feast: I told him it was a most delicious one; and then went to press my companions to quit the country, beautiful as it was. They had found time to inform themselves of all the great things which the Spaniards had done for the interest of religion. They had read the memoirs of the famous bishop of Chiapa, by which it appears that they had massacred, or burnt, or drowned, about ten millions of Infidels in America, in order to convert them. I believe the accounts of the bishop are a little exaggerated; but suppose we reduce the number of victims to five millions, it will still be a most glorious achievement.

The itch of travelling still possessed me. I had proposed to finish the tour of Europe with Turkey; and thither we now directed our course. I put on a firm resolution not to give my opinion of the public feasts I might see for the future. "These Turks, said I to my companions, are a set of miscreants that have not been baptized, and of consequence will be more cruel than the reverend fathers the inquisitors. Let us observe a profound silence while we are among the Mahometans."

Accordingly we arrived among them. I was greatly surprised to see more Christian churches in Turkey than in Candia. I even saw some numerous troops of monks, who were allowed to pray to the virgin Mary with great freedom, and to curse Mahomet; some in Greek, some in Latin, and others in Armenian. "What good-natured people are these Turks," cried I. The Greek Christians, and the Latin Christians in Constantinople were mortal enemies. These slaves persecuted each other in much the same manner as dogs fight in the streets, till their masters part them with a cudgel. The grand vizier was at that time the protector of the Greeks. The Greek patriarch accused me of having supped with the Latin patriarch; and I was condemned in full divan to receive an hundred blows on the soles of my feet, redeemable for five hundred sequins. Next day the grand vizier was strangled. The day following his successor, who was for the Latin party, and who was not strangled till a month after, condemned me to suffer the same punishment, for having supped with the Greek patriarch. Thus was I reduced to the sad necessity of absenting myself entirely from the Greek and Latin churches. In order to console myself for this loss, I took into keeping a very handsome Circassian. She was the most obliging lady I ever knew in a private conversation, and the most devout at the mosque. One night as she was embracing me in the sweet transports of love, she cried, "Alla, Illa, Alla;" these are the sacramental words of the Turks. I imagined they were the expressions of love, and therefore cried in my turn, and with a very tender accent, "Alla, Illa, Aila." "Ah! said she, God
be

be praised, thou art then a Turk. I told her that I was blessing God for having given me so much strength, and that I thought myself extremely happy. In the morning the iman came to circumcise me; and, as I made some difficulty to submit to the operation, the cadi of that district, a man of great loyalty, proposed to have me empaled. I saved my prepuce and my posteriors by paying a thousand sequins, and then fled directly into Persia, resolved for the future never to hear Greek or Latin mass, nor to cry "Alla, Illa, Alla," in a love rencounter.

On my arrival at Ispahan, the people asked me whether I was for white or black mutton? I told them it was a matter of indifference to me, provided it was tender. It must be observed that the Persian empire was at that time split into two factions, that of the white mutton and that of the black. The two parties imagined that I made a jest of them both; so that I found myself engaged in a very troublesome affair at the gates of the city, and it cost me a great number of sequins to get rid of the white and the black mutton.

I proceeded as far as China, in company with an interpreter, who assured me that this country was the seat of gaiety and freedom. The Tartars had made themselves masters of it, after having destroyed every thing with fire and sword. The reverend fathers the Jesuits on the one hand, and the reverend fathers the Dominicans on the other, alledged that they had gained many souls to God in that country, without any one knowing aught of the matter. Never were seen such zealous converters: they alternately persecuted one another: they transmitted to Rome whole

volumes of slander; and treated each other as infidels and prevaricators for the sake of one soul. But the most violent dispute between them was with regard to the manner of making a bow. The Jesuits would have the Chinese to salute their parents, after the fashion of China; and the Dominicans would have them to do it after the fashion of Rome. I happened unluckily to be taken by the Jesuits for a Dominican. They represented me to his Tartarian majesty as a spy of the pope. The supreme council charged a prime mandarin, who ordered a serjeant, who commanded four sboires of the country, to seize me and bind me with great ceremony. In this manner I was conducted before his majesty, after having made about an hundred and forty genuflexions. He asked me if I was a spy of the pope's, and if it was true that that prince was to come in person to dethrone him. I told him that the pope was a priest of seventy years of age; that he lived at the distance of four thousand leagues from his sacred Tartaro-chinese majesty; that he had about two thousand soldiers, who mounted guard with umbrellas; that he never dethroned any body; and that his majesty might sleep in perfect security. Of all the adventures of my life this was the least fatal. I was sent to Macao, and there I took shipping for Europe.

My ship required to be refitted on the coast of Golconda. I embraced this opportunity to visit the court of the great Aureng-Zeb, of whom such wonderful things have been told, and which was then in Deli. I had the pleasure to see him on the day of that pompous ceremony in which he receives the celestial present sent him by the Sherif of Mecca; this was the besom
with

with which they had swepted the holy house, the Caaba, and the Beth Alla. It is a symbol that sweeps away all the pollutions of the soul. Aureng-Zeb seemed to have no need of it : he was the most pious man in all Indostan. It is true, he had cut the throat of one of his brothers, and poisoned his father. Twenty Rayas, and as many Omras, had been put to death ; but that was a trifle ; nothing was talked of but his devotion. No king was thought comparable to him, except his sacred majesty Muley Ismael, the most serene emperor of Morocco, who cut off some heads every Friday after prayers.

I spoke not a word. My travels had taught me wisdom. I was sensible that it did not belong to me to decide between these august sovereigns. A young Frenchman, indeed, a fellow-lodger of mine, was wanting in respect to the emperor of the Indies, and to that of Morocco. He happened to say very imprudently, that there were sovereigns in Europe, who governed their dominions with great equity, and even went to church without killing their fathers or brothers, or cutting off the heads of their subjects. This impious discourse of my young friend our interpreter transmitted to Indou. Instructed by former experience, I instantly caused my camels to be saddled, and set out with my Frenchman. I was afterwards informed that that very night the officers of the great Aureng-Zeb, having come to seize me, found only the interpreter, who was executed in public ; and all the courtiers declared without flattery that his punishment was extremely just.

I had now only Africa to visit, in order to enjoy all the pleasures of our continent ; and thither

I went in reality. The ship in which I embarked was taken by the Negro-Corsairs. The master of the vessel complained loudly, and asked why they thus violated the laws of nations. The captain of the Negroes replied; "You have a long nose and we have a short one: your hair is strait and ours is curled: your skin is ash-coloured and ours is of the colour of ebon; and therefore we ought, by the sacred laws of nature, to be always at enmity. You buy us in the public markets on the coast of Guiney like beasts of burden, to make us labour in I don't know what kind of drudgery, equally hard and ridiculous. With the whip held over our heads, you make us dig in mountains for a kind of yellow earth, which in itself is good for nothing, and is not so valuable as an Egyptian onion. In like manner wherever we meet you, and are superior to you in strength, we make you slaves, and oblige you to manure our fields, or in case of refusal cut off your nose and ears."

To such a learned discourse it was impossible to make any answer. I went to labour in the ground of an old female Negro, in order to save my nose and ears. After continuing in slavery for a whole year, I was at last ransomed. I had now seen all that was rare, good, or beautiful on earth. I resolved for the future to see nothing but my own home. I took a wife, and was cuckolded; and found that of all conditions of life this was the happiest.

OF THE
ALCORAN;
AND OF
MAHOMET.

MAHOMET, the son of Abdalla, was a bold and daring impostor. He says in his tenth chapter, "Who but God could have composed the Alcoran? Thou sayest that that book was forged by Mahomet. Well, try if thou canst write a chapter in the same stile, and call to thy assistance whomsoever thou pleasest." In the seventeenth chapter, he breaks out in the following exclamation: "Praise be to him, who in the night transported his servant from the sacred temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem!" A very pretty journey to be sure; but nothing in comparison of that other journey, which he took the same night from planet to planet, nor attended with any of the fiery lights he saw in this last excursion.

He pretends that it is a journey of five hundred years from one planet to another; and that in his rapid flight he split the moon in two. His disci-

ciples, who after his death, carefully collected the verses of his Koran, expunged his journey to heaven. They were afraid of the wits, and philosophers. But they needed not to have been so scrupulous. They might have trusted to the commentators, who could easily have explained this journey. Mahomet's friends must certainly have known from experience, that the marvellous with the vulgar ever takes place of reason. The learned object in secret, and the people soon make them hold their tongue. In expunging however this journey to the planets, they have left a few words relating to his adventure on the Moon; but it is impossible to guard against every objection.

The Koran is a rhapsody without art, order, or connection. It is pretended however, that this dull and tedious book is a very fine composition: for this I appeal to the Arabians, who affirm, that it is written with an elegance and purity, which no succeeding author hath been able to attain. It is a poem, or a kind of rhythmical prose, containing six thousand verses. Never was there a poet whose work and person made such a figure in the world. It is a question among the Mussulmans, whether the Alcoran existed from eternity, or was created by God, and delivered to Mahomet. The doctors have determined in favour of its eternity; and very wisely too, as this same eternity is a much prettier opinion than the other. In dealings with the vulgar, we must always embrace that opinion which is most incredible.

The monks, who have attacked Mahomet with great virulence, and have said so many stupid things on the subject, alledge that he could not write.

write. But is it to be imagined that a man, who was a merchant, a poet, a legislator, and a sovereign could not sign his name? If his book is ill suited to our manners, and to our times, it was nevertheless, very well adapted to the manners of his cotemporaries; if it is a bad book in our opinion, in theirs it was a good one; and his religion was still better. It must be owned, that he reclaimed almost all Asia from idolatry. He taught the unity of God; and declaimed with great vehemence against such as gave him associates. With him the receiving of usury from strangers is strictly prohibited, and the giving of alms is warmly enjoined. Prayer is of absolute necessity; and resignation to the eternal decrees is the grand principle that actuates the whole of his theological system. A religion so simple, so sensible, and taught by a man who was always victorious, could hardly fail of subduing a part of the earth. In effect, the Mussulmans have made as many proselytes by persuasion as by force. They have converted the Indians and the Negroes; and even the Turks, their conquerors, have embraced the religion of the conquered.

Mahomet left in his law a variety of customs, which he found established among the Arabians; such as circumcision, fasting, travelling to Mecca, which was in use four thousand years before his time, together with those ablutions which are so necessary for the preservation of health, and cleanliness in a hot country where the use of linnen was not known; and, in fine, the notion of a last judgment, which the Magi had always taught, and which had even reached the Arabians. It is said, that as he was one day

declaring that people should be raised from the dead entirely naked, his wife Aishca objected to such a circumstance as dangerous and immodest : “ Go to, my dear,” says he, “ nobody will then be inclined to laugh.” An angel, according to the Koran, is to weigh the men and women, in a large pair of scales. This notion is also taken from the Magi. From them he likewise stole their narrow bridge, over which they were to pass, after death, and their Jannat, where the elect Mussulmans shall find baths, well furnished apartments, good beds, and Houres with large black eyes. He owns it is true, that all these sensual pleasures, so necessary for those who are to be raised with senses, will be greatly inferior to the joy resulting from the contemplation of the supreme Being. He has the humility to acknowledge in his Koran, that even he himself shall not enter Paradise by his own merit, but by the mere good pleasure of God. It is likewise by the same good pleasure of the Deity, that he ordains that the fifth part of the spoil should always belong to the prophet.

It is not true, that he excludes the women from Paradise ; nor is it likely that a man of his sagacity and penetration would chuse to embroil himself with that half of the human species, which leads the other. Abulfeda says, that a troublesome old woman, having one day asked him what she should do to get to Paradise, the prophet made her this reply, “ My friend, Paradise is not for old women.” The good woman began to weep, and the prophet said to her by way of consolation, “ there will be no old women then, because they will all be made young again.”

again." This comfortable doctrine is confirmed in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Koran.

He forebad the use of wine, because one day some of his followers came drunk to prayers. He permitted the plurality of wives, conforming himself in this respect to an immemorial custom among the orientals.

In a word, his civil laws are good, and his doctrines are admirable, as far as they coincide with ours; but the means he employed to propagate them were shocking: these were fraud and murder.

Some people excuse him on the score of imposture, because, say they, the Arabs reckoned an hundred and twenty four thousand prophets before him; and there could be no great harm in adding one to the number; and men, they add, want to be deceived. But how can you justify a man who says to you, "believe that I have spoken to the angel Gabriel, or I will kill thee?"

How much preferable is a Confucius, the greatest man that ever lived, without the light of revelation. He employs nothing but reason, and never lying, or the sword: viceroy of a great province, he makes morality and the laws to flourish under his government: disgraced and poor he continues to teach them: he practises them in grandeur, and in abasement: he renders virtue truly amiable; and he has for his disciples the wisest, and most ancient people on the earth.

The count de Boulainvilliers, who had a great esteem for Mahomet, may cry up the Arabians as much he pleases. He cannot deny that

they were a nation of robbers. Before Mahomet they robbed in adoring the stars: under Mahomet they robbed in the name of God. They had, it is said, the simplicity of the heroic times: but what were these heroic times? those in which they cut each others throat for a well, or a cistern, as we now do for a province.

The first Musselmans were inspired by Mahomet with the rage of enthusiasm. Nothing can be more terrible than a people, who, having nothing to lose, fight at once from a desire of plunder, and a spirit of religion.

It is true, there was not much ceremony in their proceedings. The contract of Mahomet's first marriage declares, that inasmuch as Cadishca was in love with him, and he likewise with her, they thought proper to join themselves in the bands of wedlock. There is the same simplicity in a genealogy which was composed for him; and in which he is made to descend from Adam, in a direct line, as some families of Spain and Scotland have since been made to do. Arabia had her Moreri, and her Mercure Galant.

The great prophet suffered the disgrace so common to many husbands; nor ought any one after him to complain of his fate. The name of the person who enjoyed the favours of his second wife, the beautiful Aishca is well known; he was called Assuan. Mahomet behaved with more dignity than Cæsar, who divorced his wife, saying that the wife of Cæsar ought not even to be suspected. The prophet would not so much as suspect his: he caused a chapter of the Koran to descend from heaven, to prove that his wife was

was faithful; and this chapter, as well as the others, was written from all eternity.

People admire him for having raised himself from a dealer in camels to be a pontiff, a legislator, and a monarch; for having subdued Arabia, which was never conquered before; and for having given the first shock to the Roman empire in the East, and to that of Persia. For my part, I admire him for having maintained peace in his own house amidst such a number of wives. He changed the face of a part of Europe; of one half of Asia, and of almost all Africa; and his religion had well nigh subdued the universe.

Upon what trivial circumstances do the great revolutions of this world depend! A blow of a stone a little more violent than that which he received in his first combat, would have given another turn to the course of human affairs.

Ali, his son-in-law, pretends, that when they were going to inter the prophet, they found him in a posture in which dead bodies are seldom to be seen, and that his widow Aishca cried out; "Had I known that God had been so propitious to the defunct, I would instantly have run to him." We may say of him, "*Decet imperatorem stantem mori.*"

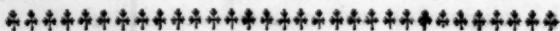
Never was the life of any man written with a more circumstantial exactness than his. The smallest particulars of it are sacred. We are distinctly informed of all that belonged to him. We are told that he had nine swords, three lances, three bows, seven cuirasses, three bucklers, twelve wives, a white cock, seven horses, two mules, and four camels; not to mention the mare Borak, on which he ascended to heaven.

But

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But her he had only in loan; she was the property of the angel Gabriel.

All his words have been collected. He said, "That the enjoyment of women, made him more fervent in prayer." And indeed, why might he not say grace, and return thanks in bed, as well as at a table? A fine woman is, at least, as good as a supper. It is likewise pretended, that he was a great physician: if he was, he wanted nothing that could qualify him for deceiving mankind.



On the Management of public Shows.

THE kings of France were formerly excommunicated; and from Philip I. to Lewis VIII. they were all laid under this sentence, with great solemnity. The same was the fate of all the emperors from Henry IV. to Lewis of Bavaria inclusively. The kings of England too have had a pretty tolerable share of these presents, from the court of Rome. Such was the folly of the times, and that folly cost the lives of five or six hundred thousand men. At present, people are content with excommunicating the representatives of monarchs; I do not mean ambassadors, but players, who are kings and queens three or four times a week, and govern the universe to get a livelihood.

I hardly know any profession except theirs, and that of the forcerers, that is now honoured
with

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with this mark of distinction. But as, during these sixty or eighty years past, that sound philosophy has enlightened the world, there have been no forcerers; the only victims that are now left are Alexander, Cæsar, Athalia, Polyuctes, Andromache, Brutus, Zara, and Harlequin.

The chief reason assigned for this conduct is, that these gentlemen and ladies represent the passions. But if a faithful picture of the human heart deserves such a horrid stigma, a more severe punishment surely ought to be inflicted on statuaries and painters. There are many indecent pictures sold publickly; whereas there is not a single dramatic piece represented, that is not consistent with the strictest decency. The Venus of Titian, and that of Corregio are entirely naked, and have always a dangerous influence on the morals of our modest youth; but the players only recite the admirable verses of Cinna for about two hours; and that with the approbation of the magistrate, and under the sanction of the royal authority. Why then are the living personages on the stage more severely censured, than these mute comedians on canvass? "*Ut pictura pœsis erit.*" What would Sophocles, and Euripedes have said, had they been able to foresee that a people, who have only ceased to be barbarous by imitating them, would one day imprint such a mark of disgrace on the theatre, which in their time was held in such honour and esteem?

Æsopus and Roscius were not Roman senators, it is true; but the Flamen never declared them infamous, nor was it suspected that the

art

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art of Terence resembled that of Locusta*. That great pope and great prince Leo X. to whom we owe the revival of good tragedies and comedies in Europe, and who caused so many theatrical pieces to be represented in his palace, with so much magnificence, little imagined that ever the time would come, when in a part of Gaul the descendants of the Goths and Celtæ would think they had a right to disgrace what he honoured. Had the cardinal de Richlieu lived who built the hall of the royal palace, and to whom France owes her theatre, he would not have long suffered these presumptuous bigots to cover with infamy those whom he employed to recite his own works.

It was the hereticks, it must be owned, that first began to rail against the finest of all the arts. Leo X. revived the tragic scene; and that was enough to make the pretended reformers call it the work of the Devil. Thus the city of Geneva, and many illustrious hamlets in Switzerland, have been an hundred and fifty years without suffering a fiddle among them. The Jan-senists, who now dance on the grave of St. Paris, to the great edification of the neighbours, in the last age dissuaded a princess of Conti whom they governed, from suffering her son to learn to dance, inasmuch as dancing is a prophane exercise. It was necessary, however, that he should acquire a genteel air, and understand a

* Locusta was an infamous woman, entertained and protected by Nero for her skill in preparing poisons, which she caused to be administered to Britannicus, and many others.

minuet; but they would by no means allow a violin to be used; and the director, by way of accommodation, was at last brought to consent, though with great reluctance, that the prince of Conti should be taught to dance with castanets. Some Catholics of a Gothic taste on this side the Mountains began to fear the reproaches of the reformers, and to cry out as loud as they; and thus by degrees was established in France, the custom of stigmatizing Cæsar and Pompey, and refusing certain ceremonies to certain persons, hired by the king, and acting under the eye of the magistrate. People did not think worth while to exclaim against this abuse; for who would chuse to quarrel with men in power, and with men of the present times for Phædra and the heroes of antiquity? They, therefore, contented themselves with laughing at the absurdity of these rigorous measures, and admiring in the mean time the master-pieces of the stage.

Rome, from which we have received our catechism, does not behave like us. She hath always tempered the laws as the times, and different exigencies required: she hath always taken care to distinguish between those impudent puppet-shews, which were formerly condemned with so much reason, and the theatrical pieces of Triffin, and of so many bishops and cardinals, who have contributed to the revival of tragedy. At present, plays are acted publicly in some religious houses at Rome. The ladies go to them without scandal; nor do they believe, that dialogues repeated by persons who stand upon boards are diabolically infamous. Even the play of
George

George Dandin has been represented at Rome by the religious, before a large company of ecclesiastics and ladies. The wise Romans are particularly careful not to excommunicate those gentlemen who sing the treble in the Italian operas ; for it is enough in all conscience to be castrated in this world, without being likewise damned in the other.

In the happy reign of Lewis XIV. there was in all the publick shews he exhibited a bench, which was called a bench of bishops. I myself was a witness of the importunity with which in the minority of Lewis XV. the cardinal de Fleury, then bishop of Frejus, was pressed to revive this custom. Other times, other manners ! We are probably wiser, than when all Europe came to admire our festivals, when Richlieu revived the theatre in France, and when Leo X. restored the Augustan age in Italy. But a time will come when our posterity, on seeing the impertinent work of father le Brun, against the art of Sophocles, and the performances of our great men printed in the same age, will cry out with wonder, " Is it possible that the French can have been guilty of such contradiction ; and that the most absurd barbarism can have thus proudly raised its head, against the finest productions of the human mind ? "

St. Thomas Aquinas, whose morals were as good as those of Calvin, or father Quesnel ; St. Thomas, I say, who had never seen a good comedy, nor never beheld any but the most wretched actors, imagined, however, that the theatre might be rendered useful. He had the good sense to perceive, and the justice to acknowledge,

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knowledge, the merit of this art, rude and unformed as it then was ; and accordingly, he not only permitted but even approved it. St. Charles Borromæus himself examined the pieces that were acted at Milan ; and authorized them by his approbation, and his seal.

Who after this would be so Gothic as to treat Rodrigues and Chimene as poisoners ? Would to Heaven, that these barbarians, who are enemies to the finest of all the arts, had the piety of Polyuctes, the clemency of Augustus, the virtue of Burrhus, and that they may end their days like the husband of Alzira !

PREFACE.

P R E F A C E.

TH E following piece of humour has been so frequently printed, that we could not refuse it a place in this collection. It is an innocent burlesque on a ridiculous book, written by the president of an academy*, and published about the end of the year 1752. It was a very surprising thing to see a philosopher assert, that there was no other proof of the being of a God, than an Algebraic calculation; that the human soul might be exalted to such a degree of perfection, as might be capable of foretelling future events; and that a man might preserve his life, for three or four hundred years, by stopping the pores of his body; together with several other notions no less extravagant. A mathematician of the Hague, having attacked the first of these propositions, and shewn it to be extremely false, the president brought a formal process against him before his own academy, and found means to have him condemned as a forger. This piece of injustice aroused the indignation of all the literati of Europe; and gave occasion to the following pages, in which a constant allusion is kept up to the several passages of the book, which was then the object of publick derision. The reflexions are put into the mouth of a physician, until he effects a cure.

* This is a sort of lampoon upon Mr. de-Maupertuis, late president of the academy at Berlin, where he and Mr. de Voltaire had some personal disputes, that were not much for the honour of philosophy. *Diatrise*, which we have here rendered dissertation, is a Greek word signifying delay or procrastination; and *Akakia*, another Greek word, signifies simplicity.

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N,

B Y
D O C T O R A K A K I A,

Physician to the Pope.

NOTHING is more common in the present age, than for young and ignorant authors to usher into the world under well-known names works unworthy of the supposed writers. There are quacks in every profession. One of these impostors has had the impudence to assume the name of the president of a most illustrious academy, in order to vend some drugs of a very singular nature. It is certain that the respectable president is not the author of the books which are ascribed to him; for that admirable philosopher, who has discovered that nature always acts by the most simple laws, and that she is ever sparing in the means she employs, would surely have spared his few readers the trouble of reading the same thing twice, first in the book entitled his Works; and then in that entitled his Letters. One third, at least of the latter volume is copied literally from the former. This great man, who is so far removed from all suspicion of imposture, would never have published letters which were written to no-body, and far less would he have fallen into certain blunders which are excusable only in a young author. Though

Though I am fully convinced in my own mind that it is no regard to the interest of my profession that now induces me to speak; yet I may take the liberty, I hope, to find fault with this writer for treating physicians as he does his book-sellers. He proposes to starve us to death: he advises every one to withhold his physician's fee, when unhappily the patient does not recover. "We do not pay, says he, a painter that hath made a bad picture." O, young man, how unjust and unreasonable you are! Did not the duke of Orleans, regent of France, pay dearly for the dawblings with which Coypel adorned the gallery of the Palais Royal? Does a client deprive his lawyer of his just fee, because he has lost his cause? A physician promises his assistance, and not a cure. He does all that lies in his power, and is paid accordingly. What! would you even be jealous of the physicians?

What, think you, would that man say, who had, for instance, a pension of twelve hundred ducats for talking of mathematics and metaphysics, for dissecting a couple of toads, and making himself to be painted with a furred bonnet, what would he say should the treasurer accost him in this strain? "Sir, we must deduct one hundred ducats from your salary, for having wrote that there are stars in the shape of millstones; another hundred for saying that a comet will come and "rob us of our moon, and even endanger the sun itself;" and a hundred ducats more for having fancied that comets, "composed entirely of gold and diamonds," will fall upon the earth: you are fined in three hundred ducats, for having affirmed that the foetus is formed in the womb of the mother

ther by attraction * ; that the left eye attracts the right leg †, &c. We cannot fine you in less than four hundred ducats, for having imagined that it is possible to discover the nature of the human soul, by means of opium ; and by dissecting the heads of giants, &c. &c. It is evident, that, by these means, the poor philosopher would lose the whole of his pension : and would he be content, think you, if, after this the physicians should take it in their heads to laugh at him, and to affirm that rewards ought to be given to those only who write useful things, and not to such as are remarkable for nothing but an immoderate ambition of distinguishing themselves in the world ?

This inconsiderate youth reproaches my brother physicians with being too timid and diffident in their researches. He says we are indebted to chance, and to savage uncivilized nations for the only specifics that are known ; and that the physicians have never discovered one them. We must inform this stripling, that, it is chance alone that can teach us what medicines may be extracted from plants. Hippocrates, Boerhaave, Chirac, and Senac could never have guessed at first sight that the Jesuit's bark would cure a fever ; that rhubarb was of a purgative ; or poppies of a soporific nature. It is chance alone that can lead us to a discovery of the virtues of plants ; and physicians can do no more than prescribe these medicines according to the condition of the patient. They have likewise invented several medicines by the assistance of chemistry. They do not promise to cure al-

* In the works and letters of Mr. de M.

† See the Venus Physique.

ways; but they promise to do all in their power to mitigate the pains of their fellow-creatures. Did ever this witty youth, who hath treated them with so much severity, perform such an important service to mankind as he, who, contrary to all appearance, brought back from the gates of death the mareschal de Saxe, after the victory of Fontenoy?

Our young philosopher would have the physician to reduce themselves to a level with empirics, by banishing the theoretical part of their science entirely. What would you think of a man who should dissuade you from employing architects to build houses, and advise you to make use of none but masons who cut stones at random?

He likewise gives us the wholesome advice to neglect the study of anatomy. In this case we shall have the surgeons on our side. We are only surprised that the author, who lies under some small obligations to the surgeons of Montpellier, for curing him of some diseases which require a very intimate knowledge of the interior parts of the head, and of other branches of anatomy, should be so extremely ungrateful.

The same author, little versed, it would appear, in history, speaking on the subject of making the punishment of criminals more useful to the state by trying experiments on their bodies, says that this scheme has never been carried into execution. He is ignorant, poor man, of what all the world knows, that in the reign of Lewis XI. the experiment of cutting for the stone was made for the first time in France, on the body of a man condemned to death; that the late queen of England caused them to try the inoculation of the small-

pox

pox on four criminals; and that other examples of the same nature might be easily produced.

But, if our author is ignorant, it must be owned that he makes amends for that defect by the flights of a very singular imagination. He advises us, in quality of physician, to employ the effects of the centrifugal force to cure an apoplexy, and would have us to whirl the patient about as the boys do a whirligig. The notion, indeed, is none of his; but he gives it an air of novelty.

He advises us to cover the patient's body with rosin, or to pierce his skin with needles. If ever he practises medicine, and proposes such remedies, it is likely his patients will take his advice, and not pay their physician.

But what is very surprising is, that this declared enemy of the medical art, who would so unmercifully deprive us of our fees, proposes, by way of accommodation, to ruin the patients. He ordains (for he is despotic) that every physician should profess the cure of one disease only; so that, if a man has a gout, a fever, and a flux, sore eyes, and a pain in his ear, he must pay five physicians instead of one. But perhaps his meaning is, that each of us should have only a fifth part of the common fee; another instance of his malice. By and by, I imagine we shall hear of devotees being advised to have a particular director for every vice; one, for a serious concern about trifles; one for jealousy, concealed under a severe and imperious air; one for the itch of forming cabals about nothing; and others for other vices: but let us not wander from the subject, but return to our brother physicians.

"The best physician," says he, "is he that reasons least." He seems to have adhered as

G

strictly

strictly to this maxim in philosophy as ever father Canaie did in theology ; and yet, in spite of his hatred to reasoning, we can easily perceive that he has made some profound reflexions on the art of prolonging life. In the first place, he agrees with all men of sense, (and we sincerely congratulate him on agreeing with them for once) that our forefathers lived from eight to nine hundred years.

Having then discovered by the force of his own genius, and independent of Leibnitz, that " the full growth of a man should be fixed, not at the age of strength and manhood, but at the point of death, he proposes to ward off this point in the same manner as we preserve eggs, by hindering them from hatching." This, undoubtedly, is a most charming secret, and we would advise him to secure to himself the honour of the discovery in some hen-roost, or by a criminal sentence of some academy.

From this short account it plainly appears that if these imaginary letters were written by a president, it must have been by a president of Bedlam ; and that they are, in fact, as we have already said, the work of a young man who has endeavoured to set off his paltry production with the name of a philosopher respected, as is well known, over all Europe, and who has consented to have himself declared a " Great Man." We have sometimes seen at a carnival in Italy Harlequin disguised in the garb of an archbishop ; but we soon found it to be Harlequin, by his manner of pronouncing the benediction : sooner or later truth will prevail : this brings to my mind a fable of Fontaine :

*Un petit bout d'oreille échapé par malheur
Découvrit la fourbe & l'arreur.*

here we see the whole ears.

All things considered, we refer to the Holy Inquisition the book ascribed to the president; and we submit to the decisions of that learned tribunal, in which, it is well known, physicians have the most implicit faith.

Decree of the Inquisition of Rome.

WE, father Pancratius, &c. inquisitor for the faith, have read the dissertation of M. Akakia, physician in ordinary to the pope, without comprehending the meaning of the said dissertation, or finding any thing in it contrary to the faith, or the Decretals. But we cannot say the same of the works and letters of the young anonymous author, who hath assumed the name of a president.

After calling in the direction of the Holy Spirit to our assistance, we have found in the said works, that is, in the quarto volume of this anonymous author, many propositions rash, ill-founded, heretical, or tending to heresy. We therefore condemn them collectively, separately, and respectively.

We especially particularly anathematize the Essay on Cosmology, in which the author, blinded by the principles of the children of Belial, and accustomed to blame every thing, insinuates, contrary to the holy scriptures, that it is a fault in Providence to allow spiders to catch flies; and that there is no other proof of the being of a God than in Z equal to BC , divided by A plus B .

Now these characters being drawn from the art of conjuring, and plainly diabolical, we declare them to be repugnant to the authority of the Holy See.

And as, according to custom, we know nothing of physics, metaphysics, mathematics, &c. we have enjoined reverend professors of philosophy of the College of Wisdom to examine the works and letters of the young anonymous author, and to give us a faithful account of the same. So help them God.

Judgment of the Professors of the College of Wisdom.

1. **W**E declare that the laws relating to the shock of bodies perfectly hard, are childish and imaginary, inasmuch as there are no bodies perfectly hard, though there are several hard minds, upon which we have in vain endeavoured to make an impression.

2. The assertion, that "the product of the space multiplied by the velocity is always a minimum," seems to be false; for this product is sometimes a maximum, according to the opinion of Leibnitz, and as may be easily proved. It would appear that the young author took only one half of M. Leibnitz's idea; and we, therefore, acquit him of the guilt of having ever comprehended one whole idea of M. Leibnitz.

3. We likewise adhere to the censure which M. Akakia, physician to the pope, and so many others, have passed on the works of this anonymous author, and especially on the "Venus Physique." We advise the young author, that when he proceeds with his wife (if he has one) to the work

work of generation, he will not think that the foetus is formed in the womb, by means of attraction; and we exhort him, if he commits the sin of the flesh, not to envy the lots of snails in the act of love, nor that of toads *, and to be less ambitious of imitating the stile of Fontenelle, when riper years shall have formed his taste.

We come now to the examination of the Letters, which, in our opinion, are doubly criminal, as they contain almost all that is to be found in the works; and we exhort him not to sell the same goods twice under different names, because it is not consistent with the character of a fair trader, which he ought to maintain

Examination of the Letters of a young Author disguised under the name of a President.

1. **I**T may not be improper, in the first place, to inform this young author, that foresight † in man is not called Foreknowledge; that the word Foreknowledge is sacred to God alone, and denominates that power by which he looks into futurity. He ought to be acquainted with the meaning of words before he sets himself to write. He ought to know that the soul does not perceive itself: it sees external objects, but cannot see itself; such is its present condition. The young writer may easily correct these trifling errors.

2. It is false that "the memory makes us lose more than we gain by it." We must inform this candidate for literary fame, that the memory is the faculty of retaining ideas; that without this

* i. e. of a coitus duplex.

† Letters of a native of St. Malo.

faculty we could not even compose a bad book, could hardly know any thing at all, would not be able to conduct ourselves in any station of life, but would be left in a state of absolute ignorance and stupidity. We would therefore recommend it to this young man to improve his memory.

3. We are obliged to declare that the following notion is ridiculous, to wit, "that the soul is like a body which recovers its former state after having been put in motion; and that in the same manner the soul returns to its state of tranquility or uneasiness, which ever of the two be most natural to it." The author has not expressed himself with accuracy. He probably meant to say, that every one returns to his natural character; that a man, for instance, after having forced himself to act the philosopher for a few days, returns to his ordinary trifles, &c. But such trivial truths as these deserve not to be repeated. It is the misfortune of young men to think that they are capable of giving an air of novelty to the most common things, by wrapping them up in obscure expressions.

4. The author is mistaken in saying, that extension is no more than a perception of the mind. If ever he applies himself to the study of philosophy, he will find that extension is not like sounds and colours, which exist only in our sensations, as every school-boy knows.

5. With regard to the Germans, whom he undervalues, and treats as dunces in plain terms, he appears to us, in this particular, to be unjust and ungrateful: this is not merely to want knowledge, it is to want politeness. This young man may probably imagine that he is capable of inventing something

something after Leibnitz; but we will tell him that it is not to him that we are indebted for the invention of gun-powder.

6. This author, we are afraid, may tempt some of his fellow-students to search for the philosophers alone; for he says, "that, in whatever light we view it, we cannot prove it to be impossible." He owns, it is true, that it would be a foolish thing for any one to squander away his estate in such a research; but as in talking of the "sum of happiness," he says, that we cannot demonstrate the truth of the Christian religion, which, however, many people profess, it may happen *à fortiori* that some men may ruin themselves in searching for the grand secret, as according to him, it may possibly be found.

7. We pass over several things that would weary the reader's patience, and are unworthy of the inquisitor's notice; but we believe he will be greatly surprised to hear that this young student is for dissecting the brains of giants six feet high, and of hairy men with tails, the better to discover the nature of the human mind; that he proposes to modify the soul with opium and dreams; and that he undertakes to produce large snakes from other snakes with dough, and fishes with grains of corn. We have taken this opportunity of diverting the inquisitor.

8. But the inquisitor will not laugh when he is informed that every man may become a prophet; for the author finds no more difficulty in seeing the future than the past. He avers that the arguments in favour of judicial astrology, are as strong as those against it. He then assures us, that the perceptions of the past, the present, and the future, differ only in the greater or less activity of the

soul. He hopes that a little more heat and "exaltation" in the fancy may serve to point out the future, as the memory shews the past.

We are unanimously of opinion that his brain is exalted to a very high degree, and that he will soon commence a prophet. We cannot as yet determine whether he will be one of the greater or lesser prophets; but we are much afraid that he will prove a prophet of evil, since even in his treatise on happiness, he talks of nothing but calamities. He says, particularly, that all fools are unhappy. We send our compliments of condolance to people of this character; but if his exalted soul hath looked into futurity, did it not perceive something ridiculous in the prospect?

9. He seems to be desirous of going to the southern hemisphere, though, on reading his book, one would be tempted to think that he had just returned from thence; and yet he appears to be ignorant that it is a long time since the country of Frederic Henry, situated beyond the fortieth degree of southern latitude, was discovered: but we assure him before-hand, that if, instead of going to the southern hemisphere, he should resolve to sail in a direct line to the Arctic Pole, no-body will embark with him.

10. We must further inform him, that it will be extremely difficult to make, as he proposes, a hole that shall reach to the centre of the earth (where he probably means to conceal himself from the disgrace to which the publication of such absurd principles has exposed him.) This hole could not be made withot digging up about three or four hundred leagues of earth; a circumstance that might disorder the balance of Europe.

To conclude, we entreat Doctor Akakia to prescribe to him some cooling medicines; and we exhort the author to apply to his studies in some university, and to be more modest for the future.

Should ever a company of philosophers be sent to Finland, to verify, if possible, by certain mensurations, the grand discoveries which Newton made by his sublime theory of gravitation, and centrifugal force, and should he happen to be one of the number, let him not endeavour to be always raising himself above his companions, nor cause himself to be painted as levelling the earth with his single hand, as Atlas is represented supporting the heavens on his shoulders; as if, forsooth, he had changed the face of the universe, because he had taken his diversion in a town where there was a Swedish garrison. Let him likewise abstain from quoting the polar circle on every occasion.

Should any of his fellow-students propose to him in a friendly manner an opinion different from his? Should he assure him that he is supported by the authority of Leibnitz, and of several other philosophers, and particularly shew him a letter of M. Leibnitz, which the novice flatly contradicts, let not the said novice rashly imagine, and give out in every place, that his antagonist has forged a letter of M. Leibnitz, to rob him of the glory of being an original.

Let him not take an error into which he has fallen, upon a point of Dynamics, which is of no use in practice for an admirable discovery.

Should this companion, after having frequently shewn him his work, in which he attacks

him with equal prudence and politeness, and in which he even pays him compliments, commit it to the press with his consent, let him take care not to represent this work of his adversary as a crime of academical treason.

Should his companion repeatedly assure him that he has in his possession this letter of Leibnitz, as well as several others, which he received from a man who has been dead for some years, let not the novice basely take advantage of this circumstance, nor employ the same artifices as were used by a certain person*, against the Mairans, the Cassinis, and other true philosophers: let him not demand in such a frivolous dispute, that the dead should rise from the grave to ascertain the authenticity of a letter of M. Leibnitz; but let him reserve this miracle to the time of his commencing prophet; let him not embroil people in an insignificant quarrel, which the vanity of the author would fain render important; nor let him presume to engage the gods in a war of rats and frogs. Let him not write letter upon letter to a great princess, in order to silence his antagonist, and to tie up his hands, that so he may assassinate him at pleasure†.

Let him not, in a paltry dispute on Dynamics summon, by an academical authority, a professor to appear within a month; nor let

* The person here meant had cruelly harassed the Messieurs de Mairan and Cassini at Paris.

† He wrote two letters to the princess of Orange, entreating her to impose silence on his antagonist M. K. who was librarian to that princess, and whom he had condemned as a forger.

him condemn the said professor of contumacy, as an invader of his glory, as a forger and falsifier of letters; more especially as it is certain that the letters of Leibnitz are genuine, and that those written under the name of a president were no more received by his correspondents than they were read by the public.

Let him not endeavour to deprive any one of the liberty of a just defence; but let him remember that he that is in the wrong, and endeavours to dishonour him that is in the right, in effect dishonours himself.

Let him be persuaded that all men of letters are equal, and we are sure, he will gain by this equality.

Let him never be so foolish as to insist that nothing should be printed without his order.

Finally, we exhort him to be of a teachable disposition, to apply to the study of sound philosophy, and not to vain cabals; for what a scholar gains in intrigues he loses in genius, in the same manner as in mechanics, what we gain in time we lose in power. We have but too frequently seen young authors, who have begun by raising high expectations and publishing excellent works, and at last by writing nothing but nonsense; because instead of able writers they wanted to be skilful courtiers, substituted vanity in place of study, and that dissipation which weakens the minds in place of that recollection which strengthens it. They have been commended, and they have ceased to be commendable: they have been rewarded, and they have ceased to deserve rewards: they have endeavoured to make a figure in the

world, and their names have been entirely annihilated: for when in an author a sum of errors is equal to a sum of ridiculous propositions, "his existence is equal to nothing*."

* Notwithstanding all our author's wit and satire, Mr. de Maupertuis will be handed down to posterity, with the character of an able mathematician.

A FU.

A
FUNERAL EULOGIUM
ON THE
OFFICERS

Who died in the War of 1741.

A PEOPLE who set an example of every thing good and great to all the other nations of the earth, who taught them all the arts, and even the art of war, the masters of the Romans, who have been our masters, the Greeks I mean, among their excellent institutions, which are still the object of our admiration, established the custom of consecrating by funeral eulogiums the memory of those citizens who had shed their blood in the service of their country: a custom worthy of Athens; worthy of a brave and humane nation, and worthy of us! Why then should we not follow such a noble precedent; we who have so long, and in so many respects, been the happy rivals of that illustrious nation? why confine ourselves to the servile custom of celebrating after their death none but those, who being rendered conspicuous in the world by their exalted stations, have been surfeited with the incense of praise during their lives?

It

It is doubtless just, it is even conducive to the interests of society, to praise a Titus, a Trajan, a Lewis XII. a Henry IV. and others of the like character: but shall we always pay to the dignity of rank, those duties which are so interesting and agreeable when they are paid to the merit of the person? those duties, which are so vain when they are only a necessary part of the funeral pomp; when the heart is not affected; when the vanity of the orator speaks to the vanity of the audience; and when in a set discourse, and in forced divisions, we exhaust our own invention and our hearers patience in unmeaning eulogiums, which pass away with the smoke of the funeral lights? at least, if we must always celebrate those who have been great, let us sometimes revive the memory of those who have been useful. Happy beyond all doubt, (if the voice of the living can pierce the darksome tomb,) happy the magistrate, immortalized by the same organ who caused so many tears to be shed for the death of Mary of England, and who was worthy to celebrate the praises of the great Condé! But if the ashes of Michael le Tellier received such signal honours, is there a good citizen that does not now ask whether the same honours have been paid to the great Colbert, to that man who diffused such an exuberance of plenty by reviving industry; who carried his extensive views to the extremities of the globe; who rendered France the mistress of the seas, and to whom we owe a grandeur and felicity long unknown?

O ye immortal shades! O ye names of those happy few who have served the state with fidelity,

lity, be ye ever held in grateful remembrance; but especially perish not ye entirely, ye warriors, who have died in our defence. It was by your blood that we purchased our victories: it was upon your mangled and panting bodies that your fellow-soldiers advanced to the enemy, and mounted so many ramparts: it is to you we owe a glorious peace, the price of your destruction. The more war is considered as a dreadful scourge, comprehending all manner of crimes and calamities, the more sincere should be our gratitude to these our brave countrymen, who have died to give us that happy peace which ought to be the only end of war, and the sole object of ambition to a wise monarch.

Weak and foolish mortals as we are, who reason so wisely on our various duties, who make such profound researches into the nature of our own constitution, and in o the sources of our frailties and calamities, we make our temples perpetually to resound with our reproaches and condemnations: we anathematize the slightest irregularities of conduct, and the most secret indulgences of the heart: we thunder against vices and against faults, blamable indeed, but which hardly disturb the peace of society. But what voice, commissioned to teach virtue, has ever been raised against this crime, which is so great and so universal; against that destructive rage which transforms into beasts of prey men who were born to live like brothers; against those barbarous depredations and shocking cruelties, which make the earth a scene of robbery and desolation, and convert flourishing and populous cities into horrid and gloomy tombs? The violation of treaties the most

most sacred and solemn, the grossness of those impostures which precede the horrors of war; the impudence of those calumnies which fill the declarations of the contending parties; the infamy of those rapines which are capitally punished in private men, but extolled as acts of heroism in the leaders of nations; theft, robbery, sacking of cities, bankrupts, and the ruin of thousands of wealthy merchants; their families wandering from place to place, and in vain begging an alms at the gates of publicans enriched with their spoils; these are a few of the many crimes and calamities that are the constant concomitants of war: and yet these crimes are committed without the least remorse; and the ministers of the gospel thunder in their pulpits against the dress of the ladies, and against the exhibition of plays, which are not only innocent but useful.

From the banks of the Po to those of the Danube they bless in the name of the same God, the colours under which march thousands of mercenary murderers, who from a spirit of lewdness, debauchery, and rapine, have left their native fields. They go and change their masters: they expose themselves to an infamous punishment for the sake of the most trifling advantage. The day of battle comes; and the soldier, who had hardly ranged himself under the colours of his country, frequently sheds without remorse the blood of his fellow-citizens. He impatiently waits for the moment, when in the field of slaughter, he may tear from the dying some wretched spoils, which are snatched from himself by other hands. Such is too often the soldier; such is that blind
and

and savage multitude which is employed to change the fate of empires, and to raise the monuments of glory. Viewed in one collective body, and marching under the command of a great captain, they form the most august and the most charming spectacle in the world. Taken separately, and in the excesses of drunkenness and brutal debauchery, (if you except a small number) they are the dregs of nations.

Such is not the officer; jealous of his own honour, and of that of his sovereign; braving death in cold blood, though possessed of every advantage that can make him in love with life; chearfully quitting the pleasures of society for the dangers that make nature tremble; humane, generous, and compassionate, while barbarity rages all around him; born for the sweets of society, as well as for the dangers of war; equally polite and brave, he is frequently adorned with learning, and still more by the graces of the mind. Such is the character which foreigners give of our officers: they confess more particularly, that when the too ardent heat of youth is tempered by a little experience, they make themselves beloved even by their enemies. But if their graceful and open behaviour have been sometimes able to soften the most barbarous minds, what has not their valour performed?

These are they who defended for so many months the capital of Bohemia, conquered by their hands in so short a time; they who attacked and even besieged their besiegers; who fought such long battles in their trenches; who braved the enemy, hunger, death, and the uncommon severity of the season, in that memorable
march,

march, not so long indeed as that of the Greeks under Xenophon, but as painful and as hazardous. We have seen them, under the conduct of a general equally brave and vigilant, precipitate their enemies from the top of the Alps, victorious at once over all the obstacles which nature, art, and valour opposed to their invincible courage. Ye fields of Fontenoy, ye banks of the Scheld and the Maese, stained with their blood, it was on your plains that their valour brought victory to the feet of that king, whom the nations combined against him ought to have chosen for their arbiter! What noble exploits were performed by these heroes, the number of whom is hardly known?

In what then were the centurions and tribunes of the Roman legions their superiors? in what did they excel them, if it was not, perhaps, in their invariable love of military discipline? The ancient Romans, it is true, eclipsed all the other nations of Europe, when Greece was sunk in effeminacy, and divided in her councils; and when other nations were as yet barbarians, destitute of good laws, knowing how to fight, and ignorant of the art of war, incapable of uniting their joint efforts against the common foe; without commerce, without arts, and without every resource that could enable them to preserve their liberties. No nation has ever equalled the ancient Romans. But Europe, taken together, in its present condition, is greatly superior to that conquering and legislative people, whether we consider the many branches of knowledge that have been brought to perfection, or the many new discoveries that have been made; whether we
survey

survey that extensive and advantageous commerce which unites both worlds, or those rich and flourishing cities raised in places which under the Consuls and Cæsars, were no better than barren deserts; whether we cast our eyes on those numerous and disciplined armies which defend twenty kingdoms blessed with a regular government; or endeavours to pierce the veil of that policy, ever deep and ever active, which holds the balance among so many nations. In a word, that spirit of jealousy itself which reigns among the moderns, which excites their genius, and animates their labours, serves to raise Europe to a pitch of grandeur greatly superior to what we admire in ancient Rome, without being either able or willing to resemble it.

But is there a nation in the world that can boast of containing such a number of excellent officers as ours? Sometimes, in other countries, men enter into the service in order to make their fortunes; among us they lavish away their fortunes for the meer pleasure of serving: elsewhere they sell their blood to foreign masters; here they burn with the desire of sacrificing their lives for their king: there they march because they are paid; here they fly to death, in order to obtain the approbation of their master; and honour has always done greater things than interest.

In speaking of such noble exploits and such glorious actions, we frequently dispense with the tribute of gratitude, by saying that ambition was the spring of all. But this is the logic of the ungrateful. They who serve us, I own, would wish to rise in the service; yes, they are animated by that noble ambition, without which

which there would never be a great man. And indeed if they had not in their eyes those grand objects that redouble the love of their duty, they would be but poorly recompensed by the public, who, though they are sometimes warm and even precipitate in their praises, are always more apt to censure; passing from enthusiasm to indifference, and from indifference to forgetfulness.

Sibarites, as we are, who live at ease in our flourishing cities, employed in the refinements of luxury, become insensible to every thing, and even to pleasure itself, through an excess of indulgence; tired with those daily diversions, the least of which would have charmed our ancestors, and satiated with continual repasts, more delicious than the feasts of kings; amidst so many pleasures, at once so accumulated and so little enjoyed; surrounded by so many arts and finished performances, so perfect and so neglected; intoxicated and lulled asleep, as it were, in the bosom of peace and self-conceit, we hear the news of a battle; we awake from our pleasing lethargy to ask with eagerness the particulars that are talked of at random, to censure the general, to diminish the loss of the enemy, and to magnify our own. Mean while, five or six hundred families in the kingdom are either bathed in tears, or filled with the most dreadful apprehensions. They groan, and retiring into the most secret parts of their houses, demand from heaven their brothers, their husbands, and their children. The peaceful inhabitants of Paris repair in the evening to the theatre, whither they are drawn by custom, rather than by inclination; and if at the repast,
which

which succeeds the play, they happen to talk of the deceased with whom they were acquainted, they do it sometimes with indifference; sometimes by reviving the memory of their faults, when they ought only to remember their loss; or even sometimes by exercising that easy and mischievous talent of malicious wit against them, as if they were still living.

But when we hear that a reverse of fortune, such as the greatest commanders have in all ages experienced, has retarded the progress of our arms, we are then thrown into the deepest despair; we then put on the appearance of fear, without feeling the least real apprehension. Our bitter reproaches persecute even in the grave the general, whose days have been cut short in an unsuccessful engagement*. But do we know what were his designs, and his resources? or, can we from our gilded rooms, which we have hardly ever left, discern, with a glance of the eye, the particular spot on which he fought? he whom you accuse may have erred; but he died fighting for you. What! shall our books, our schools, and our historical declamations, incessantly repeat the name of a Cinegerus, who, having lost his arms in seizing a Persian bark, endeavoured in vain to hold it with his teeth? and shall we blame our countryman, who lost his life in snatching in the same manner, the palisades of the enemy's entrenchments at the battle of Exilles, when he was no longer able to seize them with his wounded hands?

* The Chevalier de Belleisle.

Let us not fill our minds with these examples of antiquity, oftentimes too slightly proved, and greatly exaggerated; but let us reserve some room, at least, for those instances of heroism, whether successful or unsuccessful, which our fellow-citizens have given. Was not the young Brienne who, on having his arm broke at the battle of Exilles, mounted the ladder, crying, "I have another left for my king and my country *;" was not such a man equal to a native of Latium or Attica? and ought not all those, who like him advanced to meet the death they could not give to their enemies, ought not they to be dearer to us than the ancient warriors of a foreign land? did not they merit a hundred times more praise, and acquire more glory by dying under the inaccessible bulwarks, than their enemies did in defending themselves with safety, and in killing them without difficulty or danger?

What shall I say of those who died at the battle of Dettingen; a battle so well planned, and so ill conducted, and in which the general wanted only to be obeyed, in order to put an end to the war? Among those whose unsuccessful valour and untimely death history shall

* This would have been a noble declaration had he been fighting in defence of his country, instead of invading the dominions of another prince, in order to gratify the ambition of his sovereign. It would have become a Spartan at Thermopylæ, but appeared ridiculous in the mouth of a soldier in the army of Xerxes: the first was a true patriot in the most honourable sense of the word: the other was the desperate slave and wicked instrument of usurping tyranny.

celebrate, shall we forget a young Boufflers*, a child of ten years of age, who having a leg broken in that battle, caused it to be cut off, and died without complaint? an instance of fortitude rarely to be found among warriors, and the only one ever given by a boy of that age!

If we turn our eyes to actions, not more brave indeed, but more fortunate, how many heroes do we find whose names and achievements ought for ever to be in our mouths! how many countries sprinkled with the noblest blood, and famous for the most glorious victories! There were raised against us an hundred bulwarks, which are now no more. What are become of those fortifications of Fribourg, bathed with blood, tottering under their defenders, and surrounded with the lifeless bodies of the besiegers? We still see the ramparts of Namur, and those castles which make the astonished traveller cry, "How could they reduce this fortress which touched the clouds!" We still behold Ostend, which formerly sustained sieges of three years continuance, and which in five days surrendered to our victorious arms. Every plain, every city in these countries, is a monument of our glory; but what has this glory cost!

O ye happy people, give, at least, to your countrymen who have died the victims of this glory, or who still survive a part of themselves, the rewards which their ashes or their wounds demand. If you refuse them this boon, the

* Boufflers de Remiancour, nephew to the duke de Boufflers.

trees, the fields of Flanders will assume a voice, and tell you, it was here that the modest and intrepid Luttaux *, loaded with years, and exhausted by a long service, wounded already in two places, weak, and losing blood, cried out, "We must not now think of preserving life; we must endeavour to render the remains of it useful:" and leading back to the combat the dispersed troops, received the mortal blow, which brought him at last to the grave. It was there that the colonel of the French guards, going first to reconnoitre the enemy, was the first that perished in that bloody battle, and expired offering prayers for his king and his country. At a greater distance died the nephew of the famous archbishop of Cambray, the inheritor of the virtues of that excellent man, who rendered virtue truly amiable†.

How justly then did the posts of the fathers become the inheritance of the sons! Who could feel the least spark of envy, when, on the ramparts of Tournay, one of those subterranean thunders which baffle the efforts of valour, and elude the precautions of prudence, having carried away the bloody and scattered limbs of the colonel of Normandy, the regiment was given the same day to his son, and that invincible body were hardly sensible of having changed their leader. Thus that foreign troop, which has become so national, and which bears the name of Dillon, has seen

* Lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and lieutenant-general.

† The marquis de Fenelon, lieutenant-general and ambassador in Holland.

sons and brothers rapidly succeed their fathers and brothers, who fell in battle. Thus the brave D'Aubeterre, the only colonel killed at the siege of Brussels, was replaced by his courageous brother. Why was it necessary that death should deprive us of him likewise?

The government of Flanders, that eternal theatre of war, is justly fallen to the share of the warrior who exposed his life so frequently in one day at the battle of Rocou*. His father marched by his side at the head of his regiment, and taught him to command and to conquer. † Death, who respected this generous and tender parent in the battle of Rocou, where he was continually hovering around him, waited for him in Genoa under a different form: there he perished, grieving that he could not shed his blood on the bastions of the besieged city: but with the consolation of leaving Genoa free, and carrying with him to the grave the title of its deliverer.

Wherever we turn our eyes, whether to that city delivered from oppression, or to the Po, and the Tessin, to the top of the Alps, or to the banks of the Scheld, the Maese, and the Danube, we every where behold actions worthy of immortality, or deaths which deserve our eternal lamentations.

* The duc de Bouffers, a lieutenant-general in the army, put himself with his son, a youth of fifteen years of age, at the head of that young man's regiment: he received ten bullets in his cloaths; and afterwards died at Genoa.

† Are not these good specimens of the bathos similar to the following lines:

And thou Dalhousie, the great God of war,
Lieutenant-colonel to the earl of Mar,

We must be stupid not to admire such heroic achievements, and barbarous not to be affected with the melancholy scenes they occasion. Let us put ourselves for a moment in the place of a fearful spouse, embracing in her children the image of her young husband, whom she tenderly loves; while the warrior, who had sought danger on so many occasions, and had been wounded so frequently, marches against the enemy, in the suburbs of Genoa, at the head of his brave troop; that man who, after the example of his family, at once cultivated the study of letters and the art of war, and whose genius was equal to his valour, receives the fatal blow he had so long sought: he dies: at this news the disconsolate half of himself faints away in the midst of her children, who are not yet capable of being sensible of their loss. Here a mother and a wife resolve to set out for Flanders, to succour a young hero, whose wisdom and valour, greater than his years, justly procured him the affection of the dauphin, and seemed to promise him a glorious life; but while they are flattering themselves with the agreeable hopes of preserving his life by their tender care, they are told that he is dead*. What a moment! what a fatal blow to the daughter of an unfortunate emperor, passionately fond of her husband, who is her only consolation, her only hope in a foreign country, to be told, "Never more will you see the tender spouse for whom alone you desire to live†!"

* The count de Froulai. † The count de Baviere.

A mother flies, without stopping, into Flanders, amidst the cruel agonies into which she is thrown by the wound of her young son †. Already had she seen in the battle of Rocou his body pierced and torn with one of those terrible wounds which leave the survivor only a languishing life: this time she thinks herself too happy: she returns thanks to heaven on seeing her son deprived only of an arm, when she trembled with the apprehension of finding him in his grave.

In this review let us neither follow the order of time nor that of our exploits and losses. Our feelings disdain the confinement of rules. I transport myself to the fields in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, where the father of the young warrior of whom I am now speaking, saved the remains of our army, and delivered them from the pursuit of the enemy, whom numbers and treachery rendered greatly superior. But in the execution of this difficult task, we lost the last branch of the house of Rupelmonde; that officer so learned and so amiable, who had studied the art of war with the most profound attention, and who joined intrepidity of soul, solidity of judgment, and brilliancy of wit, to the most polite and engaging address: he leaves a wife and a mother worthy of such a son, bathed in tears and plunged into a state of the deepest melancholy and dejection.

Now ye scornful and trifling minds, who lavish your insulting and misplaced raillery on

† The marquis de Segur.

all that softens the noble and tender heart ; ye who in the striking events which determine the fate of kingdoms, seek only to distinguish yourselves by those puns and jests which you call wit, and who, on that account, pretend to a kind of superiority in the world, exert here, if ye dare, the despicable efforts of a weak and barbarous imagination ; or rather, if ye have the least spark of humanity, join in the common grief, and mingle your tears with those of the public. But are ye worthy to weep ?

Let not those especially, who have been the sharers of so many dangers, and the witnesses of so many losses, contract in the voluptuous indolence of our cities, and in the lightness of conversation, that habit to which our nation is so much addicted, of diffusing an air of ridicule and derision on all that is most glorious in life, and most terrible in death. Would they be so foolish as thus to degrade themselves, and to tarnish what it is their interest to honour ?

Let those who employ their whole time in reading our empty and ridiculous romances ; let those whose bad taste can be pleased only with those puerile thoughts, more false than delicate, with which we are daily stunned, disdain the simple tribute of sorrow that springs from the heart : let them nauseate these true pictures of our grandeur and our losses, these sincere eulogiums given to names and virtues unknown to them : I will nevertheless continue to strew flowers on the tombs of our defenders ; I will raise my feeble voice, and cry, Here was cut off, in the bloom of life, that young warrior *, whose

* The marquis de Beauveau, son to the prince of Craon.

Brothers fight under our standards, and whose father protected the arts at Florence, under a foreign dominion. There was pierced with a mortal wound the marquis de Beauveau, his cousin, when the worthy grandson of the great Condé forced the city of Ypres to surrender. Tormented with incredible pain, and surrounded by our soldiers, who disputed with each other the honour of carrying him off, he said to them in a dying voice, "My friends, go where your presence is necessary; go and fight, and leave me to die by myself." Who can sufficiently praise his frank and noble behaviour, his social virtues, his knowledge, his love of learning, and that judicious skill in ancient monuments, which died with him? Thus perished by a violent death, and in the flower of their age, a number of men, from whom their country expected to derive the greatest glory and advantage; while the useless incumbrances of the earth, grown old in laziness, amuse themselves in our gardens, and take a pleasure in being the first to relate the news of these calamitous events.

O fate! O destiny! our days are numbered: the moment eternally fixed arrives, and annihilates all our projects, and all our hopes. The count de Bisly, ready to receive the honours which are so greatly desired, even by those on whom honours are accumulated, runs from Genoa to Maestricht, and the last fire from the ramparts deprives him of life: he was the last victim that was sacrificed, and fell at the very moment which heaven had prescribed to put an end to so much bloodshed. O war! thou who hast filled France with glory, and with sorrow,

thou dost not barely strike by those sudden blows which bring destruction in a moment ! How many citizens, how many of our friends and relations, have been ravished from us by a slow death, occasioned by the fatigue of long marches, and the severity of the seasons !

Thou art now no more, O sweet hope of the rest of my days ! O my tender friend, educated in the king's invincible regiment, which hath always been conducted by heroes, which signalized itself so remarkably in the trenches of Prague, in the battle of Fontenoy, and in that of Lawfeldt, where it decided the victory ! The retreat from Prague, for the space of thirty leagues, and through roads covered with ice, cast into thy bosom the seeds of death, which my sad eyes afterwards saw unfolded : familiarized to the view of death, thou beheldest him approach with that indifference, which the ancient philosophers endeavoured either to acquire or to assume. Racked with pains, both within and without, deprived of sight, and every day losing a part of thyself, nothing but the most extraordinary degree of virtue could have prevented thy being miserable ; and yet this virtue sat so easily upon thee, that it seemed to cost thee no trouble. I have always seen thee the most unfortunate and the most composed of mankind. The world would never have known the great loss it has sustained in thy death, had not a man, equally remarkable for his humanity and eloquence, composed thy eulogium, in a work consecrated to friendship, and embellished with charms of the most moving poetry. I am not surprised, that, amidst the tumults of war, thou didst cultivate the study of letters and
of

of wisdom: these examples are not rare among us. If those who had only the ostentation of merit, could never impose upon thee; if those, who, even in the tender intercourse of friendship, are guided only by the motives of vanity, provoked thy indignation, there were nevertheless some noble and ingenuous minds which resembled thine own. If the elevation of thy thoughts would not suffer thee to stoop to the perusal of licentious performances, the transient delight of giddy youth, who are rather pleased with the subject than the execution; if thou despisedst that crowd of books, produced by bad taste; if those who only endeavour to be smart and witty, appeared to thee in such a mean and contemptible light; thou possessedst this solidity of judgment in common with those who always maintain the cause of reason against that inundation of bad taste, which seems to threaten us with a speedy decay. But by what prodigy didst thou acquire, at the age of twenty-five, the knowledge of true philosophy, and the talent of true eloquence? How wast thou able to soar so high, in an age of folly and trifling? And how did the simplicity of infant bashfulness cover the depth and strength of thy genius! I shall long remember, with sorrow, the value of thy friendship, the charms of which I had hardly begun to taste: it was not that vain friendship which springs from the participation of vain pleasures, which vanishes with them, and of which we have always reason to repent; but it was that steady and rational friendship, which, of all the virtues, is the most uncommon. It was thy loss that first put into my heart the design of paying some honour to the ashes of so

many defenders of the state, that I might likewise raise a monument to thine. My heart, filled with the remembrance of thee, naturally sought for this consolation, without foreseeing to what use this discourse might be destined, nor how it would be received by the malignity of mankind, who commonly, indeed, spare the dead; but sometimes however insult their ashes, especially when it can serve as a fresh pretext for tearing the living in pieces.

June 1, 1748.

N. B. The young man whose death is here so justly lamented, is M. de Vauvenargues, who was long a captain in the king's regiment. I know not whether I am mistaken, but I imagine the reader will find, in the second edition of his book, more than an hundred thoughts, which plainly shew him to have been a youth of the most amiable disposition, deeply skilled in philosophy, and intirely free from all spirit of party and faction.

The following maxims are submitted to the consideration of the judicious.

“ We are more frequently deceived by reason than by nature.”



“ If the passions lead us oftener astray than the judgment, it is for the same reason that rulers commit more faults than private men.”



“ Great thoughts flow from the heart.” (In this manner, without knowing it, he drew his own character.)

“ The



“ The conscience of the dying reproaches
“ his life.”



“ Fortitude or timidity, at the hour of
“ death, depends on the last sickness.”

I would advise the reader to peruse the following maxims with great care, and to endeavour to explain them.

“ The thought of death deceives us ; for it
“ makes us forget to live.”



“ Of all kinds of philosophy that is the most
“ false, which, under the pretence of freeing
“ men from the dominion of the passions, ad-
“ vises them to live in a state of listless indo-
“ lence.”



“ We owe, perhaps, to the passions the
“ greatest advantages of a mental nature.”



“ What does not hurt the interests of so-
“ ciety, does not belong to the cognizance of
“ justice.”



“ Whoever is more severe than the laws, is
“ a tyrant.”

It is evident, methinks, from these few maxims, that we cannot say of him what one of the most amiable geniuses of the present age hath said of these party-philosophers, of these

new stoics, who have imposed their doctrines on the ignorant :

*Ils ont eu l'art de bien connaître
L'homme qu'ils ont imaginé,
Mais ils n'ont jamais deviné
Ce qu'il est, ni ce qu'il doit être.*

They study'd and presented man,
As their own brains had form'd the creature;
But all their art could never scan
The genuine workmanship of Nature.

I do not know that any of those who have undertaken the instruction of mankind, have ever written any thing more sensible than his chapter on Natural and Moral Evil. I do not pretend to say, that every thing is equally good in this book; but, if my judgment is not warped by the influence of friendship, I hardly know any book that is more proper to form a well-disposed and teachable mind. What further confirms me in the opinion of the excellence of this work, which M. de Vauvenargues has left behind him, is, that I have seen it despised by those who love nothing but false wit and quaint expressions.

OF THE
DOCTRINE OF GENII.

THE doctrine of genii, judicial astrology, and magic, has filled the whole earth. Go back to the time of Zoroaster, you will find the belief of genii established. All antiquity is filled with astrologers and magicians. These notions must, therefore, be founded in nature. We now affect to laugh at those nations among whom such ridiculous conceits prevailed; but had we been in their place, had we, like them, been beginning to cultivate the sciences, we should have acted exactly in the same manner. Let us suppose, for once, that we are men of genius, beginning to reason on our own being, and to make observations on the heavenly bodies: the earth is doubtless immoveable, and fixed in the center of the universe; the sun and planets revolve only for it; the stars are made solely for our sake; so that man is the grand object to which every other part of nature is subservient. What now shall we make of all these globes, which are solely destined for our use, and of the immensity of space? It is very probable, that space in general, and these globes in particular, are peopled with inhabitants; and since we are the favourites of nature, placed in the center of the world, and every thing is made for us, these beings must evidently be destined to watch over man.

The first who should believe the thing to be barely possible, would soon find disciples convinced that it actually was so. Men began by saying, there possibly may be genii, and nobody ought to affirm the contrary; for where is the impossibility of the air and the planets being inhabited? They then went a step farther, and said, there are genii, and no one surely can prove that there are none. Soon after some sages saw these genii, and no one had a right to say that they had not seen them: they had appeared to men of so much consideration, and so worthy of credit, as to put the matter beyond all doubt. One had seen the genius of the empire, or of the city in which he was born; another had seen the genius of Mars, or that of Saturn; the genii of the four elements had appeared to several philosophers; more than one sage had seen his own genius: all this, at first, in dreams; but dreams were symbols of the truth.

They even knew the shape and figure of these genii. In order to reach our globe, they behoved to have wings; and wings they accordingly had. We know no beings but bodies; they therefore had bodies, but bodies more beautiful than ours, because they were genii, and more light, because they came from such an immense distance. The sages, who had the privilege of conversing with the genii, flattered others with the hopes of enjoying the same happiness. What kind of a reception would they have given to a sceptic, who should have said, I have never seen any genii, therefore there are none? They would have answered, You reason very ill. It does not follow,

low, from your ignorance of a thing, that it does not actually exist. There is no contradiction in the doctrine which teaches the nature of these aerial beings; nor is it impossible that they may pay us a visit. They have appeared to our sages; they will appear to us: you are not worthy to see genii.

Every thing on earth is a mixture of good and evil; there must, therefore, be good and evil genii. The Persians had their *peris* and their *dives*; the Greeks their *dæmons* and *caco-dæmons*; and the Latins their *bonos* and *malos* genios. The good genius was white; the evil genius black; except among the Negroes, where the case was perfectly inverted. Plato readily admitted a good and evil genius for every mortal. The evil genius of Brutus appeared to him, and foretold his death, before the battle of Philippi. Have we not been told so by the gravest historians? And would Plutarch have been so rash as to affirm this fact, had it not been well-founded?

Consider, likewise, what an inexhaustible fund of feasts, diversions, merry tales, and witty sayings, the creation of genii afforded.

* *Scit genius natale comes qui temperat astrum.*

† *Ipse suos adsit genius visurus honores,
Cui decorent sanctas florea festa comas.*

There were male genii and female genii. Among the Romans, the genii of the ladies were called little Juno's. They had also the

* Horace,

† Tibullus,

pleasure of seeing their genius grow. In infancy, it was a kind of Cupid with wings; in the old age of the person whom it protected, it had a long beard; and sometimes it was a serpent. There is still preserved at Rome a piece of marble, on which is seen a beautiful serpent, under a palm-tree, with two crowns appended to it. The inscription runs, "To the genius of the Augustus's." This was the emblem of immortality.

What demonstrative proof have we that the genii, which were universally admitted by so many learned nations, are no more than creatures of the imagination? All that can be said on the subject may be reduced to this: I have never seen a genius; none of my acquaintance have seen one: Brutus has not left it on record that his genius appeared to him before the battle: neither Newton, nor Locke, nor even the fanciful Descartes, no king, nor minister of state, were ever supposed to have spoken to their genii: I do not therefore believe a thing of which there is not the least proof. The thing is not impossible, I own; but the possibility of it is no proof of its reality. It is very possible, that there may be satyrs with little curled tails and goats feet: I will wait, however, till I see several of them, before I will believe their existence; for should I only happen to see one, I will not believe it.

OF ASTROLOGY.

ASTROLOGY rests on a firmer foundation than the doctrine of genii: for though nobody has seen either Farfadets or Lemures, or Dives or Peris, or dæmons or caco-dæmons, yet many people have seen astrological predictions verified. Let two astrologers be consulted about the life of a child, or the nature of the weather; let the one say that the child will live to man's age, and the other that he will not; let the one foretel rain, and the other fair weather; it is evident that one of them must be a prophet.

The great misfortune of astrologers is, that the heavens are changed since the rules of their art were established. The sun, which was in Aries in the time of the Argonauts, is now in Taurus; and the astrologers, to the great detriment of their art, attribute to one sign of the zodiac what evidently belongs to another. This however is no demonstrative argument against the truth of astrology. The masters of the art may be deceived; but it has not yet been demonstrated that no such art can exist.

There is no absurdity in saying, Such a child was born at half-moon, in stormy weather, and at the rising of such a star; his constitution has been weak, and his life short and unhappy, the common lot of all those who are born with a bad habit of body. On the other hand, this child was born at full-moon, the sun shining in all his vigour, the weather fair, and at the rising of such a star; his constitution has been

good, and his life long and happy. Had these observations been frequently repeated, and found to hold true, experience might, at the end of some thousands of ages, have formed an art, the truth of which it would have been difficult to disprove: we should then have thought, and with some appearance of reason too, that men are like trees and herbs, which should only be sown and planted at certain seasons. It would have signified nothing to have objected against the astrologers, that your son was born at a happy time, and yet died in the cradle. The astrologer would have replied, It frequently happens that trees perish, though planted at a proper season. I only answered for the stars; but could not answer for the faults of the constitution which you gave to your child. Astrology can only operate when no foreign cause intervenes to oppose the influence of the stars.

Nor would you have been more successful in discrediting astrology, by saying, Of two children born at the same minute, the one became a king, the other no more than the church-warden of his parish. The astrologers would have easily defended themselves by shewing, that the peasant made his fortune by becoming a church-warden, as well as the prince made his by becoming a king.

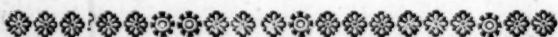
Should you alledge, that a robber, whom Sixtus Quintus caused to be hanged, was born at the same time with Sixtus Quintus himself, who, from a sow-herd, became a pope; the astrologers would say, that they had mistaken a few seconds in their calculations; for that it was impossible, according to the rules of art, that the same star should bestow a mitre and a gal-

gallows. It is only, therefore, from an immense number of events having belied the predictions, that men have at last discovered the art to be fallacious and deceitful; but before they were undeceived, they lived a long time in a state of the blindest credulity.

One of the most famous mathematicians of Europe, named Stöffler, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and who laboured long in reforming the calendar which was proposed to the council of Constance, foretold an universal deluge that was to happen in the year 1524. This deluge was to be in the month of February, and nothing could be more plausible; for Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, were then in conjunction in the sign of Pisces. All the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that heard the prediction, were struck with consternation. Every body expected the deluge, notwithstanding the rainbow. Several cotemporary authors relate, that the people inhabiting the maritime provinces of Germany made haste to sell their lands, at a low price, to such as had more money and less credulity than themselves. Every one provided himself with a boat, in imitation of Noah's Ark. A doctor of Toulouse in particular, called Auriol, caused a large ark to be built for himself, his family, and his friends; and the same precautions were taken in several parts of Italy. At last the month of February arrived, and not a drop of rain fell: never was month more dry, nor were ever the astrologers more embarrassed. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, they were neither discouraged nor neglected amongst us. Most princes continued to consult them.

I have

I have not the honour to be a prince; but the famous count de Boulainvilliers, and an Italian named Colonne, who had a great reputation at Paris, both foretold that I should certainly die at thirty-two years of age. I have had the malice to deceive them already in near thirty years, for which I most humbly ask their pardon.



OF MAGIC.

MAGIC is a science still more plausible than either astrology, or the doctrine of genii. As soon as men began to think that they possessed a principle entirely distinct from matter, and that the soul existed after death, they assigned to this soul a body, thin, subtil, aerial, and resembling that in which it was formerly lodged. Two reasons, both of them extremely natural, introduced this opinion. The first is, that in all languages the soul was called spirit, breath, wind; and this spirit, this breath, and this wind, was something very thin and refined. The second is, that if the soul of a man did not retain a form similar to what it possessed in life, it would have been impossible, after death, to distinguish the soul of one man from that of another. This soul, or ghost, which subsisted separate from the body, might easily shew itself on occasion, might return to the places it once inhabited, visit its friends and relations, speak to them, and instruct them. In this there was nothing

nothing contradictory. Whatever is, may appear.

Spirits might easily acquaint those whom they came to visit with the manner of raising them up; and they actually did so: the word *Abraxa*, pronounced with some ceremonies, called up the particular ghost to whom the person wanted to speak. Suppose an Egyptian should say to a philosopher, "I am descended, in a direct line, from the magicians of Pharaoh, who changed their rods into serpents, and the waters of the Nile into blood. One of my ancestors married the witch of Endor, who called up the ghost of Samuel at the desire of king Saul: she communicated the secret to her husband, and he imparted it to his children. I possess this power by inheritance from my father and mother. My genealogy is well vouched; I command the ghosts and the elements." The philosopher could only beg his protection; for should he take it in his head to deny and to dispute, the magician would stop his mouth by saying, "You cannot deny facts. My ancestors were certainly great magicians; of this you cannot entertain the least doubt. You have no reason to think me inferior to them, especially when a man of honour, as I am, assures you that he is a forcerer." The philosopher might say, "Do me the favour to raise a spirit; give me an opportunity of speaking to a ghost; change this water into blood, and this rod into a serpent." The magician might reply, "I do not work for philosophers; I raise spirits to very respectable ladies, and to simple people who do not dispute; you ought to believe that it is possible, at least, that I may possess this secret, since you are forced

to acknowledge that my ancestors possessed it : what has been done formerly may be done now ; and you ought to believe the reality of magic without obliging me to give a specimen of my art."

These reasons are so good, that all nations have had their forcerers. The greatest forcerers were paid by the state, for discovering future events from the heart and liver of an ox. Why then have the rest been so long capitally punished ? But they performed still greater wonders ; we ought therefore to honour them, and to stand in awe of their power. Nothing is more ridiculous than to condemn a true magician to the flames ; for it is to be presumed that he can extinguish the fire, and break the necks of his judges. All that can be done is to say to him, " We do not burn you, friend, as a true forcerer, but as a false one, who vainly boast yourself the master of an admirable art, which you do not understand : we treat you as we would treat a man that circulates base money : the more we value the genuine coin, the more severely do we punish those who give counterfeit money. We know there have been venerable magicians in former ages ; but we have reason to think that you are not of that number, since you suffer yourself to be burned like a fool."

It is true, the magician, when driven to extremity, may say, " My art does not extend so far as to enable me to extinguish fire without water, nor to kill my judges with a word. I can only raise spirits, look into futurity, and change certain bodies into others of a different form. My power is limited ; but you ought not on that account to burn me by a slow fire.

This

Of People possessed by EVIL SPIRITS. 163

This is as unreasonable as if you should hang a physician who has cured you of a fever, because he is not likewise able to cure you of a palsy." But the judges would answer, "Shew us then some specimen of your art, or chearfully consent to be committed to the flames."

Of People possessed by EVIL SPIRITS.

THOSE who are possessed of evil spirits are the only people to whom it is impossible to give any good answer. Let a man but once say, "I am possessed by an unclean spirit," and we must believe him on his word. Nor is he obliged, in proof of his assertion, to perform extraordinary actions: if he does perform such actions, it is only from a superabundance of right. What can you say to a man who rolls his eyes, distorts his mouth, and affirms that he has the devil in him? Every one is the best judge of his own feelings. Formerly every place was full of people possessed with unclean spirits, and some of them may be met with. If they take it in their head to beat people, they are presently repaid in their own coin, and then they become very quiet and peaceable. But with regard to a poor wretch of this character, who contents himself with a few convulsions, and does harm to no body, we have no right to do any harm to him. Should you argue with him, he will be sure to get the better of you. He will say, "The devil entered into me yesterday, under such a form, and I have, ever since, been troubled with a super-

a supernatural cholic, which all the apothecaries in the world cannot cure." It is evident that the only course we can take with such a man is to exorcise him, or to abandon him to the devil.

The want of magicians, astrologers, genii, and of people possessed by unclean spirits, is a great loss in the present age. 'Tis impossible to conceive, of what infinite use these mysteries were about a hundred years ago. All the nobility then lived in castles, and, in the long winter-evenings, they would have died with weariness, had it not been for these noble amusements. There was hardly a castle to which a fairy did not return on certain stated days; as, for instance, the fairy Merlusine to the castle of Lusignan. The chief huntsman, a man of a meagre habit, and black complexion, hunted with a pack of black dogs in the forest of Fontainbleau. The devil broke the neck of mareschal Fabert. Every village had its forcerer, or its forcerefs. Every prince had his astrologer. All the ladies had their fortunes told. The persons possessed by evil spirits ran up and down the country; and he was the prettiest fellow who had seen the devil, or could see him the soonest. All this was an inexhaustible fund of conversation, and kept the minds of people in exercise. At present we divert ourselves with the insipid game of cards, and have entirely lost the pleasure of being deceived.

OF OVID.

THE learned have written whole volumes to inform us to what corner of the earth Ovidius Naso was banished by Octavius Cæpias, surnamed Augustus. All that we know of him is, that he was born at Sulmona, educated at Rome, and lived ten years on the right-hand bank of the Danube, not far from the Black Sea. Though he calls this a barbarous country, we are not therefore to imagine that it was inhabited by savages. The natives composed verses. Cotis, a petty king of a part of Thrace, wrote some Getic verses for Ovid. The Latin poet learned the Getic, and composed several verses in that language. One would have expected to find some Greek verses in the ancient country of Orpheus ; but this spot was then inhabited by a northern nation, who probably spoke a Tartarian dialect ; a language nearly a-kin to the ancient Sclavonic. Ovid did not seem to be formed for witing Tartarian verses. The country of the Tomites, to which he was banished, was part of Mesia, a Roman province between Mount Hemus and the Danube. It is situated in the latitude of forty-four degrees and a half, like the finest provinces of France ; but the mountains which lie to the south, the northerly and easterly winds that blow from the Euxine Sea, and the cold and dampness of the soil, occasioned by the forests and the Danube, rendered this country insupportable to a native of Italy : and hence it was that Ovid lived but a short time in it, having died there at sixty years of age. In his elegies
he

he complains of the climate, and not of the inhabitants :

Quos ego, cùm loca sim vestra perosus, amo.

Whom, tho' I hate your soil, I dearly love.

These people crowned him with laurels, and gave him many privileges, which, however, could not hinder him from regretting the loss of Rome. Nothing could be a stronger proof of the slavery of the Romans, and of the utter extinction of all their laws, than for a man born in an equestrian family, as Octavius was, to banish a person of the same rank, and for one citizen of Rome to send another among the Scythians by a single word. Before that time, it required a plebiscitum, a law made by the whole nation, to deprive a Roman of his native country. Cicero, though banished by a cabal, was nevertheless banished with all the forms prescribed by the laws.

It is evident that Ovid's crime was his having seen something shameful in the family of Octavius.

Cur aliquid vidi, cur noxia lumina feci?

Why did my eyes the guilty scene behold?

It is still a doubt among the learned, whether he had seen Augustus with a young boy, more plump and jolly than that Mannius whom Augustus said he could not like because he was too lean ; or if he had seen some gentleman-usher in the arms of the empress Livia, whom Augustus married while she was with child by another ; or if he had seen the emperor toying with his daughter, or his grand-daughter ; or, finally, whether

whether he had seen Augustus doing something still worse, *torva tumentibus hircis*. It is extremely probable that Ovid surprised Augustus in the commission of incest. An author, almost contemporary with Ovid, called Minutianus Apuleius, says, *Pulsum quoque in exilium quod Augusti incestum vidisset*.

Octavius Augustus made the harmless book of "The Art of Love," a book written with great decency, and in which there is not one obscene word, a pretext for banishing a Roman knight to the coasts of the Black Sea. This pretext was ridiculous. How could Augustus, who has left behind him some verses filled with the most filthy obscenity; how could he, with any regard to decency, banish Ovid to Tomis, for having several years before given his friends a few copies of "The Art of Love?" How could he have the impudence to blame Ovid for a work, written with some modesty at least, at the very time that he approved the verses of Horace, in which that author scatters, with an unsparing hand, all the terms of the most infamous prostitution, such as *futuo*, and *mentula*, and *cunnus*? He proposes to gratify his passion, either with a lascivious wench, or with a pretty boy who ties up his long hair in a knot, or with a servant maid, or with a lacquey, and all without the least distinction; for to him every one is equal. In a word, he is free from no kind of lewdness, but that of bestiality. Is it not then the height of impudence to find fault with Ovid, and yet to tolerate Horace? It is evident that Octavius alleges a very bad reason for his conduct, not daring to mention the true one. Another proof that Ovid's banishment was owing to some act

of fornication or incest, or to some secret adventure or other of the sacred imperial family, is, that that buck of Caprea, Tiberius, immortalized by the medals of his debaucheries, and a monster of lewdness as well as of dissimulation, did not recal the poet. It was in vain for Ovid to ask a pardon from the author of the proscriptions, and the poisoner of Germanicus : he was obliged to remain on the banks of the Danube.

Had a Dutch, a Polish, a Swedish, an English, or a Venetian gentleman seen a stadtholder, a king of Great Britain, a king of Sweden, a king of Poland, or a doge commit some gross sin ; had this gentleman seen the commission of the crime, not merely by accident, but had actually sought for an opportunity of seeing it ; and, in fine, had he been even so imprudent as to talk of it in public ; yet neither the stadtholder, nor the king, nor the doge, would have a right to banish him.

But we have almost as much reason to blame Ovid for having praised Augustus and Tiberius, as we have to blame them for the crimes they committed. The eulogiums he bestows upon them are so extravagant, that they would even excite our indignation had they been given to princes, who were at once lawful sovereigns and his benefactors ; but he gives them to tyrants, and to his tyrants. We can excuse a man for bestowing a few praises on a prince that caresses him ; but we can by no means excuse him for deifying a prince that persecutes him. He would have done much better to have embarked on the Black Sea, and retired into Persia through the Palus Meotis, than to have composed his *Tristia de Ponto*. He would have learned the Persian

Persian as easily as the Getic, and might, at least, have forgot the master of Rome for the master of Ecbatan. Some stupid objector may, perhaps, alledge that he had still one course to take; namely, to go privately to Rome; to apply to the relations of Brutus and Cassius, and to form a twelfth conspiracy against Octavius; but that was not in the elegiac taste.

What a strange and inconsistent thing is praise! Ovid, it is plain, heartily wishes that some Brutus would deliver Rome from her Augustus, and yet, in his verses, he wishes him immortality.

I blame Ovid for nothing but his Tristia. Bayle attacks him upon his philosophy of the Chaos, which is so well explained in the beginning of his *Metamorphoses*:

*Ante mare, & terras, & quod tegit omnia cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe.*

Bayle translates these verses thus: "Before the heaven, the earth, or the sea existed, all nature was one homogeneous mass." Ovid says, "the face of nature was every where the same." This does not mean that all was one homogeneous mass; but only that this heterogeneous mass, this assemblage of different, things appeared to be the same; *unus vultus*.

Bayle criticises the whole of the chaos. Ovid, who, in his verses, is no more than the chanter of the ancient philosophy, says, that things soft and hard, light and heavy, were mixed together:

Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus:

and Bayle reasons against him in the following manner:

I 2

"Nothing

“ Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose a chaos, that was homogeneous from eternity, though it had the elementary properties, as well those which are called alterative, such as heat, cold, moisture, dryness, as those which are called motive, and which are gravity and lightness; the latter the cause of an upward motion, the former of a downward. Such matter as this could not possibly be homogeneous, but must necessarily contain all sorts of heterogeneous qualities. Heat, cold, moisture, and dryness could not exist together, without being modified by their action and reaction, and converted into other properties which compose the form of mixed bodies; and as this modification might be made according to the innumerable diversities of combinations, the chaos must have contained an incredible multitude of mixed bodies of different forms. The only way in which we can conceive the chaos to be homogeneous, would be to say, that the alterative properties of the elements were modified exactly in the same degree in all particles of matter, so that there was every-where the same medium between heat and cold, the same softness, the same smell, the same taste, &c. But this would be to pull down with one hand what we had built with the other; this would be, by a contradiction in terms, to give the name of a Chaos to a work of the greatest regularity, symmetry, and proportion that can possibly be conceived. I own, indeed, that the human mind is better pleased with a diversified, than with an uniform work; but we must be convinced, on serious reflexion, that the harmony of contrary qualities uniformly preserved throughout the universe,

verse, would be as great a perfection as that unequal distribution which succeeded the chaos.

“What unlimited knowledge, what unbounded power would be requisite to preserve this uniform harmony diffused through all nature? It would not be sufficient to put into the composition of every mixed body the same quantity of each of the four ingredients; it would be necessary to put more of some, and less of others, according to their greater or less aptitude to act than to resist; for it is well known that the philosophers make a great distinction between action and reaction on the elementary qualities. All things considered, it will be found, that the cause that should have metamorphosed the chaos, would have drawn it, not from a state of war and confusion, as is commonly supposed, but from a state of the greatest order and regularity, which, by reducing the contrary forces to an equilibrium, preserved it in perfect peace and tranquility. Hence it is evident, that if the poets will still maintain the homogeneity of the chaos, they must, of course, destroy all that they have added about this strange jumble of contrary ingredients, this indigested mass, this eternal war of jarring principles.

“But not to insist on this contradiction, we shall find sufficient reason to attack them on other accounts. Let us begin with the notion of eternity. Can any thing be more absurd than to admit a mixture of the insensible parts of the four elements for an infinite time? The moment you suppose these parts possessed of the activity of heat, the moment you allow the action and reaction of the four primary qualities, the centripetal motion in the particles of the earth and

water, and the centrifugal motion in those of fire and the air, you establish a principle which will necessarily separate these four sorts of bodies, and will require for this purpose but a limited time. Consider a little what is called the phial of the four elements. Put into it some small metallic particles, and then three different liquors, every one lighter than the others: shake it all together, you no longer discern any of these four mixtures; the parts of each of them are confounded with the parts of the others. But let your phial stand a little, and you will then find each of them resume its proper situation. All the metallic particles fall to the bottom of the phial; those of the lightest liquor mount to the top; those of the liquor, which is heavier than that, but lighter than the other, occupy the third stage; and those of the liquor, which is heavier than the other two, but lighter than the metallic particles, settle in the second place; and thus you will find the distinct situations which you had confounded by shaking the phial. Nor will such an experiment require much patience: a very short time will be sufficient to make it; and will exhibit a true picture of the situation which nature has given to the four elements in the construction of the world. Thus, by comparing the universe to this phial, we may easily conclude, that were the earth reduced to powder, and were that powder mixed with the matter of the stars, and with that of the air and water, and were that mixture to extend even to the invisible particles of each of these elements, every thing would immediately begin to disintangle itself, and, at the end of a certain time, the parts of the earth would form one mass, those of fire
another,

another, and so of the rest, according to the gravity or lightness of each kind of body."

But I would take the liberty of telling M. Bayle, that the experiment of the phial could not be made at the time of the chaos. I would tell him that Ovid and the philosophers understood by heavy and light things, such as became so when God put his hand to them. I would say to him; You suppose that nature might, by its own virtue, have put itself into its present form, and bestowed upon itself the quality of gravity: but you must first prove that gravity is a property essentially inherent in matter; a thing which, to this day, has never yet been demonstrated. Descartes pretends, in his philosophical romance, that bodies did not become heavy till her vortices of subtile matter began to push them to a center. Newton, in his true philosophy, does not say that gravitation or attraction is a property essential to matter. Had Ovid been able to guess at the nature of Newton's Principia Mathematica, he would have said, Matter was neither heavy, nor in motion in my chaos: it was necessary that God should give it these two qualities: my chaos did not possess the properties you ascribe to it: "*Nec quidquam nisi pondus iners*," it was only an inactive mass; *pondus* here signifying mass, and not weight. Nothing could be heavy till God had impressed on matter the principle of gravitation. How could one body tend towards the center of another, be attracted by it, or push it, unless the supreme artist had given it that inexplicable virtue? Thus Ovid would be found to be not only a good philosopher, but even a tolerable divine.

You say, "A scholastic divine would readily
I 4 admit,

admit, that if the four elements existed independent of God with all the properties they now possess, they might of themselves have formed the world, and maintained it in its present state. We must therefore acknowledge that there are two capital errors in the doctrine of the chaos. The first and principal error is, that it deprives God of the honour of creating matter, and of producing the properties that are peculiar to the fire, to the air, the earth, and the sea. The second is, that, after having robbed him of this prerogative, it introduces him on the theatre of the world without any apparent necessity, merely to assign proper places to the four elements. The new philosophers, who reject the qualities and properties of the peripatetic physics, would find the same errors in Ovid's description of the chaos; for what they call the general laws of motion, mechanical principles, and modifications of matter, such as figure, situation, and arrangement of small bodies, mean no more than that active and passive virtue of nature, which the peripatetics express by the words, alterative and motive properties of the four elements. Since, therefore, agreeable to their doctrine, these four bodies, situated according to their natural gravity and lightness, are a principle sufficient to answer all manner of productions, the Cartesians, the Gassendists, and other modern philosophers, must allow that the motion, the situation, and the configuration of the parts of matter are sufficient for the production of all natural effects, not even excepting the general arrangement which put the earth, the air, the water, and the stars into the condition in which we now behold them. Thus the true cause of the world,

world, and of all the effects produced in it, is the same with that which gave motion to the parts of matter, whether it was by assigning to every atom a certain figure, according to the opinion of the Gassendists, or only by giving to parts perfectly cubical an impulse, which, by the duration of motion reduced to fixed laws, might make them assume, in the sequel, all sorts of figures. This is the hypothesis of the Cartesians. But both of them must allow, as a necessary consequence, that if matter was such as Ovid has supposed it to be before the creation of the world, it would have been able, by its own inherent properties, to draw itself from the chaos, and to form the world without the assistance of God. They ought therefore to accuse Ovid of having committed two blunders. The one is, his supposing that matter had, without the aid of the Deity, the seeds of all mixed bodies, as heat, motion, &c. the other is his saying, that, without the assistance of God, it never could have drawn itself from a state of confusion. This is to ascribe too much and too little both to the one and the other; it is to dispense with assistance in the greatest difficulty, and to ask it when it is not necessary."

But Ovid might still reply, You falsely suppose my elements to have had all the qualities which they now possess; whereas, in fact, they had none of them: they were a naked, shapeless, and inactive mass; and when I said that in my chaos cold was mixed with heat, and moisture with dryness, I could not make use of any other expressions than these, which only mean, that there was neither cold, nor heat, nor moisture, nor dryness. These are qualities which God hath placed

in our sensations, and which have no existence in matter. I have not committed the blunders of which you accuse me. It is your Cartesians, and your Gassendists that commit blunders with their atoms, and their cubic parts; and their whimsical conceits are as ill-founded as my Metamorphoses. I prefer a Daphne changed into a laurel, and a Narcissus transformed into a flower, to your subtile matter changed into suns, and your grosser matter formed into earth and water.

I gave you fables as fables, and you philosophers give us fables for realities.

OF SOCRATES.

IS the mould broken in which those illustrious persons were formed, who loved virtue for her own sake, a Confucius, a Pythagoras, a Thales, a Socrates? In their times there were crowds of devotees who worshipped their pagods and their deities; people struck with the fear of Cerberus; and enthusiasts that run through the whole circle of initiations, pilgrimages, mysteries, and who ruined themselves by their expensive offerings of black sheep. All ages have seen such unhappy wretches as Lucretius mentions:

*Qui quocumque tamen miseri venère, parentant,
Et nigras mactant pecudes & manibus divis
In ferias mittunt, multoque in rebus acerbis
Acrius advertunt animos ad religionem.*

Nay, more; where'er these boasting wretches
come

They sacrifice black sheep on every tomb

To please the Manes; and of all the rout,

When cares and danges press, grow most devout.
mortifications were then in use. The priests of Cybele caused themselves to be castrated in order to preserve their chastity. Whence comes it, that, among all these martyrs of superstition, antiquity cannot shew us a single sage, or great man? The reason is, that fear could never produce virtue. The great men were always admirers of moral good. Wisdom was their ruling passion: they were sages for the same reason that Alexander was a warrior, Homer a poet, and Apelles a painter, by the mere force and impulse of nature; and this, perhaps, is all that we ought to understand by the demon of Socrates.

As two citizens of Athens were, one day, returning from the temple of Mercury, they observed Socrates in the street. "Is not that the impious wretch," said the one, "who pretends that men may be virtuous without going daily to offer sheep and geese?" "Yes," replied the other, "that is the Sage, who has no religion; that is the Atheist who says that there is but one God." Socrates approached them with his usual air of simplicity, his demon, and his ironical vein of humour, which Madam Dacier has so much improved: "Friends, said he, a word with you, if you please: what name would you give to a man that prays to the Deity, and adores him, endeavours to resemble him as much as the weakness of human nature will permit, and does all the good in his power?" "He is," said they, "a very religious man." "Well. May not a man adore the Supreme Being, and yet have a due sense of religion?" "Agreed," said the two Athenians. "But think ye," continued Socrates, "that when the Divine Architect of the world arranged all these globes that roll above our heads, and gave life and motion to so many different beings; think ye that he made use of the arm of Hercules, the lyre of Apollo, or the flute of Pan?" "It is not probable," said they. "But if it is improbable that he employed the assistance of any one in constructing all these bodies we see around us, it is equally improbable that he employs the ministration of any one to preserve them in being. Were Neptune absolute master of the sea, Juno of the air, Æolus of the winds, and Ceres of harvests; and should one of them desire a calm, and another wind and rain, you plainly perceive that the order of nature

ture could not subsist in its present state. It is necessary, you will allow, that every thing should depend on the author of its being. You give four white horses to the sun, and two black ones to the moon ; but is it not better that day and night should be the effect of that motion which was impressed on the stars by the creator of these heavenly bodies, than that they should be produced by six horses ?” The two citizens looked at each other, without making any answer. Socrates concluded his discourse, by proving, that they might have plentiful crops without giving money to the priests of Ceres ; might go a hunting without presenting little statues of silver to the temple of Diana ; that Pomona was not the giver of fruits, nor Neptune of horses ; but that we ought to return our thanks to the Supreme Being who made all things.

His discourse was conducted according to the strictest rules of logic. Xenophon, his disciple, a man who knew the world, and who afterwards sacrificed to the wind in the retreat of the ten thousand, pulled Socrates by the sleeve, and said ; “ Your discourse is admirable ; you have spoken better than an oracle ; but you have ruined yourself : one of these men is a butcher, who sells sheep and geese for the sacrifices ; and the other is a goldsmith, who gains great sums by making little gods of silver and copper for the ladies. They will accuse you of impiety for having endeavoured to lessen their profits. They will swear against you before Melitus and Anitus, your enemies, who have conspired your ruin. Take care of the hemlock. Your demon should have dissuaded you from saying to a butcher and a gold-

a goldsmith, what ought only to be said to a Plato or a Xenophon.

Some time after, Socrates's enemies found means to have him condemned by the council of five hundred. He had two hundred and twenty votes in his favour. This makes it probable, that there were two hundred and twenty philosophers in the assembly; but shews, at the same time, that in every company, the number of philosophers is the smallest.

Socrates, accordingly, drank the hemlock for having spoken in favour of the Unity of God; and the Athenians afterwards dedicated a temple to Socrates, that very man who had declaimed against the practice of dedicating temples to inferior beings.

EXAMINATION
OF THE
POLITICAL TESTAMENT
OF
CARDINAL ALBERONI.

AFTER so many testaments which the public have rendered void and ineffectual, that of cardinal Alberoni, at last, makes its appearance. I heartily wish that the cardinal had given the editor a place in his testament. This editor or author must, doubtless, know the world too well, not to be sensible, that a good legacy, which makes a man live in ease and affluence, is better than a thousand political speculations. A writer composes a fine book, full of the most profound reasoning, on the ruinous commerce of Europe with the East Indies: a merchant, with a stroke of his pen, sends a commission thither without reasoning about effects; gains an immense fortune; and does not read the book. The case is the same in politics: a man of genius and leisure forms projects to change the face of Europe: those who govern follow their old track, without so much as enquiring whether any projects have ever been formed.

The abbé de Bourzey, afraid that he should not be read, boldly assumed the name of the cardinal de Richelieu. Others have taken the
names

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names of Mazarin, of Colbert, of Louvois, and of the duke of Lorraine. All these testaments are composed in the stile of Crispin's, who takes the night-gown and the name of Geronte in the Universal Legatee. It is evident, at first sight, that Geronte is not the author of that testament; we soon discover it to be the work of Crispin.

It must be owned, indeed, that the testament of cardinal Alberoni is not composed by a Crispin: it is written by a man of no inconsiderable share of knowledge; but he must not pretend to make the world believe, that this testament is really the work of the cardinal. In vain does he endeavour in his preface to elude the law which I enforced, viz. that this single word, "The Testament of a Minister," lays the author under an indispensable obligation to deposite the original of the work in the public archives, or to prove the authenticity of it in some other way equally satisfactory.

If this law is violated, the public have a right to exclaim against the imposition. In matters of so great importance we are bound to convince the world that we act fairly and honestly. When I printed the *Anti-Machiavel* at the Hague, I deposited the original copy in the Town-house, where it still remains. The author, indeed, does not pretend, that the Testament of cardinal Alberoni is the work of that minister: he only says, that it contains his intentions; that it is a collection of some of the cardinal's thoughts, to which the editor has joined his own; by which means the work may become doubly valuable. Call it a Testament, or not, as you please, it is of no consequence. The titles of books are like
those

those of men in the eyes of a philosopher; he judges of nothing by titles.

Be it the cardinal Alberoni, or his interpreter, that advises the king of Spain to encourage agriculture, it is certainly a very good advice, and his majesty ought to follow it, whether it come from a minister, or a farmer. The author proposes to cultivate the lands in Spain by the hands of the negroes. And why not? These lands, which want labourers, still accuse that unhappy king, who deprived them of the hands of the Moors, under whom they were fertile. The deserts of Prussia, cultivated by foreigners, are a reproach to the lands of Castile.

Few men are better acquainted with Spain than this author. One would almost take him for the minister of Philip V. or for him who was the companion of his retreat and his unhappy friend (if indeed one can be the friend of a king.) He enumerates all the causes to which the depopulation of Spain is owing; but, methinks, he is in the wrong, not to reckon among these causes the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors, and the many colonies transplanted into America. The emigration of the Protestants from France is hardly perceptible. But the reason is, that France contains about twenty-two millions of industrious inhabitants; whereas, in Spain there are scarcely above six millions of people, and their pride and laziness jointly contribute to stifle the spirit of industry. Take much from him that has little, and what remains? how repair these losses in a country where parents transmit to their children the disease that attacks the human species in its source, and where superstition buries nature in cloisters? I here make use of the
term

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term Superstition, which the cardinal employs ; for I would not willingly change his words. The author plainly proves that Spain is the country of grandeur and abuses. He does more : he points out the remedies. The work has not been reviewed by the inquisitors. There are some countries in the world which require, that a man should be six hundred miles from them, before he can take the liberty of telling these useful truths.

In the seventh chapter we see a part of that immense plan, which was formerly conceived by cardinal Alberoni. This man, in 1707, was not known in Anet (the curacy of which he refused) by any other character, than that of "*uomo faceto è piacevole*," who made excellent onion-soups. He was then patronized by Cam-pistron ; and in 1718 he was going to turn the world topsy-turvy. I made mention of him in my history of Charles XII. I there did him justice ; and he returned me thanks with so much the more gratitude, as he was then unfortunate. This project, which was just upon the point of being carried into execution, was to arm the Ottoman empire against Austria, and Charles XII. and the Czar against England ; to establish the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain ; to deprive the duke of Orleans of the regency of France ; and to render Italy for ever independent of Germany, after seven hundred years of subjection, or slavery, or submission. In prosecution of this scheme, an Italian body was formed somewhat resembling the Germanic body. Don Carlos was to have Naples and Sicily ; and his brother, Don Philip, Tuscany. Lombardy was to fall to the share of the dukes of Savoy. Mantua was to be added to the territories of Venice ; and the

the dominions of the duke of Modena were to be more than doubled by the addition of Parma.

Views of the most extensive commerce came in aid of these political regulations or disorders. The cannon-ball which killed Charles XII. overturned the whole project. But this shattered machine was strong enough, some time time after, to place Don Carlos on the throne of the two Sicilies by new expedients.

The author would have the Pretender to endeavour to obtain the sovereignty of Corsica, instead of making fruitless attempts upon the crown of England. He then proposes to him the viceroyalty of Majorca. Can these proposals come from the cardinal Alberoni?

Can it possibly be he who inveighs so bitterly against the memory of the cardinal de Fleury; and who says, that nothing was to be heard but the complaints and groans of the people during the administration of that minister? If it really be the cardinal Alberoni that speaks thus, he is either greatly prejudiced, or he is not so well acquainted with France as with Spain. He decries the cardinal de Fleury in every thing, and degrades him below mediocrity. But when we travel from St. Dizier to Moyenvic, we say, "It was the cardinal de Fleury that added all these territories to France; and what more could a great man have then done?" The cardinal Alberoni is become a very severe censurer since his death. His Testament is a satire.

He blames cardinal Fleury for having been for the war of 1741, though it is well known that he was against it, and opposed it with all his might.

He

He blames the emperor Charles VI. for having made his pragmatic sanction; but the daughter of that emperor, we believe, will be of a different opinion. He is for changing the constitution of Germany. In a word, he acts like a man who has lost his estate at play, and still taking pleasure in viewing the players, publishes aloud the mistakes he thinks he discovers.

Can it possibly be the cardinal Alberoni, that thus judges the living and the dead? We know a marshal of France, who has acquired a great reputation by his grand projects, by the spirit of order and œconomy which he introduced, and by his genius and activity. The pretended testator treats him very severely. In my opinion, history ought not to speak of the living: she ought to imitate the judgments of the Egyptians, who never decided concerning the merit of their countrymen, until they were no more. The characters of great men are always viewed in a false light during their life-time. But had we an inclination to answer the bitter reproaches with which cardinal Alberoni loads this illustrious Frenchman, we might say: Cease to reproach the marshal with exhausting the treasures of France, in his magnificent embassy to Frankfort, when Charles XII. was chosen emperor. Cease to represent Germany as jealous of this pretended profusion. The Spanish ambassador made as great a figure there as the ambassador of France. The duke de Ripperda had appeared at Vienna with still greater splendor; nor was it ever known that any nation was alarmed at the number of a plenipotentiary's domestics, or at the richness and magnificence of his plate. You was certainly indisposed when you wrote this article; and you bestowed

bestowed your malediction, at your dying hour, on a mere trifle. Your eminence was in a bad humour, when you dictated the article in which you condemn in a political view, the project of this general: you ought not to judge by the event. Men whose reputation with posterity will be higher than yours, because with an equal share of genius they had better fortune, have said, that the plan which you think so chimerical, was of all others the most likely to succeed. In effect, what was this plan? It was to unite France, Spain, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, to judge sword in hand, the cause of the succession to the Austrian dominions. A young and victorious king had an army of an hundred thousand men, the best disciplined of any in Europe. Saxony had near fifty thousand. Two French armies, each consisting of about forty thousand men, were both in the heart of Germany, and almost at the gates of Vienna. The Spaniards were going to fall upon Italy; and at that time, it hardly appeared, that they had any enemies to contend with. They had even proposed to put other springs in motion, which history will one day bring to light. We ask, after all these preparations, if ever an enterprize had a better appearance? We ask, if this project was not an hundred times more plausible than yours? Small armies have sometimes been seen to overthrow mighty empires. Here two hundred and fifty thousand men attack a defenceless woman; and yet she maintains her ground. Own it, Mr. Cardinal; there certainly is a Being above us who confounds the wisest schemes of mortal men.

You

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You are but ill informed for a great minister, when you say, that this general whom you condemn, demanded a hundred thousand men from cardinal Fleury. I can assure your eminence, that he demanded only fifty thousand to march to Vienna, and among these twenty thousand horse. He only obtained thirty-two thousand in all, of which but eight thousand were horse. But even these, with the troops of the allies, composed a force, which nothing seemed capable of resisting, inasmuch as the enemy had not as yet assembled an army. On this point of history, I could inform your eminence of many things which you do not appear to know, and which would convince you that the man you affect to despise, was very worthy of your esteem.

As I am still alive, I dare not use the same freedom with you who are dead, and may say every thing with impunity: but I may venture, at least, to give you a few particulars relating to the siege of Prague, which will make you change your opinion. You cannot deny that the sallies were real battles, and that the retreat was glorious.

I know not what harm the cardinal de Fleury, and the general you mention, may have done you: but it appears to me, Sir, that a good christian as you ought to have been, and a cardinal as you certainly was, should on his death-bed have been reconciled with his enemies. Your Testament seems to me to have been composed *ab irato*; a circumstance which alone is sufficient to lessen its authority.

This Testament will be more useful to politicians than to historians. The testator is far from falling into the absurd errors of the forger who

assumed the name of the cardinal de Richelieu. This bungling forger, in making the greatest minister in Europe speak, at the very crisis of the war between the king of Spain and the emperor, says not a word of the manner in which France should have conducted herself with her allies, and her enemies. It was a strange inconsistency to see the cardinal de Richelieu pass over in silence the negotiations, and the interests of all the princes, in order to talk of the university and taxes. In this Testament the case is quite the reverse. The author enters into the interest of all the potentates; assigns to each his particular share; disposes of the world at pleasure; and puts himself in the place of Providence. He talks of all that might have been done, and of all that could possibly happen: his work is a collection of future contingencies.

There is not a simple or common thought in the whole of this Testament. It is there said, that when the emperor Charles VII. was without dominions, and without an army, he ought to have put the queen of Hungary to the ban of the empire. It should seem, however, that when a monarch passes such a sentence, he ought to have a hundred thousand bailiffs to publish it to the world.

For the rest, never did Testament contain more considerable legacies. The cardinal gives and bequeaths Bohemia to the elector of Saxony; the duchy of Zell to the duke of Cumberland; Tirol and Carinthia to the elector of Bavaria; Brisgau, with the Forest-towns, to the duke of Deux-Ponts; and the duchy of Deux-Ponts to the elector palatine. This is not unlike the testament which Cerisantes the Gascon made at Naples

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Naples in the time of the duke of Guise. He bequeathed to that prince his jewels and his gold plate, an hundred thousand crownsto the Jesuits, and the same sum to an hospital. He likewise founded a college and a public library.

He had not wherewithal to defray the expences of his funeral.

DIA.

DIALOGUES

BETWEEN

LUCRETIUS and POSSIDONIUS.

The first COLLOQUY.

POSSIDONIUS.

YOUR poetry is sometimes admirable ; but the philosophy of Epicurus is, in my opinion, very bad.

LUCRETIUS.

What ! will you not allow that the atoms, of their own accord, disposed themselves in such a manner as to produce the universe ?

POSSIDONIUS.

We mathematicians can admit nothing but what is proved by incontestible principles.

LUCRETIUS.

My principles are so.

Ex nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.

Tangere enim & tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res:

From nothing nought can spring, to nothing nought return.

Nought but a body can a body touch.

POSSIDONIUS.

Should I grant you these principles, and even your atoms and your vacuum, you can no more persuade me that the universe put itself into the admirable order in which we now

K

behold

behold it, than if you were to tell the Romans that the armillary sphere composed by Possidonius made itself.

LUCRETIUS.

But who then could make the world ?

POSSIDONIUS.

An intelligent Being, much more superior to the world and to me, than I am to the brass of which I made my sphere.

LUCRETIUS.

How can you, who admit nothing but what is evident, acknowledge a principle of which you have not the least idea ?

POSSIDONIUS.

In the same manner as, before I knew you, I judged that your book was the work of a man of genius.

LUCRETIUS.

You allow that nature is eternal, and exists because it does exist. Now if it exists by its own power, why may it not, by the same power, have formed suns, and worlds, and plants, and animals, and men ?

POSSIDONIUS.

All the ancient philosophers have supposed matter to be eternal, but have never proved it to be really so ; and even allowing it to be eternal, it would by no means follow that it could form works in which there are so many striking proofs of wisdom and design. Suppose this stone to be eternal if you will, you can never persuade me that it could have composed the Iliad of Homer.

LUCRE-

LUCRETIUS.

No : a stone could never have composed the Iliad, any more than it could have produced a horse : but matter organized in process of time, and become bones, flesh, and blood, will produce a horse ; and organized more finely, will produce the Iliad.

POSSIDONIUS.

You suppose all this without any proof ; and I ought to admit nothing without proof. I will give you bones, flesh, and blood, ready made, and will leave you and all the Epicureans in the world to make your best of them. Will you only consent to this alternative ; viz. to be put in possession of the whole Roman empire, if, with all the ingredients ready prepared, you produce a horse, and to be hanged if you fail in the attempt ?

LUCRETIUS.

No ; that surpasses my power, but not the power of nature. It requires millions of ages for nature, after having passed through all the possible forms, to arrive at last at the only one which can produce living beings.

POSSIDONIUS.

You might, if you pleased, continue all your life-time to shake in a cask all the materials of the earth mixed together, you would never be able to form any regular figure ; you could produce nothing. If the length of your life is not sufficient to produce even a mushroom, will the length of another man's life be sufficient for that purpose. Why should several

ages be able to effect what one age has not effected? One ought to have seen men and animals spring from the bosom of the earth, and corn produced without seed, &c. &c. before he should venture to affirm that matter, by its own energy, could give itself such forms; but no one that I know of hath seen such an operation, and therefore no one ought to believe it.

L U C R E T I U S.

Well! men, animals, and trees must always have existed. All the philosophers allow that matter is eternal; and they must further allow, that generations are so likewise. 'Tis the very nature of matter that there should be stars that revolve, birds that fly, horses that run, and men that compose Iliads.

P O S S I D O N I U S.

In this new supposition you change your opinion; but you always suppose the point in question, and admit a thing for which you have not the least proof.

L U C R E T I U S.

I am at liberty to believe, that what is to-day, was yesterday, was a century ago, was an hundred centuries ago, and so on backwards without end. I make use of your argument: no one has ever seen the sun and stars begin their course, nor the first animals formed and endowed with life. We may, therefore, safely believe that all things were from eternity as they are at present.

POSSIDONIUS.

There is a very great difference. I see an admirable design, and I ought to believe that an intelligent being formed that design.

LUCRETIVS.

You ought not to admit a being of whom you have no knowledge.

POSSIDONIUS.

You might as well tell me, that I ought not to believe that an architect built the capitol, because I never saw that architect.

LUCRETIVS.

Your comparison is not just. You have seen houses built, and you have seen architects; and therefore you ought to conclude that it was a man like our present architects that built the capitol. But here the case is very different: the capitol does not exist of itself, but matter does. It must necessarily have had some form; and why will you not allow it to possess, by its own energy, the form in which it now is? Is it not much easier for you to admit, that nature modifies itself, than to acknowledge a being that modifies it? In the former case you have only one difficulty to encounter, namely, to comprehend how nature acts. In the latter you have two difficulties to surmount, viz. to comprehend this same nature, and the visible being that acts upon it.

POSSIDONIUS.

It is quite the reverse. I see not only a difficulty, but even an impossibility in comprehending how matter can have infinite designs;

but I see no difficulty in admitting an intelligent being, who governs this matter by his infinite wisdom, and by his almighty will.

LUCRETIUS.

What? is it because your mind cannot comprehend one thing that you are to suppose another? Is it because you do not understand the secret springs, and admirable contrivances, by which nature disposed itself into planets, suns, and animals, that you have recourse to another being?

POSSIDONIUS.

No; I have not recourse to a god, because I cannot comprehend nature; but I plainly perceive that nature needs a supreme intelligence; and this reason alone would to me be a sufficient proof of a deity had I no other.

LUCRETIUS.

And what if this matter possessed intelligence of itself?

POSSIDONIUS.

It is plain to me that it does not possess it.

LUCRETIUS.

And to me it is plain that it does possess it, since I see bodies like you and me reason.

POSSIDONIUS.

If matter possesses, of itself, the faculty of thinking, you must affirm that it possesses it necessarily and independently: but if this property be essential to matter, it must have it at all times and in all places; for whatever is essential to a thing can never be separated from it. A bit of clay, and even the vilest excrement

ment would think ; but sure you will not say that dung thinks. Thought, therefore, is not an essential attribute of matter.

LUCRETIVS.

Your reasoning is a meer sophism. I hold motion to be essential to matter ; and yet this dung, or that piece of clay, are not actually in motion ; but they will be so when they are impelled by some other body. In like manner thought will not be an attribute of a body, except when that body is organized for thinking.

POSSIDONIUS.

Your error proceeds from this, that you always suppose the point in question. You do not reflect, that, in order to organize a body, to make it a man, to render it a thinking being, there must previously be thought, there must be a fixed design. But you cannot admit such a thing as design, before the only beings in this world, capable of design, are formed ; you cannot admit thought, before the only beings, capable of thinking, exist. You likewise suppose the point in question, when you say that motion is necessary to matter ; for what is absolutely necessary always exists, as extension, for instance, exists always and in every part of matter : but motion does not exist always. The pyramids of Egypt are not surely in motion. A subtle matter, perhaps, may penetrate between the stones which compose the pyramids ; but the body of the pyramid is immoveable. Motion, therefore, is not essential to matter, but is communicated to it by a foreign cause, in the same manner as thought is to men. Hence it follows, that there must be a power-

ful and intelligent being, who communicates motion, life, and thought to his creatures.

LUCRETIVS.

I can easily answer your objections, by saying, that there have always been motion and intelligence in the world. This motion and this intelligence have been distributed at all times, according to the laws of nature. Matter being eternal, it must necessarily have been in some order; but it could not be put into any order without thought and motion; and therefore thought and motion must have always been inherent in it.

POSSIDONIUS.

Do what you will, you can at best but make suppositions. You suppose an order; there must therefore have been some intelligent mind who formed this order. You suppose motion and thought before matter was in motion, and before there were men and thoughts. You must allow, that thought is not essential to matter, since you dare not say that a flint thinks. You can oppose nothing but a *perhaps* to the truth that presses hard upon you. You are sensible of the weakness of matter, and are forced to admit a supreme intelligent and almighty being, who organized matter and thinking beings. The designs of this superior intelligence shine forth in every part of nature, and you must perceive them as distinctly in a blade of grass, as in the course of the stars. Every thing is evidently directed to a certain end.

LUCRETIVS.

But do you not take for a design what is only a necessary existence? Do you not take
for

for an end what is no more than the use which we make of things that exist? The Argonautes built a ship to sail to Colchis. Will you say that the trees were created in order, that the Argonautes might build a ship, and that the sea was made to enable them to undertake their voyage? Men wear stockings: will you say that legs were made by the supreme being in order to be covered with stockings? No, doubtless; but the Argonautes, having seen wood, built a ship with it, and having learned that the water could carry a ship, they undertook their voyage. In the same manner, after an infinite number of forms and combinations which matter had assumed, it was found that the humours, and the transparent horn which compose the eye, and which were formerly separated in different parts of the body, were united in the head, and animals began to see. The organs of generation, dispersed before, were likewise collected, and took the form they now have; and then all kinds of procreation were conducted with regularity. The matter of the sun, which had been long diffused and scattered through the universe, was conglobated, and formed the luminary that enlightens our world. Is there any thing impossible in all this?

POSSIDONIUS.

In fact, you cannot surely be serious when you have recourse to such a system: for, in the first place, if you adopt this hypothesis, you must of course reject the eternal generations of which you have just now been talking: and, in the second place, you are mistaken with

regard to final causes. There are voluntary uses to which we apply the gifts of nature; and there are likewise necessary effects. The Argonauts needed not, unless they had pleased, have employed the trees of the forest to build a ship; but these trees were plainly destined to grow on the earth, and to produce fruits and leaves. We need not cover our legs with stockings; but the leg was evidently made to support the body, and to walk, the eyes to see, the ears to hear, and the parts of generation to perpetuate the species. If you consider that a star, placed at the distance of four or five hundred millions of leagues from us, sends forth rays of light, which make precisely the same angle in the eyes of every animal, and that, at that instant, all animals have the sensation of light, you must acknowledge that this is an instance of the most admirable mechanism and design. But is it not unreasonable to admit mechanism without a mechanic, a design without intelligence, and such designs without a Supreme Being?

LUCRETIIUS.

If I admit the Supreme Being, what form must I give him? Is he in one place? Is he out of all place? Is he in time or out of time? Does he fill the whole of space, or does he not fill it? Why did he make the world? What was his end in making it? Why form sensible and unhappy beings? Why moral and natural evil? On whatever side I turn my mind, every thing appears dark and incomprehensible.

POS-

POSSIDONIUS.

'Tis a necessary consequence of the existence of this Supreme Being that his nature should be incomprehensible; for, if he exists, there must be an infinite distance between him and us. We ought to believe that he is, without endeavouring to know what he is, or how he operates. Are you not obliged to admit asymptotes in geometry, without comprehending how it is possible for the same lines to be always approaching, and yet never to meet? Are there not many things as incomprehensible as demonstrable, in the properties of the circle? Confess, therefore, that you ought to admit what is incomprehensible, when the existence of that incomprehensible is proved.

LUCRETIUS.

What! must I renounce the dogmas of Epicurus?

POSSIDONIUS.

It is better to renounce Epicurus, than to abandon the dictates of reason.



The Second COLLOQUY.

LUCRETIUS.

I Begin to recognize a Supreme Being, inaccessible to our senses, and proved by our reason, who made the world, and preserves it; but with regard to what I have said of the soul,

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in my third book, which has been so much admired by all the learned men of Rome, I hardly think you can oblige me to alter my opinion.

POSSIDONIUS.

You say,

Idque situm media regione in pectoris hæret.

The mind is in the middle of the breast.

But, when you composed your beautiful verses, did you never make any effort of the head? When you speak of the orators Cicero and Mark Anthony, do you not say that they had good heads? And were you to say that they had good breasts, would not people imagine that you was talking of their voice and lungs?

LUCRETII.

Are you not convinced, from experience, that the feelings of joy, of sorrow, and of fear, are formed about the heart?

* *Hic exultat enim pavor ac metus; hæc loca circum
Lætitie mulcent.*

For there our passions live, our joy, our fear,
And hope. CREECH.

Do you not feel your heart dilate or contract itself on the hearing of good or bad news? Is it not possessed of some secret springs of a yielding and elastic quality? This, therefore, must be the seat of the soul.

POSSIDONIUS.

There are two nerves which proceed from the brain, pass through the heart and stomach, reach to the parts of generation, and communicate

nicate motion to them; but would you therefore say, that the human mind resides in the parts of generation?

LUCRETIVS.

No; I dare not say so. But though I should place the soul in the head, instead of placing it in the breast, my principles will still subsist: the soul will still be an infinitely subtle matter, resembling the elementary fire, that animates the whole machine.

POSSIDONIUS.

And why do you imagine that a subtle matter can have thoughts and sentiments of itself?

LUCRETIVS.

Because I experience it; because all the parts of my body, when touched, presently feel the impression; because this feeling is diffused thro' my whole machine; because it could not be diffused through it but by a matter of a very subtle nature, and of a very rapid motion; because I am a body, and one body cannot be affected but by another; because the interior part of my body could not be penetrated but by very small corpuscles; and, of consequence, my soul must be an assemblage of these corpuscles.

POSSIDONIUS.

We have already agreed, in our first colloquy, that it is extremely improbable that a rock could compose the Iliad. Will a ray of the sun be more capable of composing it? Suppose this ray an hundred thousand times more subtle and rapid than usual, will this light, or
this

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this tenuity of parts, produce thoughts and sentiments?

LUCRETIUS.

Perhaps they may, when placed in organs properly prepared.

POSSIDONIUS.

You are perpetually reduced to your *perhaps*. Fire, of itself, is no more capable of thinking than ice. Should I suppose that it is fire that thinks, perceives, and wills in you, you would then be forced to acknowledge, that it is not by its own virtue that it hath either will, thought, or perception.

LUCRETIUS.

No; these sensations will be produced not by its own virtue, but by the assemblage of the fire, and of my organs.

POSSIDONIUS.

How can you imagine that two bodies, neither of which can think apart, should be able to produce thought, when joined together?

LUCRETIUS.

In the same manner as a tree and earth, when taken separately, do not produce fruit; but do so, when the tree is planted in the earth.

POSSIDONIUS.

The comparison is only specious. This tree hath in it the seeds of fruit: we plainly perceive them in the buds, and the moisture of the earth unfolds the substance of these fruits. Fire, therefore, must possess in itself the seeds of thought, and the organs of the body serve only to develop these seeds.

LUCRE-

LUCRETIIUS.

And do you find any thing impossible in this?

POSSIDONIUS.

I find that this fire, this highly refined matter, is as devoid of the faculty of thinking as a stone. The production of a being must have something similar to that which produced it; but thought, will, and perception, have nothing similar to fiery matter.

LUCRETIIUS.

Two bodies, struck against each other, produce motion, and yet this motion has nothing similar to the two bodies; it has none of their three dimensions, nor has it any figure. A being, therefore, may have nothing similar to that which produced it; and, of consequence, thought may spring from an assemblage of two bodies which have no thought.

POSSIDONIUS.

This comparison likewise is more specious than just. I see nothing but matter in two bodies in motion: I only see bodies passing from one place to another. But when we reason together, I see no matter in your ideas, or in my own. I shall only observe, that I can no more conceive how one body has the power of moving another, than I can comprehend the manner of my having ideas. To me, both are equally inexplicable; and both equally prove the existence and the power of a Supreme Being, the author of thought and motion.

LUCRE-

LUCRETIIUS.

If our soul is not a subtile fire, an ethereal quintessence, what is it?

POSSIDONIUS.

Neither you nor I know aught of the matter. I will tell you plainly what it is not; but I cannot tell you what it actually is. I see that it is a power lodged in my body; that I did not give myself this power; and, of consequence, that it must have come from a Being superior to myself.

LUCRETIIUS.

You did not give yourself life: you received it from your father; from whom likewise, together with life, you received the faculty of thinking, as he had received both from his father, and so on backwards to infinity. You no more know the true principle of life, than you do that of thought. This succession of living and thinking beings hath always existed.

POSSIDONIUS.

I plainly see, that you are always obliged to abandon the system of Epicurus; and that you dare no longer maintain, that the declination of atoms produced thought. I have already, in our last colloquy, refuted the eternal succession of sensible and thinking beings. I shewed you, that, if there were material beings capable of thinking by their own power, thought must necessarily be an attribute essential to all matter; that, if matter thought necessarily, and by its own virtue, all matter must of course think: but this is not the case, and therefore it is impossible to maintain a succession of material beings,

beings, who, of themselves, possess the faculty of thinking.

LUCRETIIUS.

Notwithstanding this reasoning, which you repeat, it is certain that a father communicates a soul to his son, at the same time that he forms his body. This soul and this body grow together; they gradually acquire strength; they are subject to calamities, and to the infirmities of old age. The decay of our strength draws along with it that of our judgment: the effect, at last, ceases with the cause, and the soul vanishes like smoke into air.

*Præterea, gigni pariter cum corpore, & unâ
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.
Nam velet infirmo pueri, teneroque vagantur
Corpore, sic animi sequitur sententia tenuis.
Inde ubi robustis adolevit viribus ætas,
Consilium quoque majus, & auctior est animi vis.
Post ubi jam validis quassatum est viribus ævi
Corpus, & obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus:
Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaque, mensque;
Omnia deficiunt, atque uno tempore defunt,
Ergo dissolvi quoque convenit omnem animai
Naturam, ceu fumus in altæ aeris auras:
Quandoquidem gigni pariter, pariterque videmus
Crescere, & (ut docui) simul ævo fessa fatiscit.*

Besides, 'tis plain that souls are born, and grow;
And all by age decay, as bodies do:
To prove this truth; in infants, minds appear
Infirm, and tender as their bodies are:
In man, the mind is strong; when age prevails,
And the quick vigour of each member fails,
The

These, to be sure, are very fine verses ; but do you thereby inform me of the nature of the soul ?

No; I only give you its history, and I reason with probability.

Where is the probability of a father's communicating to his son the faculty of thinking?

Do you not daily see children resembling their fathers in their inclinations, as well as in their features?

But does not a father, in begetting his son, act as a blind agent? Does he pretend, when he enjoys his wife, to make a soul, or to make thoughts? Do either of them know the manner in which a child is formed in the mother's womb? Must we not, in this case, have recourse to a superior cause, as well as in all the other operations of nature which we have examined? Must you not see, if you are in earnest,

LUCRETIUS and POSSIDONIUS. 211

ness, that men give themselves nothing, but are under the hand of an absolute master?

LUCRETIUS.

If you know more of the matter than I do, tell me what the soul is.

POSSIDONIUS.

I do not pretend to know what it is more than you. Let us endeavour to enlighten each other. Tell me, first, what is vegetation?

LUCRETIUS.

It is an internal motion, that carries the moisture of the earth into plants, makes them grow, unfolds their fruits, expands their leaves, &c.

POSSIDONIUS.

Surely, you do not think that there is a being called *Vegetation* that performs these wonders!

LUCRETIUS.

Who ever thought so?

POSSIDONIUS.

From our former colloquy you ought to conclude, that the tree did not give vegetation to itself.

LUCRETIUS.

I am forced to allow it.

POSSIDONIUS.

Tell me next what life is.

LUCRETIUS.

It is vegetation joined with perception in an organized body.

POS-

POSSIDONIUS.

And is there not a being called life that gives perception to an organized body?

LUCRETIUS.

Doubtless, vegetation and life are words which signify things that live and vegetate.

POSSIDONIUS.

If a tree and an animal cannot give themselves life and vegetation, can you give yourself thoughts?

LUCRETIUS.

I think I can; for I think of whatever I please. My intention was to converse with you about metaphysics, and I have done so.

POSSIDONIUS.

You think that you are master of your ideas: do you know then what thoughts you will have in an hour, or in a quarter of an hour?

LUCRETIUS.

I must own that I do not.

POSSIDONIUS.

You frequently have ideas in your sleep; you make verses in a dream: Cæsar takes cities: I resolve problems; and hounds pursue the stag in their dreams. Ideas, therefore, come to us independently of our own will: they are given us by a Superior Being.

LUCRETIUS.

In what manner do you mean? Do you suppose that the Supreme Being is continually employed

ployed in communicating ideas; or that he created incorporeal substances, which were afterwards capable of forming ideas of themselves, sometimes with the assistance of the senses, and sometimes without it? Are these substances formed at the moment of the animal's conception? or are they formed before its conception? Do they wait for bodies, in order to insinuate themselves into them? or are they not lodged there till the animal is capable of receiving them? Or, in fine, is it in the Supreme Being that every animated being sees the ideas of things? What is your opinion?

POSSIDONIUS.

When you tell me how our will produces an instantaneous motion in our bodies, how your arm obeys your will, how we receive life, how food digests in the stomach, and how corn is transformed into blood, I will then tell you how we have ideas. With regard to all these particulars, I frankly confess my ignorance. The world, perhaps, may one day obtain new lights; but from the time of Thales to the present age, we have not had any. All we can do is to be sensible of our own weakness, to acknowledge an Almighty Being, and to be upon our guard against these systems.

OF LANGUAGES.

THERE is no language absolutely perfect; none that can express all our ideas and all our sensations, the nice and delicate distinctions of which are too numerous and too imperceptible. No man can make known the precise degree of feeling which he has in his own breast. We are obliged, for instance, to distinguish by the general name of love and hatred, a thousand different kinds of love and hatred: and the case is the same with all our pains and pleasures. Thus all languages are, like ourselves, imperfect.

They have all been formed successively, and by degrees, according to our several wants and necessities; the first grammars were insensibly formed by that instinct which is common to all men. The Laplanders and the negroes, as well as the Greeks, had occasion to express the past, the present, and the future; and they did so. But as no language was ever formed by an assembly of logicians, none, of consequence, has ever arrived at a perfect and regular plan.

All words in all possible tongues are necessarily the pictures of our sensations. Men can never express what they do not feel. Thus all languages are become metaphorical, and all tend to enlighten the mind: the heart burns, the judgment sees, compounds, unites, divides, wanders, collects itself, and is dissipated.

All nations have agreed to give the name of breath or spirit to the human soul or understanding, whose effects they perceive without

seeing its substance, after having given the name of breath, wind, or spirit, to the motion of the air, whose substance they can no more discern.

Among all nations infinite hath ever been a negation of finite; and immensity a negation of measure. It is evident that all languages have sprung from our five senses, as well as all our ideas.

The least imperfect are like the laws; those which are least arbitrary are the best.

The most perfect languages must necessarily be such, as are spoken by those nations, who have cultivated the polite and the social arts with the greatest industry and success. Thus the Hebrew, like the people who spoke it, must necessarily be one of the poorest tongues in the universe. How could the Jews, who, before the time of Solomon, had not a single boat; how could they have any sea-terms? How could they have any terms of philosophy, who were plunged in a state of the most profound ignorance, till they began to learn something in their Babylonish captivity? The Phœnician tongue, from which the Jews borrowed their jargon, must have been greatly superior, as it was the language of a rich, industrious, and commercial people diffused throughout the universe.

The most ancient tongue we know must be the language of that nation which was most anciently formed into a political body. It must further be the language of that nation which has been least frequently subdued; or, when it has been subdued, has always civilized its conquerors. And in both these respects the
Chinese

Chinese and the Arabic are the most ancient of all the modern languages.

There is no mother tongue. All the neighbouring nations have mutually borrowed from each other; but we have given the name of mother-tongue to those languages, from which some known idioms are derived. The Latin, for instance, is the mother-tongue to the Italian, the Spanish, and the French. But the Latin itself was derived from the Tuscan; and the Tuscan from the Celtic and the Greek.

The most beautiful language must certainly be that which is, at once, the most compleat, the most sonorous, the most various in its expressions, and the most regular in its composition; that which has the greatest number of compound words, which by its prosody most happily expresses the slow or impetuous motions of the soul, and approaches the nearest to musick.

The Greek hath all these advantages; and is free from the harshness of the Latin, in which there are so many words that end in *um*, *ur*, and *us*. It hath all the pomp of the Spanish, and all the sweetness of the Italian. And it excels all the living languages in the harmony of its expression, owing to its great variety of long and short syllables: so that, disguised as it now is in Greece, it may still be considered as the finest language in the universe.

The most beautiful language cannot be the most generally used, when the people who speak it are oppressed with slavery, few in number, deprived of all commerce with other nations, and when these other nations have improved their

native tongues. Thus the Greek must be confined within narrower bounds than the Arabic, or even than the Turkish language.

Of all the European languages the French must be the most general, because it is the best adapted to conversation. It has taken its character from that of the people who speak it.

Of all nations in the world the French have, for almost these three hundred and fifty years past, most industriously cultivated the arts of social life : they were the first that freed it from all manner of constraint ; they were the first among whom the women became free and even sovereign, while in other countries they were no better than slaves. The syntax of this tongue, which is always uniform, and admits of no inversions, is another advantage which hardly any other tongue possesses. In a word, the French language is a more current coin than others, though it should even happen to want weight. The prodigious number of agreeably frivolous books which France has produced, is a fresh reason of that favourable reception which its language has met with in other nations.

Books of science will never make a language general. People will translate these books : they will study the philosophy of Newton ; but they will not learn the English, in order to understand him.

Another circumstance that renders the French language more common than any other, is the perfection to which our theatre has been carried. It is to a *Cinna*, a *Phedra*, and a *Misanthrope*, that it owes its reputation, and not to the conquests of Lewis XIV.

It is neither so smooth and copious as the Italian, so majestic as the Spanish, nor so nervous as the English; and yet it has made a greater figure in the world than these three languages; owing to this circumstance alone, that it is fitter for conversation, and that there are a greater number of agreeable books in it than in any other tongue. In a word, it has succeeded like the French cooks, because it has more happily flattered the general taste.

The same spirit that hath led other nations to imitate the French in their furniture, the distribution of their rooms, their gardens, their dances, and every other graceful accomplishment, hath likewise led them to speak their language. The great art of good French writers is precisely the same with that of the French women, who set themselves off to better advantage than the other women of Europe, and without being more beautiful in reality appear to be so by the elegance of their dress, and by that charming behaviour, at once so noble and simple, which they assume and support with so much ease and freedom.

It is by the arts of polishing and refining, that this language has at last banished all traces of its ancient barbarity. Every thing would show this barbarity to any one who would examine the matter with attention. He would find that the number *vingt* comes from *viginti*; and that we formerly pronounced the *g* and the *t* with that harshness which is natural to all the northern nations. From the month of *Augustus* is derived the month of *August*.

It is not long since a German prince, supposing that the word *Augustus* was never pronounced otherwise in France, called Augustus king of Poland, king *Aoust*.

From *Pavo* we form *Paon*. We once pronounced it like *Phaon*, and we now say *Pan*.

From *Lupus* is derived *Loup*, and we formerly sounded the *p* with a most disagreeable roughness. All the letters which we have since suppressed in pronouncing, but retained in writing, are proofs of the barbarity of our ancient customs.

We did not begin to soften our language till we had softened our manners. It was rude and unpolished till Francis I. called the ladies to court. One might as well have talked the ancient Celtic as the French in the time of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. The German was not more harsh and unmusical. All the imperfect tenses had a hideous sound: every syllable was pronounced in *aimoient*, *faisoient*, *croyoient*, they said *croy-oi-ent*. This was the croaking of ravens, as the emperor Julian said of the ancient Celtic, rather than the language of men:

It required whole ages to wipe off this rust. The imperfections that still remain would be intolerable, were it not for the pains we constantly take to shun them, as a skilful rider shuns the stones on the road.

Good writers take care to combat those vicious expressions, which are first brought into vogue by the ignorance of the people, and being afterwards adopted by bad authors, pass into the gazettes and public writings. Thus from the Italian word *celata*, which signifies *elmo*,

casque, *armet*, the French soldiers in Italy have formed the word *salade*; so that when we say, *il a pris sa salade*, we do not know whether the person mentioned has taken his helmet or his lettuce. The writers of the gazettes have translated the word *ridotto* by *redoute*, which signifies a kind of fortification; but a man that knows the language will always preserve the word *assemblée*. Roast-beef in English signifies *bœuf-roti*; and our inn-keepers now talk to us of the roast-beef of mutton. Riding-coat means *un habit de cheval*: from thence we have formed *redingotte*; and the people take it for an old word of our own language. Men of letters have been obliged to adopt this word as well as the people, because it signifies a thing adapted to a particular custom.

The populace subdues the court, if we may use the expression, in fixing the terms of arts and trades, and things absolutely necessary, as well as in matters of religion. Those who treat the vulgar with the greatest contempt are yet obliged to speak, and even to think, in appearance like them.

It is no argument of bad language to call things by those names which the mob has given them; but one may easily discover the superior ingenuity of one nation above another by the propriety of the names they give to every thing.

It is only for want of imagination, that people apply the same expression to an hundred different ideas. It argues a ridiculous barrenness of invention, not to be able to express otherwise, *un bras de mer*, *un bras de balance*, *un bras de fauteuil*. It shews a great poverty

verty of genius to say equally *la tête d'un clou*, and *la tête d'un armée*. We every where find the word *cu*, and always improperly applied. A street without a thoroughfare bears no resemblance to a *cu de sac*; a plain man would have called these kinds of streets, *des impasses*; the populace have called them *cus*, and queens have been obliged to call them so likewise. The bottom of an artichok, and the point that terminates the lower part of a lamp, have no more resemblance to a *cu*, than these streets without a passage: and yet we always say, *cu de artichaud*, and *cu de lampe*, because the people that formed the language were then rude and unpolished. The Italians, who had a better right than we to employ this expression, have taken care to refrain from it. The people of Italy, naturally more ingenious than their neighbours, have formed a language much more copious than ours.

The cry of every animal should have a particular term to express it. It discovers a shameful poverty of language to want distinct expressions for the chirping of a bird, and for the cry of a child; and to call things so different by the same name. The word *vagissement*, derived from the Latin *vagitus*, might very well have expressed the cry of infants in the cradle.

Ignorance hath introduced another custom into all the modern languages. There are thousands of words that no longer signify what they ought to signify. *Idiot* formerly meant *solitaire*; now it means *st*. *Epiphanie* signified *superficie*; at present it is the twelfth-day. *Baptiser* is to plunge in water; we say to baptize by the name of John or James.

To these defects of almost all languages may be added some barbarous irregularities. *Garçon*, *courtisan*, *coureur*, are decent words; *garce*, *courtisane*, *coureuse*, are indecent. *Venus* is a charming word, *venérien* is abominable.

Another effect of the irregularity of those languages which were composed at random, in times of ignorance and barbarity, is the great number of compound words whose simples no longer exist. These are children that have lost their father. We have *architrayes*, but no *traves*; *architectes*, but no *tectes*; *soubassements*, but no *bassements*. There are things *ineffables*, but none *effables*. One may be *intrepide*, but none *trepide*; *impotent*, but not *potent*. A fund is *inepuisable*, but cannot be *puisable*. There are people *impudents* and *insolents*; but none *rudents*, or *solents*. *Nonchalant* signifies *paref-seux*, and *chaland* a *chapman*.

These defects are to be found, in a greater or less degree, in all languages: these are wild and uncultivated lands from which the hand of a skilful artist can derive great advantage.

There are daily gliding into languages other faults which mark the genius of a people. In France new modes are introduced into our manner of expression, as well as into head-dresses. If a patient or a physician of fashion take it into his head to say that he hath a *soupçon* of a fever, to signify that he hath a slight touch of it, in a moment the whole nation shall have *soupçons* of a cholic, *soupçons* of hatred, love, and ridicule. The preachers tell you from the pulpit, that you ought at least to have a *soupçon* of love to God. In a few months this mode is laid aside to make room for another.

Vis-

Vis-a-vis is every where introduced. You find people in all companies *vis-a-vis* their inclinations and their interest. The courtiers are well or ill *vis-a-vis* the king. The ministers are embarrassed *vis-a-vis* themselves. The parliament in a body inform the nation that they have been the defenders of the laws *vis-a-vis* the archbishop. And the clergy are *vis-a-vis* the Deity in a state of perdition.

But what most corrupts the purity of a language, is not this transient mode of expression, with which we are soon disgusted; nor is it the frequent use of those solécisms which prevail in good company, and into which good authors never fall: it is the affectation of middling authors, to discourse of the most serious things in the stile of conversation. You may read in our new books of philosophy that we ought not to make *à pure perte les frais de penser*; that eclipses are *en droit d'effrayer le peuple*; that Epicurus had a body *à l'unison de son ame*; that *Clodius renvia sur Auguste*, and a thousand other expressions of the like nature, worthy of the lacquey of the *Precieuses ridicules*.

The stile of the king's orders and decrees pronounced in the courts of justice, is sufficient to shew the depth of barbarity from which we have but lately emerged. We laugh at the following expression in the comedy of the *Plaideurs*:

*Lequel Jérôme après plusieurs rebellions
Aurait atteint, frappé, moi sergent à la joue.*

Yet it happens unluckily that the compilers of our gazetteers and journals have fallen into the same inconsistency; and you read in the

lic papers; *On a appris que la flotte aurait mis à la voile le 7 Mars, & qu'elle aurait double les Sorlingues.*

Every thing conspires to corrupt a language that is once become somewhat general; the authors, who vitiate its stile by affectation; those who write in a foreign country, and who almost always intermix foreign expressions with their native tongue; the merchants who introduce into conversation the terms of the counting-house, and who tell you that England arms the fleet, but that *per contra* France equips vessels; and the wits of foreign countries, who, ignorant of the idiom of the language, tell you that a young prince has been very well *éduqué*, instead of saying that he has received a good education.

But though all languages be imperfect, it does not from thence follow that we ought to change them. We ought inwardly to adhere to that manner of expression which has been used by good authors; and when there is a sufficient number of approved authors, the language is then fixed. Thus we cannot make any innovations in the Italian, the Spanish, the English, or the French, without corrupting them. And the reason is plain; for we should by this means, soon render unintelligible those books which, at once, contribute to the instruction and entertainment of the world.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

I.

PUFFENDORF, and those who write like him on the interests of princes, make almanacks, which are defective even for the current year, and which next year are absolutely good for nothing.

II.

Who would have said at the peace of Nimeguen, that Spain, Mexico, Peru, Naples, Sicily, and Parma, would one day belong to the house of France?

III.

Could any one foresee at the time that Charles XII. governed Sweden with despotic sway, that his successors would have no more authority than the kings of Poland?

IV.

The kings of Denmark were doges about a century ago; at present they are absolute.

V.

The Russians in former times, sold themselves like the Negroes; at present, they have such a high opinion of their own merit, that they will not admit foreign soldiers into their army, and

they reckon it a point of honour never to desert; but they must still employ foreign officers, because the nation has not yet acquired so much skill as courage, having only learned to obey.

VI.

Animals accustomed to the yoke offer themselves to it of their own accord. Some obscure compiler of the letters of queen Christina, has offered an insult to the common sense of mankind by justifying the murder of Monaldeschi, who was assassinated at Fontainebleau by order of a Swedish lady, under pretence that this lady had once been queen. None but the assassins employed by her could have had the impudence to alledge that that princess might lawfully do at Fontainebleau, what would have been a crime at Stockholm.

VII.

That government would be worthy of the Hottentots, in which a certain number of men should be allowed to say: "Those who labour ought to pay; we ought to pay nothing, because we are idle."

VIII.

That government would be an insult both on God and man, in which the citizens might say: "The state has given us all we possess; and we owe it nothing but prayers."

IX.

The more reason is improved, the more does it destroy the seeds of religious wars. It is the spirit of philosophy that has banished this plague from the earth.

X.

Were Luther and Calvin to return to the world, they would make no more noise than the Scotists and the Thomists. The reason is, they would appear in an age when men begin to be enlightened.

XI.

It is only in times of barbarity that we see forcerers, and people possessed by evil spirits, kings excommunicated, and subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance by doctors.

XII.

There is a convent in the world, entirely useless in every respect, which enjoys an income of two hundred thousand livres. Reason shews that if these two hundred thousand livres were given to an hundred officers who should marry, there would be an hundred useful citizens rewarded, an hundred young women provided for, and at least, four hundred persons more in the state at the end of ten years, instead of fifty sluggards. It further shews that if these fifty sluggards were restored to their country, they would cultivate the earth and people it; and that of course there would be more labourers and soldiers. This is what is wished for by every one, from the prince of the blood to the vine-dresser. Superstition alone opposed it formerly; but reason, acting in subordination to faith, ought to crush superstition.

XIII.

A prince with a single word can at least prevent young people from making vows before the age of twenty-five; and should any one say to

the sovereign, "What will become of young ladies of rank, whom we commonly sacrifice to the eldest sons of our families?" The prince may reply, "they will become what they are in Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, England, and Holland; they will produce citizens; they were born for propagation, and not to repeat Latin, which they do not understand. A woman that nourishes two children and spins, is more useful to the state than all the convents in the world."

XIV.

It is a great happiness both to the prince and the state, that there are a number of philosophers who impress these maxims on the minds of the people.

XV.

Philosophers having no particular interest, can only speak in favour of reason, and of the public good.

XVI.

Philosophers love religion; and are useful to kings by destroying superstition, which is always an enemy to princes.

XVII.

It was superstition that occasioned the assassination of Henry III. of Henry IV. of William prince of Orange, and of so many others. To it we ought to ascribe the rivers of blood that have been shed since the time of Constantine.

XVIII.

Superstition is the most dreadful enemy of the human kind. When it rules the prince it hinders him from consulting the good of his people; when

when it rules the people, it makes them rebel against their prince.

XIX.

There is not a single example in history of philosophers of opposing themselves to the laws of the prince. There never was an age in which superstition and enthusiasm did not occasion commotions that fill us with horror.

XX.

Liberty consists in depending upon the laws only. In this view every man is free in Sweden, England, Holland, Switzerland, Geneva, and Hamburg. The case is the same in Venice and Genoa; though in these two places, whoever does not belong to the body of the nobles is despised and contemned. But there are still many provinces, and large christian kingdoms, where the greatest part of the people are slaves.

XXI.

A time will come in these countries, when some prince more accomplished than his predecessors, will make the labourers of the land sensible, that it is not wholly for their interest, that a man, who has one horse, or several horses, that is, a nobleman, should have a right to kill a peasant, by laying ten crowns on his grave. Ten crowns, it is true, is a very considerable sum to a man born in a certain climate; but in process of time, people will have the sagacity to discover that it is of little use to a dead man. The commons then may possibly be admitted to a share in the administration; and the form of government, which prevails in England and Sweden, may perhaps be established in the neighbourhood of Turkey.

XXII.

XXII.

A citizen of Amsterdam is a man ; a citizen a few degrees of longitude from thence is a beast of burthen.

XXIII.

All men are born equal ; but a native of Morocco never dreams of such a truth.

XXIV.

This equality does not destroy subordination. As men, we are all equal : as members of society we are not. All natural rights belong equally to the Sultan and to a Bostangi. Both of them may dispose with the same freedom of their persons, their families, and their effects. Thus in things essential all men are equal, though they play different parts on the theatre of the world.

XXV.

People are always asking what is the best form of government. Put this question to a minister or to his deputy ; they will doubtless be for absolute power. Put it to a baron ; he would have the baronage to have a share in the legislative power. The bishops will say the same. The citizen would have you to consult reason, and the peasant would not wish to be forgot. The best government seems to be that in which all ranks of men are equally protected by the laws.

XXVI.

A republican is always more strongly attached to his own country than a subject is to his ; and for this good reason too, that men have a greater regard for their own property than for that of their master.

XXVII.

XXVII.

What is the love of our country? A compound of self-love and prejudice, which the good of society has exalted into the chief of the virtues. It is of great consequence that this vague word, "The public," should make a deep impression.

XXVIII.

When the lord of a castle, or the inhabitant of a city blame the exercise of absolute power, and complain of the oppression of the peasants, believe them not. Few people complain of evils which they do not feel. Besides, the citizens and gentlemen seldom hate the person of their sovereign, except in a civil war. What they hate is absolute power in the fourth or fifth hand; it is the anti-chamber of a deputy, or of a secretary of an intendant that occasions their murmurs: it is because they have received a rebuff from an insolent valet in the palace, that they groan in their desolate fields.

XXIX.

The English reproach the French with serving their masters chearfully. The following verses are the best that have ever been written in England on that subject.

- " A nation here I pity and admire;
- " Whom noblest sentiments of glory fire:
- " Yet taught by custom's force, and bigot fear,
- " To serve with pride, and boast the yoke
they bear:
- " Whose nobles born to cringe, and to command,
- " In courts a mean, in camps a generous
band, From

- " From priests and stock-jobbers content receive
 " Those laws their dreaded arms to Europe give :
 " Whose people vain in want, in bondage blest,
 " Though plundered gay, industrious though oppress'd,
 " With happy follies rise above their fate ;
 " The jest and envy of a wiser state."

In answer to all these declamations with which the English poetry, pamphlets, and sermons are filled, we may observe that it is very natural to love a house which hath reigned for near eight hundred years. Several foreigners, and among these some Englishmen, have come to settle in France, merely for the sake of living happily.

XXX.

A king who is never contradicted, can hardly be bad.

XXXI.

Some English peasants, who have never travelled farther than London, imagine that the king of France, when he has nothing else to do, sends for a president, and by way of amusement gives his estate to a valet of the wardrobe.

XXXII.

There are few countries in the world where the fortunes of individuals are more secure than in France. When count Maurice de Nassau was setting out from the Hague, in order to take upon him the command of the Dutch infantry, he asked me, if the French would confiscate the rents which he had a right to receive from the
 Town-

Town-House of Paris. "They will pay you," said I, "exactly on the same day with count Maurice de Saxe, who commands the French army:" and my prediction was literally fulfilled.

XXXIII.

Lewis XI. in the course of his reign sent about four thousand of his subjects to the gallows, because he was not absolute, and wanted to be so. Lewis XIV. after the affair of the duke de Lauzun did not banish a single courtier, because he was absolute. In the reign of Charles II. more than fifty persons of consequence lost their heads at London.

XXXIV.

In the reign of Lewis XIII. there was not a single year passed without some faction or other. Lewis the Just, began by causing his prime minister to be assassinated. He suffered the cardinal de Richlieu, who was more cruel than himself, to bathe the scaffolds with blood.

Cardinal Mazarin, though placed in the same circumstances, did not put a single person to death. A foreigner as he was, he could not have supported himself by acts of cruelty. If Richlieu had had no factions to contend with, he would have raised the kingdom to the highest pitch of grandeur, because his cruelty, which proceeded from the haughtiness of his temper, having no object to employ it, would have suffered the natural greatness of his soul to operate in its full extent.

XXXV.

In a book full of profound reflexions, and ingenious flights of fancy, despotism is reckoned among the natural forms of government.

The

The author, who was a great wit, surely meant to rally.

There is no government naturally despotic. There is no country in the world, where the people say to one man, "Sir, we give your sacred majesty the power of taking our wives, our children, our goods, and our lives, and of causing us to be empaed according to your good pleasure, and your adorable caprice."

The grand Turk swears on the Alcoran to observe the laws. He cannot put any one to death without a decree of the Divan, and a Fetfa of the Muphti. He is so little despotic, that he can neither change the value of money, nor break the Janissaries. It is not true, that he is master of the effects of his subjects. He bestows lands, which are called, "Timariots," in the same manner as fiefs were formerly bestowed.

XXXVI.

Despotism is the abuse of monarchy, as anarchy is the abuse of a republican form of government. A Sultan who without the forms, and in violation of the laws of justice, imprison, or murders his subjects, is a public robber, dignified with the title of your highness.

XXXVII.

A modern author says, there is more virtue in republicks, and more honour in monarchies.

Honour is the desire of being honoured. To be a man of honour is to do nothing unworthy of honour. We cannot say of a recluse that he is a man of honour. That expression is applied to signify that degree of esteem which every member of society would have paid to his own person.

We

We must settle the meaning of terms, without which we shall soon be involved in such confusion, that we shall no longer be able to understand one another.

In the time of the Roman republic, this desire of being honoured with statues, crowns of laurel, and triumphs, rendered the Romans conquerors of the greatest part of the world. The spirit of honour was kept alive by the empty form of a ceremony, by a leaf of laurel or parsley.

But when the republic was abolished, this kind of honour was likewise extinguished.

XXXVIII.

A republic is not founded on virtue: it is founded on the ambition of every citizen, which checks the ambition of others; on pride restraining pride; and on the desire of ruling, which will not suffer another to rule. Hence are formed laws, which preserve as great an equality as possible. It is a society where the guests eat at the same table with an equal appetite, until a strong and voracious man comes, who takes all to himself, and leaves them only the crumbs.

XXXIX.

Little machines do not succeed in the main, because their operations are interrupted by the friction of the wheels. The case is the same with states. China cannot be governed like the republic of Lucca.

XL.

Calvinism and Lutheranism are in danger in Germany: that country is full of great bishopricks, sovereign abbacies, and canonries, all proper for making conversions. A protestant prince turns catholic in order to become a bishop, or king of a certain

country, as a princess does in order to get a husband.

XLI.

If ever the Romish religion regains its former ascendancy, it will be by the allurements of rich benefices, and by means of the monks. The monks are troops that are perpetually fighting; the Protestants have no troops.

XLII.

It is pretended that religions are made for climates. But Christianity hath long reigned in Asia. It began in Palestine, and it hath penetrated as far as Norway. The Englishman, who said that religions had their birth in Asia, their grave in England, reasoned much better.

LXIII.

It must be owned there are some ceremonies and mysteries, which cannot take place but in certain climates. People bathe in the Ganges at the new moons; but were they obliged to bathe in the Vistula in the month of January, this act of religion would not be long in force, &c.

LXIV.

It is alledged that Mahomet's law prohibiting the use of wine is a law of the climate of Arabia, because, in that country, wine would coagulate the blood, and water is refreshing. It would have been just as reasonable to have made an eleventh Commandment in Spain and Italy, enjoining the inhabitants to ply the bottle.

Mahomet did not forbid wine, because the Arabians loved water. It is said in the "Sonnet,"
that

that he forbad it, because he had been a witness of the shocking excesses which drunkenness occasioned.

LXV.

All religious laws are not the effect of the nature of the climate. To eat, standing, a boiled lamb with lettuce, and to throw the remainder of it into the fire ; not to eat a rabbit, because it has not a cloven foot, and because it chews the cud ; to sprinkle one's left ear with the blood of an animal : all these ceremonies have little connexion with the nature of the climate.

LXVI.

If Leo X. had permitted indulgences to be sold by the Augustin monks, who were wont to sell these kinds of merchandize, he would have had no Protestants. If Anne Boleyn had not been beautiful, England had still professed the Romish religion. To what was it owing that the Spaniards were not all Arians, and afterwards Mahometans ? To what was it owing that Carthage did not destroy Rome ?

LXVII.

From one event given to deduce all the events in the world is a fine problem ; but it belongs only to the Sovereign of the universe to solve it.

OF

OF THE
EMBELLISHMENTS
OF THE
CITY OF CACHEMIRE.

THE inhabitants of Cachemire are polite and fickle, employed in trifles as other people are in serious business, and live like children who know not the reason of the orders that are given them. They complain of every thing, comfort themselves with every thing, laugh at every thing, and forget every thing.

They had naturally no taste for the arts. The kingdom of Cachemire subsisted for more than thirteen hundred years, without having any good philosophers, good poets, tolerable architects, painters, or sculptors.. For the space of more than a thousand years they were so destitute of commerce and manufactures, that, when a marquis of Cachemire wanted some linen or a fine doublet, he was obliged to have recourse to a Jew or a Banian. At length, about the beginning of the last century, there arose in Cachemire a number of men who did not seem to be natives of the country, and who being thoroughly versed in the sciences of the Persians and Indians, carried reason and genius to the highest perfection. There luckily happened to reign, at the same time, a sultan, who encouraged these great men, and who, by the assistance of a good vizier, civilized, embellished, and enriched the kingdom.

dom. The Cachemirians receive all his favours with an air of pleasantry, and composed songs against the sultan, the minister, and the great men who enlightened them.

After this the arts languished in Cachemire. The fire which these heaven-inspired geniuses had kindled, was covered with ashes. Nature seemed to be exhausted. The glory of the arts in Cachemire consisted now in hardly any thing else than the management of the hands and heels. There were some persons of great agility, who had the art of putting one leg over another to the sound of musical instruments with surprizing gracefulness. There were others who invented every week an admirable fashion of adjusting a ribband. And, in fine, there were some excellent chymists, who, with the essence of ham, and other elixirs of the like nature, put whole families, in the space of a few years, into the hands of their physicians and creditors. By these fine arts the Cachemirians attained to the honour of furnishing modes, dancers, and cooks to almost all Asia.

Mean while, the people talked much of making the capital more commodious, more elegant, more wholesome, and more beautiful than it was. They talked of it much, but they did nothing. A philosopher of Indostan, who was remarkable for his public spirit, and who spoke his mind freely, however ineffectually, about every thing that related to the happiness of mankind, or the improvement of the arts, happened to pass through the capital of Cachemire, where he had a long conversation with one of the principal bostangis about the manner of giving the city all that it wanted. The bostangi agreed, that it was a shame for the Cachemirians not to have a grand
and

and magnificent temple, like that of Pekin or Agra; that it was a pity they had no large bazards, that is, market-places, and public magazines surrounded with columns, and serving, at once, for use and ornament. He acknowledged that the halls set apart for the public games were unworthy of a city of the fourth order; that he saw with indignation the most wretched houses upon the most beautiful bridges; and that the people wished in vain for squares, fountains, statues, and all the monuments that constitute the glory of a nation.

"Allow me," said the Indian philosopher, "to ask you a short question. Why do you not give yourselves all that you want?" "Oh!" said the bostangi, "we have not means sufficient for that purpose: it would cost too dear." "It would cost you nothing at all," said the philosopher. "We have already had that fine paradox proposed to us," replied the citizen; "but these are the schemes of a philosopher, that is, things excellent in theory, but ridiculous in practice. Our ears are stunned with these fine sentences." "But what answer," said the philosopher, "did you give to those who told you, that you wanted only a fixed resolution, and that it would cost the state of Cachemire nothing to adorn your capital, and to execute all the great undertakings necessary for that purpose." "We gave him no answer at all," said the bostangi, "we fell a laughing according to our custom, and never examined the proposal." "Well," said the philosopher, "laugh less, and think more; and I will demonstrate to you the truth of this paradox, which would make you happy, and which now alarms you so much." The Cachemirian, who

was a man of great politeness, bit his lips for fear he should burst out a laughing in the Indian's face; and they had the following conversation together.

The PHILOSOPHER.

What do you mean by riches?

The BOSTANGI.

A great deal of money.

The PHILOSOPHER.

You are mistaken. The inhabitants of South America had formerly more money than ever you will have; but as they wanted industry, they had none of those conveniencies which money can procure; and were actually in a state of poverty.

The BOSTANGI.

I understand you; you make riches to consist in the possession of a fertile country.

The PHILOSOPHER.

No: the Tartars of the Ukraine inhabit one of the finest countries in the world, and yet are in want of every thing. The wealth of a state is like all the talents that depend on art and nature. Thus riches consist in the soil and in the labour. The richest and the happiest people are those who cultivate the best soil with most industry; and the greatest gift that God hath given to mankind is the necessity of labouring.

The BOSTANGI.

Agreed; but in order to accomplish what we want, will require the labour of ten thousand men for ten years; and where shall we find wherewithal to pay them?

M

The

The PHILOSOPHER.

Have not you paid an hundred thousand soldiers during a war of ten years continuance?

The BOSTANGI.

True; and yet the state did not seem to be impoverished.

The PHILOSOPHER.

What! have you money to send an hundred thousand men to be killed, and yet want it to make ten thousand live?

The BOSTANGI.

The two cases are widely different: it costs much less to send a citizen to death, than to make him carve marble

The PHILOSOPHER.

You are still mistaken. Thirty thousand cavalry alone are more expensive than ten thousand artists; and the truth is, that neither the one nor the other are expensive when they are employed in the country. What did it cost the ancient Egyptians, think ye, to build their pyramids, and the Chinese to raise their great wall? Onions and rice. Was their country impoverished by having maintained laborious men instead of fattening sluggards?

The BOSTANGI.

You reduce me to a nonplus, and yet you do not convince me. Philosophy reasons, but custom acts.

The PHILOSOPHER.

Had men always followed this maxim, they would still be eating acorns, and would not know

know what is the full moon. In order to execute grand undertakings, nothing is necessary but a head and hands; with these we can accomplish every thing. You have fine stone, iron, brass, and timber; you want nothing but the will.

The BOSTANGI.

We have every thing. Nature has been very kind to us. But what enormous expences will it require to work so many materials!

The PHILOSOPHER.

I do not understand you. What expences do you mean? Your country produces wherewithal to feed and cloath all its inhabitants. You have all the materials under your feet. You have two hundred thousand idlers whom you may employ: nothing then remains but to make them labour, and to give them for their wages as much as may be sufficient to maintain and cloath them. I cannot see what expence it will be to the kingdom of Cachemire; for, surely, you will not pay any thing to the Chinese and the Persians for obliging your citizens to work.

The BOSTANGI.

What you say is very true; neither money nor provisions will go out of the kingdom.

The PHILOSOPHER.

Why don't you begin to work then this very day?

The BOSTANGI.

It is difficult to put such a great machine in motion.

The PHILOSOPHER.

How did you support a war which cost so much blood and treasure?

The BOSTANGI.

We made the possessors of lands and money contribute in exact proportion to their substance.

The PHILOSOPHER.

Well; if they contribute for the misery of mankind, will they give nothing for their happiness and glory? What! have you never, since you were first formed into a political body, found out the secret of obliging the rich to make the poor work? Are you still ignorant of the first principles of civil policy?

The BOSTANGI.

Though we should oblige the possessors of rice, lint, and cattle, to give meat and cloaths to the poor they employ in digging the earth, and carrying burdens, we should not be a whit the nearer our point. We must make all the artists labour who are employed the whole year in other business.

The PHILOSOPHER.

I have been told that there are about an hundred and twenty days in the year, on which the Cachemirians do not labour. Why do you not change the half of these idle days into days of labour? Why do you not employ, in raising your public edifices, the artists, who, for an hundred days, are entirely disengaged? Then would those, who now know nothing, and have only
two

two arms, soon acquire a habit of industry; you would soon form a nation of artists.

The BOSTANGI.

These days are devoted to drinking and debauchery; and from thence considerable sums are brought into the public treasury.

The PHILOSOPHER.

Your reason is admirable; but no money can come into the public treasury but by means of circulation: and will not labour produce a quicker circulation than debauchery, which is the parent of so many diseases? or can it really be the interest of a state that the people should be intoxicated for one third of the year?

This conversation lasted a long time. The bostangi, at last, acknowledged that the philosopher was in the right; and he was the first bostangi that was ever convinced by a philosopher. He promised to perform great things; but men never perform either all they intend, or all they are able to perform.

While the reasoner and the bostangi were engaged in these sublime speculations, there happened to pass by about twenty handsome two-legged animals with little cloaks thrown over long jackets, pointed caps on their heads, and hempen girdles about their loins. "These are jolly, well-made fellows," said the Indian; "how many of them have you in your country?" "About an hundred thousand of different kinds," said the bostangi, "excellent hands," said the philosopher, "for embellishing Cachemire! How should I like to see them handling the

spade, the trowel, and the plummet!" "And I likewise," said the bostangi; "but these men are too great saints to work." "What do they do then?" said the Indian. "They sing, they drink, and they digest," said the bostangi, "How extremely advantageous must that be to a state!" said the Indian. This conversation, though long, produced but little effect.

How

How far we ought to impose upon the PEOPLE.

IT is a question of great importance, however little regarded, how far the people, i. e. nine tenths of the human kind, ought to be treated like apes. The deceiving party have never examined this problem with sufficient care; and, for fear of being mistaken in the calculation, they have heaped up all the visionary notions they could in the heads of the party deceived.

The good people, who sometimes read Virgil, or the Provincial Letters, do not know that there are twenty times more copies of the Almanac of Liege and of the "Courier boiteux" printed, than of all the ancient and modern books together. No one, surely, has a greater veneration than myself for the illustrious authors of these Almanacs and their brethren. I know, that ever since the time of the ancient Chaldeans, there have been fixed and stated days for taking physic, paring our nails, giving battle, and cleaving wood. I know that the best part of the revenue of an illustrious academy consists in the sale of these kind of Almanacs. May I presume to ask, with all possible submission, and a becoming diffidence of my own judgment, what harm it would do to the world, were some powerful astrologer to assure the peasants and the good inhabitants of little villages, that they might safely pare their nails when they please, provided it be done with a good intention? The people, I shall be told, would not buy the Almanacs of

this new astrologer. On the contrary, I will venture to affirm, that there would be found among your great geniuses many who would make a merit in following this novelty. Should it be alledged that these geniuses would form factions, and kindle a civil war, I have nothing farther to say on the subject, but readily give up, for the sake of peace, my too dangerous opinion.

Every body knows the king of Boutan. He is one of the greatest princes in the universe. He tramples under his feet the thrones of the earth; and his shoes (if he has any) are provided with sceptres instead of buckles. He adores the devil, as is well known, and his example is followed by all his courtiers. He, one day, sent for a famous sculptor of my country, and ordered him to make a beautiful statue of Beelzebub. The sculptor succeeded to admiration. Never was there such a handsome devil. But, unhappily, our Praxiteles had only given five clutches to his animal, whereas the Boutaniers always gave him six. This capital blunder of the artist was aggravated, by the grandmaster of the ceremonies to the devil, with all the zeal of a man justly jealous of his master's rights, and of the sacred and immemorial custom of the kingdom of Boutan. He insisted that the sculptor should atone for his crime by the loss of his head. The sculptor replied, that his five clutches were exactly equal in weight to six ordinary clutches; and the king of Boutan, who was a prince of great clemency, granted him a pardon. From that time the people of Boutan were undeceived with regard to the devil's six clutches.

The same day his majesty needed to let blood. A surgeon of Gascony, who had come to his court

court in a ship belonging to our East-India company, was appointed to take from him five ounces of his precious blood. The astrologer of that quarter cried out, that the king would be in danger of losing his life, if he opened a vein while the heavens were in their present state. The Gascon might have told him, that the only question was about the state of the king's health; but he prudently waited a few minutes; and then taking an Almanac in his hand, "You was in the right, great man!" said he to the astrologer of the quarter, "the king would have died, had he been blooded at the instant you mention: the heavens have since changed their aspect; and now is the favourable moment." The astrologer assented to the truth of the surgeon's observation. The king was cured; and by degrees it became an established custom among the Boutaniers to bleed their kings whenever it was necessary.

A blustering Dominican at Rome said to an English philosopher, "You are a dog; you say it is the earth that turns round, never reflecting that Joshua made the sun to stand still." "Well! my reverend father," replied the other; "and since that time the sun hath been immoveable." The dog and the Dominican embraced each other; and even the Italians were, at last, convinced that the earth turns round.

An augur and a senator, in the time of Cæsar, lamented the declining state of the republic. "The times, indeed, are very bad," said the senator; "we have reason to tremble for the liberty of the Rome." "Ah!" said the augur, "that is not the greatest evil; the people now begin to lose the respect which they formerly

merly had for our order: we seem barely to be tolerated; we cease to be necessary. Some generals have the assurance to give battle without consulting us; and, to compleat our misfortunes, those who sell us the sacred pullets begin to reason; "Well, and why don't you reason likewise?" replied the senator, "and since the dealers in pullets in the time of Cæsar are more knowing than they were in the time of Numa, ought not you modern augurs to be better philosophers than those who lived in former ages?"

The

The Two COMFORTERS.

ONE day the great philosopher Citofile said to a woman who was disconsolate, and who had good reason to be so; "Madam, the queen of England, daughter to Henry IV. was as wretched as you: she was banished from her kingdoms; was in the utmost danger of losing her life in a storm at sea; and saw her royal spouse expire on a scaffold." "I am sorry for her," said the lady; and began again to lament her own misfortunes.

"But, said Citofile, remember the fate of Mary Stuart. She loved, but with a most chaste and virtuous affection, an excellent musician, who played admirably on the bass-viol. Her husband killed her musician before her face; and, in the sequel, her good friend and relation, queen Elizabeth, who called herself a virgin, caused her head to be cut off on a scaffold covered with black, after having confined her in prison for the space of eighteen years." "That was very cruel," replied the lady, and presently relapsed into her former melancholy.

"Perhaps," said the comforter, you have heard of the beautiful Joan of Naples, who was taken prisoner and strangled." "I have a confused remembrance of her story," said the afflicted lady.

"I must relate to you, added the other, the adventure of a sovereign princess, who, within my memory, was dethroned after supper, and who died in a desert island." "I know her whole history," replied the lady.

“ Well then, I will tell you what happened to another great princess whom I instructed in philosophy. She had a lover, as all great and beautiful princesses have : her father entered the chamber, and surprised the lover, whose countenance was all on fire, and his eyes sparkling like a carbuncle. The lady too had a very florid complexion. The father was so highly displeased with the young man’s countenance, that he gave him one of the most terrible blows that had ever been given in his province. The lover took a pair of tongs and broke the head of the father-in-law, who was cured with great difficulty, and still bears the mark of the wound. The lady in a fright leaped out of the window and dislocated her foot, in consequence of which she still halts, though possessed in other respects of a very handsome person. The lover was condemned to death for having broken the head of a great prince : you can easily judge in what a deplorable condition the princess must have been when her lover was led to the gallows. I have seen her long ago when she was in prison : she always talked to me of her own misfortunes.”

“ And why will you not allow me to think of mine ?” said the lady. “ Because, said the philosopher, you ought not to think of them ; and since so many great ladies have been so unfortunate, it ill becomes you to despair. Think on Hecuba ; think on Niobe.” “ Ah ! said the lady, had I lived in their time, or in that of so many beautiful princesses, and had you endeavoured to console them by a relation of my misfortunes, would they have listened to you, do you imagine ?”

Next.

Next day the philosopher lost his only son, and was like to have died with grief. The lady caused a catalogue to be drawn up of all the kings who had lost their children, and carried it to the philosopher. He read it; found it very exact; and wept nevertheless. Three months after they renewed their visits, and were surprised to find each other in such a gay and sprightly humour. They caused to be erected a beautiful statue to Time, with this inscription, TO HIM WHO COMFORTS.



On the PARADOX, That the SCIENCES have corrupted the Morals of Men.

“**T**Hank Heaven, said Timon to me yesterday, I have burnt all my books.”
 “What, all without exception!” “I have no objection to your burning the *Journal de Trevoux*, and the modern romances and new pieces: but what harm have Cicero and Virgil, Racine, Fontaine, Ariosto, Addison, and Pope, done to you?” “I have burnt them all, said he, they are the corrupters of mankind. Even the masters of geometry and arithmetic are monsters. The sciences are the most terrible scourge that ever came upon the earth; had it not been for them we should still have enjoyed the golden age. I renounce for ever your men of letters, and all those countries where the sciences are known. It is a shocking thing to live in cities where the people
 carry

carry in their pockets the measure of time in gold, where they send to China for little caterpillars to cloath themselves with their down; and where we hear an hundred musical instruments playing concerts, which ravish the ear, and lull the soul into a sweet repose. All this is shocking. It is evident that the Iroquois are the only virtuous people in the world; and even they must be far from Quebec, into which, I suspect, the damnable sciences of Europe are already introduced."

When Timon's choler had time to evaporate, I begged him to tell me, in cold blood, what had inspired him with such a strong aversion to learning. He frankly acknowledged that his indignation was originally owing to the conduct of certain persons, who make themselves the slaves of the booksellers, and who, from that petty state to which they are reduced by their incapacity to follow any honest profession, insult, in their monthly publications, the most respectable personages in Europe, in order to earn their wages. "You have reason to be offended, said I to him; but would you kill all the horses in a town because some of them are vicious and resty?"

I plainly saw that this man had begun by hating the abuse of the arts, and had come by degrees to hate the arts themselves. "You will allow, said he, that industry gives men new wants: these wants inflame the passions; and the passions prompt us to the commission of all manner of crimes. The abbé Suger governed the state with great prudence in the times of ignorance: but the cardinal de Richelieu, who was both a poet and a divine, caused
more

more heads to be cut off than he wrote bad dramatic performances. Hardly had he established the French academy, when the Cinq-mars, the de Thous, and the Marillacs were sent to the gallows. If Henry VIII. had never studied, he would not have sent two of his wives to the scaffold. Charles IX. would never have ordered the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had not his perceptor Amiot taught him to compose verses. Nor would the Catholics in Ireland have butchered between three and four thousand Protestant families, had they not been thoroughly versed in the summary of St. Thomas."

"You imagine then, said I, that Attila, Genserich, Odoacre, and the like monsters of cruelty, must have studied long in the universities." "Most undoubtedly, said he, and I am persuaded that they must have wrote a great deal, both in verse and prose, otherwise they would never have destroyed a part of the human kind. They must have carefully perused the casuistical writers, and the lax morality of the Jesuits, to calm those scruples of conscience which savage nature alone inspires. It is only by the force of genius and culture that people become wicked. Long live the dunces, since they are honest men." This opinion he confirmed by a variety of arguments sufficient to have gained the prize in an academy. I allowed him to go on with his harangue. We set out together for the country, where we were to sup; and as we proceeded on our journey, he cursed the barbarity of the arts, and I read Horace.

At the corner of a wood we were attacked by robbers, and cruelly stript of every thing. I
asked

asked these gentlemen in what university they had studied; and they owned they had never learned to read.

After having been thus robbed by these unlettered boors, we arrived, almost stark-naked, at the house where we were to sup: it belonged to one of the most learned men in Europe. Timon, according to his principles, expected to have his throat cut. He did not, however, meet with such bad treatment: the master gave us clothes and money, and entertained us with great hospitality; and after supper Timon called for pen and ink, to write against those who cultivate their genius.

ON TITLES OF HONOUR.

IN reading Horace, I have observed this verse in an epistle to Mæcenas: *Te dulcis amice revifam*; "I will see you again, my dear friend." This Mæcenas was the second person in the Roman empire; that is, he was a more considerable and a more powerful man than the greatest monarch now in Europe.

In reading Corneille I have remarked, that in a letter to the great Scuderi, governor of Notre Dame de la Garde, he thus expresses himself, when speaking of the cardinal de Richlieu; "The cardinal, your master and mine." This, perhaps, is the first time that such a compliment was paid to a minister, ever since there were ministers, kings, and flatterers in the world. The same Peter Corneille, the author of Cinna, humbly dedicates that play to the fleur de-Montauron, treasurer of Spain, whom he makes no scruple to compare to Augustus. I am sorry he did not call Montauron *Monseigneur*.

It is said that an old officer, who was but little acquainted with the forms of vanity, having wrote to the marquis de Louvois, *Monseigneur*, and received no answer, wrote to him *Monseigneur*, and still obtained none, because the minister had still the *Monsieur* at heart. At last he wrote to him, "To my God, to my God Louvois;" and began his letter with this address, "My God, my Creator." Does not all this prove, that the Romans were great and modest, and that we are little and vain?

"How

“How do you do, my dear friend?” said a duke to a gentleman: “At your service, my dear friend,” replied the other; and from that time his dear friend became his implacable enemy. A grandee of Portugal conversing with a grandee of Spain, always called him “Your Excellency.” The Castilian replied, “Your Civility, *Vuestra Merced*,” a complimentary title given to those who have no real one. The Portuguese, piqued at this affront, called the Spaniard, in his turn, “Your Civility;” and then the other gave him the title of “your Excellency.” At last the Portuguese, whose patience was quite exhausted, said to the other, “Why do you always give me the title of Civility, when I give you that of Excellency? And why do you call me your Excellency, when I give you the appellation of your Civility?” “Because,” replied the Castilian, with great humility, “all titles are equal to me, provided there be no equality between you and me.”

The vanity of titles was not introduced into the northern climates of Europe till the Romans became acquainted with the Asiatic sublimity. All the kings of Asia were, and still are, cousin-germans to the sun and moon. Their subjects dare not lay claim to this alliance; and the governor of a province, who styles himself the “Nutmeg of Consolation, and the Rose of Pleasure,” would be impaled, should he pretend to be related, in the most distant degree, to the sun or moon. Constantine, I think, was the first Roman emperor that burthened the christian humility with a string of pompous titles.

It

It is true, the title of God was given to the emperors before his time; but the word God had no such meaning then as we now affix to it. *Divus Augustus*, *Divus Trajanus*, meant no more than Saint Augustus, Saint Trajan. They thought the dignity of the Roman empire required, that the soul of its chief should go to heaven after death; and they frequently granted the title of *Saint*, or *Divus*, to the emperors, as an earnest of his future inheritance. It was nearly for the same reason, that the first patriarchs of the christian church were called "Your Holiness;" an appellation given them, to put them in mind of what they ought to be.

Some people will give themselves very humble titles, provided they are sure of receiving very honourable ones in return. An abbot, who calls himself friar, causes his monks to address him by the title of My Lord. The pope styles himself "the Servant of the Servants of God." A good priest of Holstein, one day, wrote to pope Pius IV. "To Pius IV. the Servant of the Servants of God:" but going afterwards to Rome, to prosecute his suit, the inquisition threw him into prison to teach him how to write.

Formerly none but the emperor had the title of Majesty: the other kings were called your Highness, your Serenity, your Grace. Lewis XI. was the first king of France that was distinguished by the appellation of Majesty; a title, in reality, as suitable to the dignity of a great hereditary kingdom as to an elective principality: but the title of Highness was given to the king of France long after his time, and

we have still some letters, written to Henry III. in which he is addressed by this designation. The states of Orleans would not allow queen Catherine of Medicis to be called Majesty. By degrees, however, this last denomination prevailed. The name is indifferent; the power only is not so. The German Chancery, always invariable in its noble customs, still pretend that all kings ought to be distinguished by no other title than that of Serenity. In the famous treaty of Westphalia, in which France and Sweden gave laws to the holy Roman empire, the plenipotentiaries of the emperor never presented any Latin memorials in which "his sacred imperial Majesty" did not treat with the "most serene kings of France and Sweden;" but the French and Swedes, on their part, did not fail to assert, that their "sacred Majesties of France and Sweden" had many causes of complaint against the "most serene emperor." At last all parties were made equal in the treaty. From that time the great sovereigns have been reckoned equal in the opinion of the people; and he that beats his neighbour is always sure to have the pre-eminence.

Philip II. was the first Majesty in Spain; for "the Serenity of Charles V." was exalted into Majesty only in virtue of his being emperor. The children of Philip II. were the first Highnesses, and they afterwards became Royal Highnesses. The duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. did not take the title of Royal Highness till 1631, and then the prince of Condé took the title of most Serene Highness, which the dukes of Vendome durst not assume.

The

The duke of Savoy had then the title of Royal Highness, and afterwards obtained that of Majesty. The grand duke of Florence did as much, and almost arrived at Majesty: and, in fine, the czar, who was only known in Europe by the name of grand duke, declared himself emperor, and has been acknowledged as such.

There were formerly but two marquisses in Germany, two in France, and two in Italy. The marquis of Brandenburg has become a king, and a great king; but French and Italian marquisses are somewhat of a different nature. Let an Italian citizen have the honour of giving a dinner to the legate of his province, and let the legate in drinking to him say, "My lord marquis, your health;" he and his sons are dubbed marquisses for ever. If a provincial in France, who has no other estate in his village than the fourth part of a small ruinous lordship, arrive at Paris, raise a small fortune, or have the appearance of having raised one, he intitles himself in his deeds, "High and mighty lord, marquis, or count;" and his son will be made by his notary, "Most high and most mighty lord;" and as this ridiculous ambition does no harm either to the government or to civil society, it is allowed to pass unnoticed. Some French lords boast of having German barons in their stables: some German lords say that they have French marquisses in their kitchens; and it is not long since a foreigner at Naples made his coachman a duke. In matters of this nature, custom is more powerful than the royal authority. If you are but little known

known at Paris, you may be a count or a marquis as long as you please; but if you are a man of the long robe, or a collector of the revenues, and if the king give you a real marquifate, you will not on that account be esteemed a marquis. The famous Samuel Barnard was more truly a count than five hundred of those counts whom we daily see, and who do not possess four arpens of land. The king erected his estate of Couber into a good earldom; and yet, if in a visit he had made himself known as count Barnard, the company would have burst out a laughing. The case is widely different in England. If the king gives a merchant the title of earl or baron, he presently receives from the whole nation the name which belongs to him. People of the first quality, and even the king himself, call him, my lord. It is the same in Italy. They have there a register of lords. The pope himself gives them this title. His physician is a lord; and no body finds fault with his dignity.

In France the *Monseigneur* is a terrible affair. A bishop, before the cardinal de Richelieu's time, was only "My most reverend father in God;" but when Richelieu was secretary of state, and still bishop of Luçon, his brethren, the bishops, in order to prevent their being obliged to give him this exclusive title of *Monseigneur*, which the secretaries of state began to assume, agreed to give it to themselves. This step met with no opposition from the public. But as it was a new title which the king had not granted to Bishops, they were still called in the edicts, declarations, decrees, and in every thing that proceeded from the court only

Seiurs; and the gentlemen of the council, in writing to a bishop, only called him *Monsieur*. The dukes and peers met with more difficulty in putting themselves in possession of *Monseigneur*. The grand nobility, and what is called the grand robe, flatly refused them this distinction. The highest triumph of human pride is to receive titles of honour from those who think themselves our equals; but it is difficult to arrive at this point; because we every where find that pride combats pride. When the dukes demanded the poor gentlemen to stile them *Monseigneur*, the presidents demanded the same from the advocates and procurators. We have known a president refuse to be let blood because the surgeon said to him, "Sir, in which arm would you have me to bleed you?" There was an old counsellor of the grand chamber who behaved with less ceremony. A pleader said to him, "My lord, the gentleman, your secretary—" The counsellor stopped him short, and said, "You have committed three blunders in three words; I am not a lord; my secretary is not a gentleman; he is my clerk."

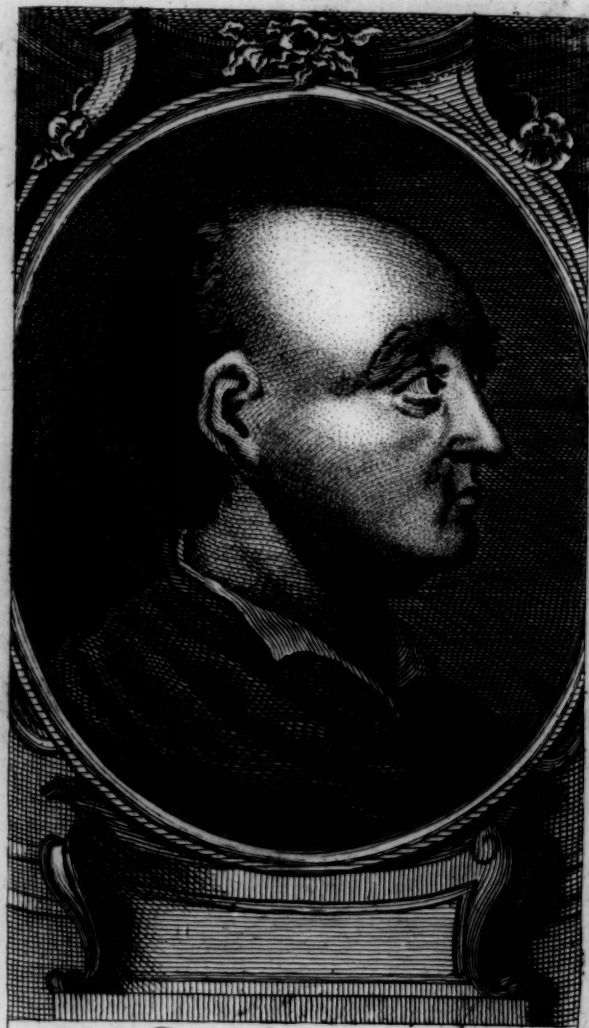
In order to terminate this grand dispute of vanity, all the men of the nation must one day become *Monseigneurs*, as all the women, who were formerly *Mademoiselle*, are now become *Madame*. When one Spanish beggar meets another, he says to him, "Seigneur, has your courtesy drank chocolate?" This polite manner of expression elevates the soul, and preserves the dignity of the species.

Cæsar and Pompey were called Cæsar and Pompey in the senate. But these men did not know

know how to live. They concluded their letters with *vale*, farewell.

We were, about sixty years ago, "Affectionate servants:" we are now become, "Most humble and most obedient;" and, "We have actually the honour to be so." I pity our posterity, who will find it difficult to make any addition to these pretty forms. The duke de Epernon, who exceeded all the Gascons in pride and haughtiness, but not in political abilities, wrote to the cardinal de Richelieu a little before his death, and concluded his letter with, "Your most humble and most obedient;" but recollecting that the cardinal had only given him, "Your most affectionate," he dispatched a messenger to bring back the letter, which was already sent off, and having happily recovered it, he wrote, "Your most affectionate," and thus died in the bed of honour.

END of the TWELFTH VOLUME.



D.^r Swift.

B. Kneller sculp.

THE *14 Ad*
WORKS
OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII.

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MCCCLXXIII.

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MISCELLANIES

I N

HISTORY, LITERATURE,
AND PHILOSOPHY.

OF CEREMONIES.

THE arm-chair, the easy-chair, the court-stool, the right and the left hand, have for several ages been considered as important objects of policy, and illustrious subjects for disputes. I fancy that the ancient ceremonial relating to arm-chairs, took its rise from our barbarous ancestors having but one of these chairs at most in a house, and that this was commonly appropriated to the use of any person who was sick. There are still several provinces in France, and counties in England, where the arm-chair is called a groaning-chair.

Long after the times of Attila and Dagobert, when luxury began to creep into courts, and that the great-ones of the earth had two or three arm-chairs in their mighty dungeons, it was esteemed a singular mark of distinction to sit on one of these thrones; and the master of a

castle took care to have preserved among the records of his family, that having been to pay his court to such a count, he had been received by him in an arm-chair.

We may read in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle, sister to Lewis XIV. that this august princess passed at least a fourth part of her life in mortal agonies, occasioned by disputes about easy chairs; and a whole court was taken up in caballing whether it was proper to sit on a chair or a stool in such or such a room, or whether to sit at all. At present our manners are more uniform; and ladies make use indifferently of couches or sophas, without the peace of society being disturbed.

When cardinal Richelieu was negotiating the marriage between Henrietta of France and Charles I. of England, with the ambassador of that nation, the affair was on the point of being broken off, on account of two or three steps nearer to a door that was claimed by the ambassador, till the Cardinal, to get over the mighty difficulty, received him in bed; and this precious anecdote has been carefully preserved in history. I am of opinion, that, if it had been proposed to Scipio to place himself at his length naked between two sheets to receive Hannibal's visit, he would have thought it a droll ceremony.

One coach going before another, and what is called taking the way in a street or a road, has also been a mark of grandeur, and occasioned claims, disputes, and petty combats, for a whole century together; and it was esteemed a signal victory for the equipage of one person to oblige that of another to yield the way.

When foreign ambassadors passed through a street, it was like disputing the prize in a circus; and if a Spanish minister made a Portuguese coachman back his horses, he immediately dispatched a courier post-haste to Madrid, to inform the king his master of the advantage he had gained.

In proportion as a nation is more or less barbarous, or the court weak or powerful, these ceremonies are more or less in vogue. True power and real politeness despise ostentation.

It is probable that we shall one time or other see an end to the ridiculous custom which still prevails among the ambassadors of some courts, to beggar themselves for the sake of going in procession through the streets with a number of hired coaches, vamped up and new gilt, and preceded by a croud of servants walking on foot. This is called making their entry; and it is pleasant enough to hear of a person making his entry into a city seven or eight months after his arrival.

The important affair of the *punctilio*, which constitutes the grandeur of the modern Romans; the theory of the number of paces to be made in conducting a signor to the door at his departure; of opening a curtain half way, or altogether; of taking the right or left hand of a person in a room; this noble art, I say, which would never have entered the heads of a Fabius or a Cato, begins now to give way; and the train-bearers to the cardinals lament, with tears in their eyes, that every thing seems to denounce a general lapse of these essential ceremonies.

4 FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES.

A French colonel happening to be at Brussels about a year ago, and not knowing how to spend his time, proposed going to the public assembly; one of his acquaintance told him it was held at the house of a princess. With all my heart, replied the officer; but what of that? Why, princes go there. Are you a prince? Pish, man! said he, they are very good kind of princes: last year, when we took the town, I had a dozen of them waiting in my anti-chamber; they are the civilest creatures breathing.



FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES.

FOLLY on both Sides is the true device of all disputants and their disputes. I do not speak here of those that have occasioned bloodshed. The ruin and devastation spread through all Westphalia by the Anabaptists; the wars excited in France by the Calvinists; the bloody factions of the Armagnacs* and the Burgundians; the punishment of the Maid of Orleans, whom one half of France revered as an heroine sent from heaven, and the other half detected as a vile sorceress; the petition of the Sorbonne to have her committed to the flames; the assassination of the duke of Orleans justified by the divines; a decree of the Sacred Faculty releasing subjects from their oath of allegiance; the

* The factions of Armagnac and Burgundy distinguished the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. of France, and contributed in a great measure to the success of the English in conquering the kingdom.

employing

employing of executioners to maintain tenets and opinions; the kindling of fires to burn unhappy wretches who were persuaded to own themselves magicians or heretics; all this surpassed folly: and here, by the way, let it be observed, that such execrable doings were the growth of the age of purity, and the effects of Germanic good faith and Gaulic simplicity; to which I refer those honest people who are perpetually regretting past times.

And here I propose, purely for my own edification, to draw up a short memorandum of the curious matters that employed the attention and divided the opinions of our ancestors.

In the eleventh century, that good time when we knew nothing of the art of war, though we were continually fighting, and were equally ignorant of police, trade, and the rules of society; when we knew neither how to read or write; people of great parts engaged in solemn, long, and even sharp disputes, concerning what passed in the privy closet at the performing a certain office, which decency requires to be spoken of with the greatest reserve. This was called the dispute of the Stercorists*; a dispute which did not excite a war indeed, and was therefore on that account the most sufferable of all the follies of the human mind.

The dispute about the Mosarabic version, which engaged the attention of the learned kingdom of Spain in the same century, terminated likewise without occasioning the desolation of provinces, or the effusion of blood.

* The sect of Stercorists were those who maintained, that part of the sacramental bread, when swallowed, was digested and converted to ordure.

6 FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES.

The spirit of chivalry, which reigned at that time, permitted no other method of clearing up this controversy, but by referring it to the decision of two noble knights; and him of the two Don Quixotes who first threw his adversary to the ground, was to establish that version of which he was the champion. Don Ruis de Martanza, knight of the Mosarabic ritual, unhorsed the Don Quixote of the Latin ritual; but as the laws of noble chivalry did not positively determine that a ritual was to be proscribed, because its knight was unhorsed, they had recourse to a more certain expedient (and which was then greatly in vogue) to determine which of the two books was to have the preference; and this was by throwing them both into the fire, when there was no doubt that the true ritual * would come out unhurt. But, I know not by what accident, they were both consumed, and the dispute remained undecided, to the great astonishment of the pious and learned Spaniards. By degrees the Latin ritual prevailed; and, if any knight had afterwards offered himself to defend the Mosarabic cause, the knight, and not the ritual, would have been thrown into the fire.

In these glorious times, we civilized people, when we were taken ill, were obliged to have recourse to an Arabian physician; and, if we wanted to know the age of the moon, we must apply to the Arabians; if we had occasion for

* It was in the papacy of Gregory VII. that the Roman service or Latin ritual was established in Leon and Castile, by the intrigues of Cardinal Hugo, surnamed the White, even after the preceding pope Alexander II. had declared, that the old Gothic liturgies were perfectly orthodox,

a piece of cloth, it was to be purchased of a Jew; and when a husbandman wanted rain, he addressed himself to a conjurer. But when, in process of time, we had learned Latin, and had gotten a miserable translation of Aristotle, we began to make a figure in the world, and for three or four hundred years employed ourselves in explaining a few pages of the Stagyræite, in worshipping them, and condemning them. Some have asserted, that but for him we had been destitute of the articles of faith; and others again as positively maintained that he was an Atheist. A Spaniard undertook to prove that Aristotle was a saint, and his nativity ought to be kept as a festival; a council in France condemned his divine writings to the flames; whole colleges, universities, and religious orders, have reciprocally anathematized each other on account of certain passages in this great man, which neither themselves, the judges who interposed their authority, nor the author himself, understood. Many fifty-cuffs were dealt on each side in Germany in consequence of those weighty disputes; but very little or no blood was shed. It is a little unlucky for Aristotle's fame that there was no civil war raised, nor any pitched battle fought, in favour of the *Quiddities*, and the *Whole of the Part of the Thing*. Our ancestors have cut each other's throats for controversies of as little signification.

It is true, indeed, that a very famous mad-man called Occam*, and surnamed the *Invincible Doctor*,

* William Occam, a native of England, was a Cordelier, who lived in the fourteenth century, and had been a disciple of Scot, whose doctrines he afterwards opposed. He was

8 FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES.

Doctor, the chief of those who maintained *the Whole of a Part of the Thought*, desired the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, to draw the sword of the empire in defence of his writings against one Scot, or *Scotus*, another madman, surnamed the *Subtile Doctor*, who stickled for *the Whole of the Part of the Thing*. Happily Lewis of Bavaria kept his sword in its scabbard. Who would imagine that these idle disputes should have continued even down to these later ages; and that the parliament of Paris, in 1614, issued a curious decree in favour of Aristotle?

Much about the time of the doughty Occam and his intrepid rival Scot, there arose a dispute of a more serious nature, in which the reverend fathers Cordeliers found means to engage the whole Christian world; namely, whether they had a right to the porridge * they eat, or were to be considered only as usufructuaries. The form of the cowl and the depth of the sleeve were also subjects of this holy war. Pope John XXII.

surnamed the *Invincible Doctor*, the *Singular Doctor*, and the *Venerable Preceptor*. He espoused the cause of Lewis of Bavaria, the declared enemy of the church of Rome; and used to say to that prince, "Defend me with your sword, " and I will support you with my pen." He was accused of having taught, that neither Christ nor his apostles had any possession, either in particular or in common. He wrote several tracts against the church of Rome, for which he was excommunicated; and the Protestants sometimes made use of his writings in their dispute with the papal see,

* The regulations of the Cordeliers not permitting them to have any possession of their own, pope Nicholas III. who had been of their order, resolved to enrich them without hurting their delicacy. With this view, he put them in possession of great estates, at the same time ordaining, that they should only have the use of those estates; but that the property of them should be vested in the church. This bull, however, was repealed by pope John XXII,

having

having interfered in these disputes, was soon made to know whom he had to deal with. The Cordeliers quitted him to side with Lewis of Bavaria, who then unsheathed his sword. At that time three or four of these reverend disputants were burnt as heretics. This was carrying the jest rather too far; but, however, as this affair neither overturned thrones nor ruined whole states, it may be ranked in the number of peaceable follies.

There has never been a want of these; but most of them have sunk in silent oblivion; and of four or five hundred sects that have, at different times, made their appearance, mankind retain the remembrance of such only which have produced either excessive disorders or excessive absurdities; two things which are easily remembered. Who recollects at present that there were Orebites, Osmites, or Insdorfians? or knows any thing of the Cornacians or the Iscariotists?

One day, that I dined with a Dutch lady, I was charitably cautioned by one of the company to take care how I acted, and not to speak in commendation of Voetius*. And pray why
this

* Gesbert Voet was, in the last century, a celebrated professor of theology in the university of Utrecht. He assisted at the synod of Dordrecht, and from that time became a zealous defender of Calvin's doctrines. He wrote virulently against Des Cartes, John Coccius, and Samuel Desmarets, which last did not fail to retort his abuse. John Henry Cocceius, or Cock, was a native of Bremen, and made such great progress in the Greek tongue, and in theology, that he was chosen professor of both at Francker, and afterwards removed to Leyden. He compiled a Hebrew dictionary, and wrote commentaries upon the Old Testament, which are tedious, diffused, and chimerical. He

10 FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES.

this caution? said I. Because, said my friendly adviser, the lady of the house is a Cocceian; adding, that there were still four of that sect in Holland, and that it would be a great unhappiness the race should become extinct. A time will come, when the Jansenists, who have made so much noise amongst us, and who are now hardly known, will share the same fate with the Cocceians. An old doctor said to me one day, Sir, in my younger days, I was a warm stickler for the *mandata impossibilia volentibus et conantibus*; I wrote against the formulary and the pope, and imagined myself a confessor; I was thrown into prison, and looked upon myself as a martyr. At present I meddle with nothing, and think myself reasonable. How do you employ yourself now? said I. Sir, replied he, I am very fond of money. In this manner do the greatest part of mankind, when they come to be old, laugh within themselves at the follies that they eagerly run after in their youth. Sects grow old, like men. Those which have not been supported by powerful princes, nor been the cause of great calamities, grow old sooner than others. They are epidemic disorders, which pass off like the sweating sickness, or the whooping cough.

We no longer hear of the pious reveries of a Madame Guion; we no longer read the unintelligible jargon of the *Maxims of Saints*, but in

pretends to have discovered many mystical meanings in the Scripture, which had escaped all former critics, and was indeed a visionary and enthusiast. Voetius and Desmarets called him an Innovator and Scripturarian; and, in a word, he was but scurvily treated by his Protestant brethren.

FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES. 11

its room Telemachus; we remember not the writings of the eloquent Bossuet against the soft, the elegant, the charming Fenelon, and only give the preference to his funeral orations. The whole of the controversy about what was called *Quietism*, was nothing but the second edition of the old story of the good woman who carried a chafing-dish of coals to set fire to heaven, and a pitcher of water to extinguish hell, that mankind might for the future serve God neither through fear nor hope. I shall only observe one singular circumstance in this affair, that fell short of the story of the good woman, which is, that the Jesuits, who were so violently accused by the Jansenists as a body instituted by St. Ignatius on purpose to destroy the love of God, solicited the court of Rome in favour of the archbishop of Cambray's favourite tenet of true love. The same thing happened to him as did to Mr. de Langeais, who had an action brought against him in the parliament of Paris, by his wife, for impotency, and another in that of Rennes by a young girl, for having got her with child. One would think he must have been cleared upon one or other of the two indictments, and yet he was cast in both. The doctrine of pure love, for which the Jesuits bestirred themselves so violently, was condemned at Rome, and they themselves passed with all Paris for persons who wanted to abolish the love of God. This opinion was so rooted in all minds, that some years ago, when they published for sale a copper-plate representing our Saviour in the dress of a Jesuit, an arch wag (undoubtedly the *Louistick* of the Jansenists party) wrote these line underneath:

12 FOLLY ON BOTH SIDES.

*Admirez l'artifice extrême
De ces peres ingénieux ;
Ils vous ont habillé comme eux,
Mon Dieu, de peur qu'on ne vous aime.*

“ How admirable is the artifice of these ingenious Fathers ! They have dressed our God like themselves, for fear we should be tempted to love him.”

At Rome, which is never perplexed with disputes of this kind, and to whose tribunal all those of other places are referred, they soon began to grow weary of the controversies about pure love. Cardinal Carpegne, who was one of the council in the archbishop of Cambray's affair, happened to be afflicted with a grievous disorder in a certain part that is not more exempt from pains and maladies in a cardinal than in those of a less sacred character. His surgeon one day dressing him with some tents made of a fine cloth they call *Cambray** in Italy, as well as in many other parts, and putting him to some pain, his eminence roared out. Sure, said the surgeon, it cannot hurt your eminency ; it is soft Cambray. How ! replied the cardinal, is Cambray got there too ? Is it not enough that he has already almost turned my head ? Happy the controversies that end in this manner ; happy for mankind if all the disputants and arch-heretics in the universe had submitted with the same moderation and magnanimous compliance as the great archbishop of Cambray, who of all mankind had the least inclination to be the leader of an heresy. I know not whe-

* What we call cambrick. The difference of the termination in English will not allow us to preserve the whole force of the play in the word that is in the French,

ther he was right in wanting us to love God purely for his own sake; but I am certain this amiable prelate highly merited to be loved in that manner.

In controversies that are merely literary, there is often as much rancour and party spirit as in disputes of the most interesting nature to mankind. If it was possible, we should see the factions of the circus revived amongst us, that for so long a time distracted the Roman empire. Two rival actresses are capable of setting a whole city by the ears. Mankind have in general a secret disposition to faction and party; and if they cannot cabal against, persecute, or destroy each other, for crowns, tiaras, or mitres, they will fall out about a fidler or a dancer. Rameau has had a violent party against him, who did all in their power to ruin him; but he knew nothing of it. I myself have had a party still more violent against me, and I was very sensible of it.

MEMNON;

M E M N O N ;

O R,

H U M A N W I S D O M.

ONE day Memnon formed the mad project to be perfectly wise. Few men have not, at at one time or other, been infected with this folly. Memnon argued thus with himself: To be very wise, and consequently very happy, nothing more is necessary than to divest one's self of the passions, and every one knows this is easily done. In the first place, I will never love any woman; for, when I behold a perfect beauty, I will say to myself, Those blooming cheeks will one day be furrowed with wrinkles; those lively eyes sore and red with galling rheum; those swelling breasts, whose roundness is now so inviting to the touch, will become lank and shrivelled; those charming tresses grey and few in number; therefore I have nothing more to do than to look upon these charms now with the same eyes as I should then, and assuredly they can never cause me any emotions.

In the second place, I will be always sober. If at any time I am tempted by excellent cheer, delicious wines, or the charms of society, I shall have only to represent to myself the consequences of a debauch; such as an aching head, an over-loaded stomach, and the loss of reason, health, and time. I shall then eat and drink
only

only to satisfy nature; I shall always enjoy an equal state of health; my ideas will be always pure and bright. All this is so easy, that there is no merit in attaining to it.

In the next place, said Memnon, continuing his soliloquy, I must think a little of my fortune. My desires are very moderate; my estate is well secured in the funds of Niniveh; I have enough to live independent, and that alone is a treasure. I shall never be under the disagreeable necessity of dancing attendance at courts; I shall envy no one, nor will any one ever envy me. Is there any difficulty in this? I have friends too; those I shall preserve, because I will never give them any occasion to quarrel with me; for I will shew no ill humour to them, nor they to me. How easy is all this?

Having thus planned his little scheme of wisdom in his own room, Memnon put his head out of the window to look about him. He saw two women walking under the shade of the plantanes before his house. The one was old, and seemed to think of nothing; the other young, handsome, and apparently buried in thought: she wept, she sighed, and this air of sorrow added to her charms. Our sage was touched, not with the beauty of the lady (for he was very certain he could not be susceptible of such a weakness), but with the affliction he saw her in. He descended into the street, and accosted the fair Ninevite with an intention to comfort her by his wisdom. This charming creature related to him in the most simple, yet pathetic manner, how an uncle, which she had never had, by a thousand villanies, artifices, and stratagems, had robbed her of an estate,
which

which she never possessed; and that she had every thing to dread from his cruelty and oppression. You appear to me, said she, to be a person of so much wisdom and prudence, that if you will only be so obliging to go home with me to examine my affairs, I am certain you will be able to extricate me out of all my present difficulties. Memnon followed her without the least hesitation, in order to examine her affairs according to the rules of wisdom, and he gave her prudent counsel.

The afflicted lady led him into an apartment where the richest perfumes were burning, and very politely made him sit down by her on a sofa, where they continued for some time, with their legs across, facing each other. The lady, while she was talking, kept her eyes fixed on the ground, and every now and then a tear stole down her cheeks: sometimes she would gently lift them up, and then they always met those of the wise Memnon. Their conversation was full of a melting softness that increased every time they looked at each other. Memnon interested himself warmly in her affairs, and every instant felt a stronger desire to oblige a person, who was at once so perfectly well bred, and so unfortunate. Carried away by the warmth of the conversation, they insensibly altered their positions; they were no longer over against each other. Memnon plied his counsel so close, and gave her such tender advice, that at length they both forgot the business they were talking about, and were left to the world and themselves.

While they were in this critical situation, in comes the uncle, as may easily be supposed. He

was

was armed cap-a-pié; and the first word he uttered was, that he would cut Memnon's and his niece's throat, as to be sure he had great reason to do; and concluded with observing, that he might be prevailed on to spare their lives, in consideration of a round sum of money. Memnon found himself obliged to part with all he had about him. People were happy in those times to get so well out of these sort of adventures. America was not then discovered, and afflicted ladies were not then half so dangerous as they are at present.

Memnon, overwhelmed with confusion and despair, returned home, where he found a letter from one of his most intimate friends to invite him to dinner. If I remain alone, said he to himself, I shall have my mind so occupied with my unhappy adventure, that I shall not be able to eat a morsel, and may fall ill. It will be better to go and take a frugal repast with my friends; their agreeable society will make me forget the folly I have been guilty of this morning. Accordingly to the rendezvous he goes: his friends find him melancholy: they urge him to drink, to drive away care. A little wine, taken in moderation, is an exhilarator of the spirits, and a strengthener of the faculties. Thus thought the wise Memnon, and he got drunk. After dinner, it was proposed to set down to play. Play within proper bounds, and among friends, is an agreeable and harmless recreation. He plays, he loses all his ready money, and four times as much upon his word. A dispute arises concerning the game; both parties grow warm; one of Memnon's intimate friends throws the dice-box at his head, and beats out one of his eyes.

eyes. The wife Memnon is carried home drunk, penniless, and with the loss of an eye.

After sleeping himself sober, he sends his man to his banker's for money to pay his intimate friends what he had lost to them. His man returns with the melancholy tidings that his banker had gone off that morning with a vast sum of money, which had thrown a hundred of the best families in Nineveh into a dreadful alarm. Memnon, enraged at this piece of villainy, repairs to court with a plaster on his eye, and a petition in his hand, to demand justice of the king against his banker. In the drawing-room he meets with several ladies walking about with hoops of twenty yards in circumference, with all the ease imaginable. One of them, who knew him, cried out, holding her fan up before her eyes, Oh! the fright! Another, who was more intimate with him, accosts him thus: Servant, Mr. Memnon: upon my word, I am very glad to see you, Mr. Memnon; but pray, Mr. Memnon, how came you to lose one of your eyes? And then swam across the room, without waiting for his answer. Memnon hid himself in a corner, waiting an opportunity of throwing himself at the king's feet. The monarch appears. Memnon bows himself thrice to the earth, and presents his petition; which his majesty was pleased most graciously to receive; and then handed to one of his satraps, with orders to give him an account of its contents. The satrap takes Memnon aside; and with an air of authority, accompanied with the most bitter sneer, says to him, What a pretty one-eyed scoundrel you are, to apply to the king before you had spoken to me; and presume

sume to demand justice against a worthy bankrupt, whom I honour with my protection, and who is no less than nephew to my wife's waiting-woman. Heark ye, my friend ! if you have any regard for the eye you have left, take my advice, and drop this affair.

Thus Memnon, the wise Memnon, who, in the morning, had forsworn all commerce with women, made a vow of temperance, renounced gaming and quarrelling, and had determined never to be seen at court, was, before the night of the same day, cheated and robbed by a fine woman, got drunk, gamed, quarrelled with his most intimate friends, which cost him the loss of an eye, and made a visit to court, where every one laughed at him.

Petrified with astonishment, and pierced with grief, he returned home with a heavy heart. He attempts to enter his own house, an officer pushes him rudely back, and tells him, that his creditors have seized on all his goods for the money he owes them. Oppressed with these accumulated disasters, he throws himself lifeless under a plantane. At that instant the fair lady, whom he had comforted in the morning, passed by with her dear uncle ; and seeing Memnon in that condition, and with a plaister on one eye, they both set up a horse-laugh, and continued their way. Night came on, and Memnon was glad to lie upon a truss of straw before his own door. He is seized with a fever. In the interval of the fit he falls asleep, when a celestial spirit appears to him in a dream—

A bright glory environed him : he had six beautiful wings ; but neither head, feet, nor tail ; and resembled nothing that has ever been seen.

seen. Who art thou? said Memnon. Thy good genius, replied the phantom. Restore me my eye then, said Memnon, my health, my wealth, and my wisdom; and then he related to him how he had lost them all in a day. These accidents never happen to us in the world we inhabit, said the spirit. And pray what world may that be? asked the man of sorrows. My country, replied the other, is about five hundred millions of leagues beyond the sun, in a little star called Sirius, which you may see from hence. A charming country, I warrant it, said Memnon. I suppose now you have no jilts there, that fret a poor man? no intimate friends, that strip him at play, and afterwards beat one of his eyes out? no rascally bankers, that break with all your effects in their hands? nor no satraps, that make a jest of you when you come to demand justice? No, said the starry inhabitant, we have nothing of all this. We are never cheated by women, because we have no commerce with them; nor are we guilty of excess at table, because we never eat or drink any thing; we have no bankrupts amongst us, because we have neither gold nor silver; we are in no danger of having our eyes beat out, because we have no material bodies like yours; nor are there any satraps who can do us injustice, because in the star Sirius every one is equal.

But pray, good dinnerless and womanless Sir, demanded Memnon, how may you pass your time? In watching over the other globes that are committed to our care, said the genius; and I am now come to comfort thee. Ah! cried Memnon, stung with bitter remembrance, why wast thou

thou not present with me last night, to prevent my being guilty of so many follies? I was attending on thy elder brother Hassan, said the heavenly being: his fate is more deplorable than thine. His most gracious majesty the king of the Indies, at whose court he has the honour to be, has ordered both his eyes to be picked out for a little indiscretion he has been guilty of; and he is at this instant chained hands and feet in the bottom of a dungeon. It is of great use indeed, cried out Memnon, to have a good genius in a family, when one brother loses an eye, and the other is stark blind; one lies upon straw, and the other in a prison! Thy fortune shall change, replied the ætherial messenger: thou wilt be always blind of an eye indeed; but, that excepted, thy life will be tolerably happy, provided thou never more formest the ridiculous design of being perfectly wise. Alas! cried Memnon with a sigh, is it impossible then to attain to it? As much so, replied the genius, as to be perfectly skilful, perfectly strong, perfectly powerful, or perfectly happy. We ourselves are at a great distance from it. There is a globe, indeed, where all these are found; but in the hundred millions of millions of worlds that are dispersed through the immensity of space, every thing holds its degree. In the second globe there is less wisdom and felicity than in the first; less again in the third than in the second; and so of the rest to the very lowest, where the inhabitants are all fools. I am very much afraid then, said Memnon, that this same terraqueous globe of ours is the bedlam of the universe you have been pleased

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to describe to me. Not quite, said the spirit; but it comes pretty near to it. Every thing must be in its place. Well, but, said Memnon, certain philosophers and poets must have been confoundedly out, when they tell us, "that whatever is, is right." They were just, replied the philosopher of the upper regions, so far as relates to the disposition of the whole universe. Ah! cried poor Memnon, you shall never make me believe that, so long as I have only one eye.



A Letter from a TURK, concerning
the FAQUIRS and his Friend
BABABEC.

WHEN I was in the city of Benarez, on the borders of the Ganges, the country of the antient Brachmans, I endeavoured to instruct myself in their religion and manners. I understood the Indian language tolerably well. I heard a great deal, and remarked every thing. I lodged at the house of my correspondent Omri, who was the most worthy man I ever knew. He was of the religion of the Bramins: I have the honour to be a Mussulman. We never exchanged one word higher than another about Mahomet or Brama. We performed our ablutions each on his own side; we drank of the same sherbet, and we eat of the same rice, as if we had been two brothers.

One

One day we went together to the pagoda of Gavanil. There we saw several bands of Fakirs, some of whom were Janguis; that is to say, contemplative Fakirs; and others disciples of the antient Gymnosophists, who led an active life. They have all a learned language peculiar to themselves; it is that of the most antient Brachmans; and they have a book written in this language, which they call the Manuscript. It is, beyond all contradiction, the most antient book in all Asia, not excepting the Zend.

I happened to cross a Fakir, who was reading in this book. Ah! wretched Infidel! cried he, thou hast made me lose a number of vowels that I was counting, which will occasion my soul to pass into the body of a hare instead of that of a parrot, with which I had before the greatest reason to flatter myself. I gave him a roupee to comfort him for the accident. In going a few paces farther, I had the misfortune to sneeze; the noise I made roused a Fakir who was in a trance. Heavens! cried he, what a dreadful noise! Where am I? I can no longer see the tip of my nose*! the heavenly light has disappeared. If I am the cause, said I, of your seeing further than the length of your nose, here is a roupee to repair the injury I have done you: squint again, and resume the heavenly light.

Having thus brought myself off discreetly enough, I passed over to the side of the Gymnosophists, several of whom brought me a parcel

* When the Fakirs have a mind to see the heavenly light, which very frequently happens with them, they turn their eyes downwards towards the tip of their nose.

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of mighty pretty nails to drive into my arms and thighs, in honour of Brama. I bought their nails, and made use of them to fasten down my boxes. Others were dancing upon their hands, others cut capers on the slack rope, and others went always upon one foot. There were some who dragged a heavy chain about with them, and others carried a pack-saddle; some had their heads always in a bushel; the best people in the world to live with. My friend Omri carried me to the cell of one of the most famous of these. His name was Bababec: he was as naked as he was born, and had a great chain about his neck, that weighed upwards of sixty pounds. He sat on a wooden chair, very neatly decorated with little points of nails, that run into his posteriors; and you would have thought he had been sitting on a velvet cushion. Numbers of women flocked to him to consult him: he was the oracle of all the families in the neighbourhood; and was, truly speaking, in great reputation. I was witness to a long conversation that Omri had with him. Do you think, father, said my friend, that, after having gone through seven metempsychoses, I may at length arrive at the habitation of Brama? That is as it may happen, said the Fakir. What sort of life do you lead? I endeavour, answered Omri, to be a good subject, a good husband, a good father, and a good friend: I lend money without interest to the rich who want it, and I give it to the poor: I preserve peace amongst my neighbours. But have you ever run nails into your backside? demanded the Bramin. Never, reverend father. I
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am sorry for it, replied the father; very sorry for it, indeed: It is a thousand pities; but you will certainly not reach above the nineteenth heaven. No higher! said Omri. In troth, I am very well contented with my lot. What is it to me whether I go into the nineteenth or the twentieth, provided I do my duty in my pilgrimage, and am well received at the end of my journey? Is it not as much as one can desire, to live with a fair character in this world, and be happy with Brama in the next? And pray what heaven do you think of going to, good Master Bababec, with your nails and your chain? Into the thirty-fifth, said Bababec. I admire your modesty, replied Omri, to pretend to be better lodged than me: this is surely the mere effects of an excessive ambition. How can you, who condemn others that covet honours in this world, arrogate such distinguished one's to yourself in the next? What right have you to be better treated than me? Know, that I bestow more alms to the poor in ten days, than the nails you run into your backside cost for ten years! What is it to Brama, that you pass the whole day stark naked with a chain about your neck? This is doing a notable service to your country, doubtless! I have a thousand times more esteem for the man who sows pulse or plants trees for all your tribe, than they who look at the tip of their noses, or carry a pack-saddle to shew their magnanimity. Having finished this speech, Omri softened his voice, embraced the Bramin, and, with an endearing sweetness, besought him to throw aside his nails and his chain, to go home with him, and live with decency and comfort. The Faquir

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was persuaded : he was washed clean, rubbed with essences and perfumes, and clad in a decent habit : he lived a fortnight in this manner, behaved with prudence and wisdom, and acknowledged that he was a thousand times more happy than before : but he lost his credit among the people ; the women no longer crouded to consult him : he therefore quitted the house of the friendly Omri, and returned to his nails and his chain, to regain his reputation.

Of

OF VAIN-GLORY:

BEING

The Substance of a CONVERSATION
with a Chinese.

IN the year 1723, there was a Chinese in Holland, who was both a learned man and a merchant, two things that ought by no means to be incompatible; but which, thanks to the profound respect that is shewn to money, and the little regard that the human species do, and ever will, pay to merit, are become so among us.

This Chinese, who spoke a little Dutch, happened to be in a bookseller's shop, at the same time that some literati were assembled there. He asked for a book; they offered him Bosquet's Universal History, badly translated. At the title Universal History, how pleased am I, cried the Oriental, to have met with this book; I shall now see what is said of our great empire; of a nation that has subsisted for upwards of fifty thousand years; of that long dynasty of emperors who have governed us for such a number of ages. I shall see what these Europeans think of the religion of our literati, and of that pure and simple worship we pay to the Supreme Being. What a pleasure will it be to me to find how they speak of our arts, many of which are of a more antient date with us than the æras of all the kingdoms of Europe! I fancy

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the author will be greatly mistaken in relation to the war we had about twenty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-two years ago, with the martial people of Tonquin and Japan, as well as the solemn ambassy that the powerful emperor of Mogulitan sent, to request a body of laws from us in the year of the world 500000000000079123450000. Lord bless you, said one of the literati, there is hardly any mention made of that nation in this book, it is too inconsiderable. Almost the whole of it is taken up with an account of the first nation in the world, the only nation, those great people the Jews.

The Jews! said the Chinese, those people then must certainly be masters of three parts of the globe at least. They hope to be so one day, answered the other; but at present they are those pedlars that you see going about here with toys and knicknacks, and that sometimes do us the honour to clip our gold and silver. Surely you are not serious, said the Chinese, could those people ever have been in possession of a vast empire? Here I joined in the conversation, and told him, that for a few years they were in possession of a small country to themselves; but that we were not to judge of a people from the extent of their dominions, any more than of a man by his riches.

But does not this book take notice of some other nations, demanded the man of letters. Undoubtedly, replied a learned gentleman who stood at my elbow; it treats largely of a small country about sixty leagues wide, called Egypt, in which it is said that there is a lake of one hundred and fifty leagues in circumference,
made

made by the hands of man. My god! exclaimed the Chinese, a lake of one hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, within a spot of ground only sixty leagues wide, this is very curious! The inhabitants of that country, continued the doctor, were all sages. What happy times were those, cry'd the Chinese, but is that all? No, reply'd the other, there is mention made of those famous people the Greeks. Greeks! Greeks! said the Asiatic, who are those Greeks? Why, reply'd the philosopher, they were masters of a little province, about the two hundredth part as large as China, but whose fame spread over the whole world. Indeed! said the Chinese, with an air of openness and ingenuousness, I declare I never heard the least mention of these people, either in the Mogul's country, in Japan, or in Great Tartary.

Oh, the barbarian, the ignorant creature! cry'd out our sage, very politely. Why then I suppose you know nothing of Epaminondas the Theban, nor of the Piræan Haven, nor the names of Achilles's two horses, nor of Silenus's ass? You have never heard speak of Jupiter, nor of Diogenes, nor of Laïs, nor of Cybele, nor of —

I am very much afraid, said the learned Oriental, interrupting him, that you know nothing of that eternally memorable adventure of the famous Xixofan Concochigramki, nor of the mysteries of the great Fi-pfi hi-hi. But pray tell me what other unknown things does this Universal History treat of? Upon this my learned neighbour harangued for a quarter of an hour together about the Roman republic, and when he came to Julius Cæsar, the Chinese stopped him, and very gravely

I think I have heard of him, was he not a Turk? *

How! cry'd our sage in a fury, don't you so much as know the difference between Pagans, Christians, and Mahometans? Did you never hear of Constantine? Do you know nothing of the history of the popes? We have heard something confusedly of one Mahomet, reply'd the Asiatic.

It is impossible sure, said the other, but you must have heard at least of Luther, Zuinglius, Bellarmin, and Oecolampadius. I shall never remember all those names, said the Chinese; and so saying he quitted the shop, and went to sell a large quantity of Pekoa tea, and fine calli-coe, with which he bought two fine girls, and a young lad, and set sail for his own country, adoring *Tien*, and recommending himself to Confucius.

As to myself, the conversation I had been witness to, plainly discovered to me the nature of vain-glory; and I could not forbear exclaiming, Since Cæsar and Jupiter are names unknown to the finest, most ancient, most extensive, most populous, and most civilized kingdom in the universe, it becomes ye well, O ye rulers of petty states! ye pulpit orators of a narrow parish, or a little town! ye doctors of Salamanca, or of Bourges! ye trifling authors, and ye heavy commentators! It becomes ye well, indeed, to aspire at reputation.

* Not long since the Chinese took all the Europeans to be Mahometans.

OF
S U I C I D E ;

OR,
S E L F - M U R D E R.

PHILIP MORDAUNT, cousin-german to the famous earl of Peterborough, who was so well known in all the courts of Europe, and who made his boast that he had seen more postillions, and more crowned heads, than any other man in the world; this Philip Mordaunt, I say, was a young man about twenty-seven, handsome, well-made, rich, of an illustrious family, and one who might pretend to any thing; and, what was more than all the rest, he was passionately beloved by his mistress. However, this man took a distaste to life, discharged all that he owed, wrote to his friends to take leave of them, and even composed some verses upon the occasion, which concluded thus, that "tho' opium might be some relief to a wise man, if disgusted with the world, yet in his opinion a pistol, and a little resolution, were much more effectual remedies." His behaviour was suitable to his principles; and he dispatched himself with a pistol, without giving any other reason for it than that his soul was weary of his body, and that when we dislike our house we ought to quit it. One would imagine he chose to die because he was weary of being happy.

One Richard Smith has lately exhibited a most extraordinary instance of this nature to the world. This Smith was tired of being really unhappy : he had been rich, and was reduced to poverty : he had been healthy, and was become infirm : he had a wife, to whom he had nothing to give but a share in his misfortunes ; and an infant in the cradle was the only thing he had left. Richard Smith and his wife Bridget then, after having affectionately embraced, and given each a formal kiss to their child, first cut the poor little creature's throat, and then hanged themselves at the foot of their bed. I do not remember, to have heard any where of such a scene of horrors committed in cold blood ; but the letter which these unhappy wretches wrote to their cousin Mr. Brindley before their death, is as remarkable as the manner itself of their death. " We are certain, said they, of meeting with forgiveness from God, &c. We put an end to our lives because we were miserable, without any prospect of relief ; and we have done our child that service to put it out of life, for fear it should have been as miserable as ourselves, &c." It is to be observed, that these people, after having murdered their child out of their paternal affection, wrote to a friend, recommending their dog and cat to his care. They thought, probably, that it was easier to make their dog and cat happy in this world than their child, and that the keeping them would not be any great expence to their friend *.

The

† Richard Smith was a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberty of the king's-bench ; and this shocking

The earl of Scarborough has lately quitted life with the same indifference as he did his place of master of the horse. Having been told in the house of lords that he sided with the court, on account of the profitable post he held in it, My lords, said he, to convince you that my opinion is not influenced by any such consideration, I will instantly resign. He afterwards found himself perplexed between a mistress he was fond of, but to whom he was under no engagements, and a woman whom he esteemed, and to whom he had made a promise of marriage. My lord Scarborough, therefore, killed himself to get rid of difficulty †.

The many tragical stories of this nature, with which the English news-papers abound, have made the greatest part of Europe imagine, that the English are fonder of killing themselves than any other people: and yet I question much whether there are not as many madmen at Paris as at London; and if our news-papers were to keep an exact register of those who have either had the folly, or unhappy resolution to destroy themselves, we might in this respect be found to vie with the English. But our compilers of news are more prudent; the adventures of private persons are never set forth to public scandal in any of the papers licensed by the govern-

shocking tragedy was acted in the year 1732. Smith and his wife had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

† Lord S-----h's immediate motive for suicide was said to be remorse for having weakly discovered to a lady a secret of state, intrusted to him by his sovereign: but, in truth it seems to have been the effect of a temporary delirium, owing to a constitutional disorder.

ment : however, I believe I may venture to affirm, that this rage of suicide will never become epidemical. Nature has sufficiently guarded against it, and hope and fear are the powerful curbs she makes use of to stop the hand of the wretch uplifted to be his own executioner.

I know it may be said, that there have been countries where a council was established to give licence to the people to kill themselves, when they could give sufficient reasons for doing it. To this I answer, that either the fact is false, or that such council found very little employment.

There is one thing indeed which may cause some surprize, and which I think deserves to be seriously discussed, which is, that almost all the great heroes among the Romans, during the civil wars, killed themselves when they lost a battle, and that we do not find an instance of a single leader, or great man, in the disputes of the League, the Fronde, or during the troubles of Italy and Germany, who put end to his life with his own hand. It is true, that these latter were Christians, and that there is great difference between a Christian soldier and a Pagan ; and yet, how comes it that those very men who were so easily with-held by Christianity, from putting an end to their own lives, should be restrained either by that or any other consideration, when they had a mind to poison, assassinate, or publicly execute a vanquished enemy ? Does not the Christian religion forbid this manner of taking away the life of a fellow creature, if possible more than that of our own ? The advocates for suicide tell us, that it is very allowable to quit our house when we are weary of it. Agreed :
but

but most men had rather lie in a bad house, than sleep in the open fields.

I one day received a circulatory letter from an Englishman, in which he proposes a premium to the person who should the most clearly demonstrate that it was allowable for a man to kill himself. I made him no answer, for I had nothing to prove to him, and he had only to examine within himself if he preferred death to life.

But then let us ask why Cato, Brutus, Cassius, Anthony, Otho, and so many others, gave themselves death with so much resolution, and that our leaders of parties suffered themselves to be taken alive by their enemies, or waste the remains of a wretched old age in a dungeon? Some refined wits pretend to say, that the ancients had no real courage; that Cato acted like a coward in putting an end to his own life; and that he would have shewed more greatness of soul in crouching beneath the victorious Cæsar. This may be very well in an ode, or as a figure in rhetoric; but it is very certain there must be some courage to resign a life coolly by the edge of a sword, some strength of mind thus to overcome the most powerful instinct of nature: in a word, that such an act shews a greater share of ferocity than weakness. When a sick man is in a phrenzy, we cannot say he has no strength, though we may say it is the strength of a madman.

Self-murder was forbid by the Pagan as well as by the Christian religion. There was even a place allotted in hell to those who put an end to their own lives. Witness these lines of the poet.

*Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum
 Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
 Projecere animas; quam vellent æthere in alto
 Nunc & pauperiem, & duros perferre labores!
 Fata obstant, tristisque Palus anamabilis unda
 Adligat, & novies Styx interfusa coercet.*

VIRG. Æn. lib. vi. v. 434, &c.

Then crowds succeed, who, prodigal of breath,
 Themselves anticipate the doom of death;
 Tho' free from guilt, they cast their lives away,
 And sad and sullen hate the golden day.
 Oh! with what joy the wretches now would bear
 Pain, toil, and woe, to breathe, the vital air!
 In vain! by fate for ever are they bound
 With dire Avernus, and the lake profound;
 And Styx with nine wide channels roars around.

PITT.

This was the religion of the heathens; and notwithstanding the torments they were to meet with in the other world, it was esteemed an honour to quit this by giving themselves death by their own hands; so contradictory are the manners of men! Is not the custom of duelling still unhappily accounted honourable amongst us, tho' prohibited by reason, by religion, and by all laws divine and human? If Cato and Cæsar, Anthony and Augustus, did not challenge each other to a duel, it was not that they were less brave than ourselves. If the duke of Montmerenci, marechal Marillac, de Thou, Cinq-Mars, and many others, rather chose to be dragged to execution like the vilest miscreants, than put an end to their own lives like Cato and Brutus, it was not that they had less courage than those Romans: the true reason is, that it was not then

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then the fashion at Paris to kill one's self on such occasions ; whereas it was an established custom with the Romans.

The women on the Malabar coast throw themselves alive into the flames, in which the bodies of their dead husbands are burning. Is it because they have more resolution than Cornelia ? No ; but the custom of the country is for wives to burn themselves.

Custom and fancy of our fate decide,
And what is this man's shame is t'other's pride.

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BEING of opinion that the doctrine and history of so extraordinary a sect as the Quakers were very well deserving the curiosity of every thinking man, I resolved to make myself acquainted with them, and for that purpose made a visit to one of the most eminent of that sect in England, who, after having been in trade for thirty years, had the wisdom to prescribe limits to his fortune, and to his desires, and withdrew to a small but pleasant retirement in the country, not many miles from London. Here it was that I made him my visit. His house was small, but neatly built, and with no other ornaments but those of decency and convenience. The quaker himself was a hale ruddy complexioned old man, who had never suffered from sickness, because he had always been a stranger to passions and intemperance. I never
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in my life saw any one have a more noble, or a more engaging aspect. He was drest after the fashion of those of his persuasion, in a plain coat, without plaits in the side, or buttons on the pockets and sleeves; and he wore a beaver hat, the brim of which flapped downwards like those of our clergy. He advanced towards me without moving his hat, or making the least inclination of his body; but there appeared more real politeness in the open humane air of his countenance, than in drawing one leg behind the other, and carrying that in the hand which is made to be worn on the head. Friend, says he, I perceive thou art a stranger, if I can do thee any service thou hast only to let me know it. Sir, I reply'd, bowing my body, and sliding one leg towards him, as is the custom with us, I flatter myself that my curiosity, which you will allow to be just, will not give you any offence, and that you'll do me the honour to inform me of the particulars of your religion. The people of thy country, answered the Quaker, are too full of their bows and their compliments; but I never yet met with one of them who had so much curiosity as thyself. Come in and let us dine first together. I still continued to make some silly compliments, it not being easy to disengage one's self at once from habits we have been long accustomed to; and after taking part of a frugal meal, which began and ended with a prayer to God, I began to put questions to my plain host.

I opened with that which good Catholics have more than once made to Huguenots. My dear Sir, says I, were you ever baptized? No, friend, replied the Quaker, nor any of my brethren.

thren. Zounds! says I to him, you are not Christians then! Friend, replies the old man, in a soft tone of voice, do not swear; we are Christians, but we do not think that sprinkling a few drops of water on a child's head makes him a Christian. My god! exclaimed I, shocked at his impiety, have you then forgot that Christ was baptized by St. John? Friend, replies the mild Quaker, once again, do not swear. Christ was baptized by John, but he himself never baptized any one: now we profess ourselves disciples of Christ, and not of John. Mercy on us, cry'd I, what a fine subject you would be for the holy inquisitor! In the name of God, my good old man, let me baptize you. Were that all, replied he very gravely, we would submit chearfully to be baptized, purely in compliance with thy weakness; for we do not condemn any person who uses that rite; but, on the other hand, we think that those who profess a religion of so holy and spiritual a nature as that of Christ, ought to abstain to the utmost of their power from Jewish ceremonies.

Why there again! says I, baptism a Jewish ceremony! Yes, my friend, says he, and so truly Jewish, that many Jews use the baptism of John to this day. Peruse ancient authors, and they will shew thee, that John only revived this practice, and that it was in use among the Hebrews long before his time, the same as the pilgrimage to Mecca was among the Ishmaelites. Jesus indeed submitted to be baptized of John, in the like manner as he had undergone circumcision; but both the one and the other ceremony were to end in the baptism of Christ, that baptism of the spirit, that ablution of the soul which is the salvation of mankind. Thus the forerunner John said, *I indeed baptize you with water unto*
repent-

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repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. St. Paul likewise, the great apostle of the Gentiles, writes thus to the Corinthians, Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the gospel. Accordingly Paul never baptized but two persons with water, and that against his inclination. He circumcised his disciple Timothy; and the other apostles circumcised all those who were desirous of it. Art thou circumcised? added he. I really have not that honour, reply'd I. Wilt thou, friend? reply'd the Quaker; thou art a Christian without being circumcised, and I am one without being baptized.

Thus did my pious host make a false but very specious application of three or four passages of holy writ, which seemed to favour the tenets of his sect; but at the same time forgot, very sincerely, above an hundred others that directly overturned them. I resolved, not to contend with him, as there is nothing to be gained by arguing with an enthusiast: one should never pretend to discover to a lover his mistress's faults, to a lawyer the weakness of one's cause, nor force the truth upon a fanatic. Accordingly I proceeded to other questions.

Pray, says I to him, in what manner do you communicate? We have no such ceremony amongst us, replied he. How! said I, have you no communion? No, answered he, no other than that of hearts. He then began again to quote his texts of scripture, and read me a very curious lecture against the sacrament; and harangued with a tone of inspiration to prove that the sacraments were mere human inventions, and that the word *sacrament* was not once mentioned
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in the Scripture. I must ask thy excuse, said he, for my ignorance; for I am sensible I have not employed an hundredth part of the arguments, that might be made use of, to prove the truth of our religion: but thou mayst see them all amply unfolded in the Exposition of our Faith, written by Robert Barclay. It is one of the best books that ever came from the hand of man: our very adversaries confess it is dangerous, and that is sufficient alone to prove its goodness. I promised to peruse this piece; and my Quaker thought he had already made a convert.

He then proceeded to give me a brief account of certain singularities, which make this sect the contempt of others. Confess, said he, that it was very difficult for thee to refrain from laughing, when I answered all thy compliments without uncovering my head, and at the same time spoke to thee only with *thee* and *thou*. However, thou appearest to me too well read not to know, that, in Christ's time, no nation was so ridiculous as to use the plural for the singular. They said to Augustus Cæsar himself, *I love thee, I beseech thee, I thank thee*; and he would not even suffer himself to be called *Domine*, Sir. It was not till long after his time that men took the ridiculous notion of having themselves called *you*, instead of *thou*, as if they were double, and usurped the impertinent titles of *lordship*, *eminence*, and *holiness*, which poor reptiles bestow on other reptiles like themselves; assuring them, that they are, *with the most profound respect*, and an infamous falsehood, their *most obedient humble servants*. It is the more effectually to secure ourselves against this shame.

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shameful traffic of lies and flattery, that we *thee* and *thou* a king, with the same freedom as we do his meanest servant; and salute no person, as owing mankind only charity, and respect only to the laws.

We dress also differently from others, and this purely that it may be a perpetual warning to us not to imitate them. While others pride themselves on wearing the badges of their several dignities, we confine ourselves to those of christian humility. We shun all the assemblies of the gay, we avoid places of diversions of all kinds, and carefully abstain from gaming; for wretched would be our state, indeed, were we to fill with such levities the heart that ought to be the habitation of God. We never swear, not even in a court of justice; being of opinion, that the name of the Most High ought not to be prostituted in the frivolous contests between man and man. When we are obliged to appear before a magistrate, upon the concerns of others (for law-suits are unknown among *the Friends*), we affirm the truth by our *yea* or *nay*, and they believe us on our simple affirmation, while other Christians are daily perjuring themselves on the blessed Gospels. We never take up arms, not that we are fearful of death: on the contrary, we bless the instant that unites us to the Being of Beings. The reason is, that we are neither wolves, tygers, nor mastiffs, but men and christians. Our God, who has commanded us to love our enemies, and to suffer without repining, can certainly not order us to cross the seas, and cut the throats of our fellow-creatures, as often as murderers, cloathed in scarlet, and wearing
caps

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caps two feet high, enlist peaceful citizens by a noise made with two sticks on an ass's skin extended. And when, after the gaining of a battle, all London blazes with illuminations, when the air glows with fireworks, and a noise is heard of thanksgivings, of bells, of organs, and of cannon, we groan in silence for the cruel havock which occasions these public rejoicings.



OF THE RELIGION of the QUAKERS, continued.

SUCH was the substance of the conversation I had with this very singular person *; and I was greatly surprised when, the Sunday following, he came to take me with him to one
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* The name of this Quaker was Andrew Pit; and the whole of the preceding chapter is strictly true, except in a very few circumstances. Andrew Pit lately wrote to the author, to complain that he had a little amplified facts; assuring him at the same time, that God was greatly offended at his having diverted himself and his readers at the expence of the Quakers †.

† In consequence of the first publication of these letters concerning the Quakers, an answer was written and sent to the author by one of that people. The design of it was to give him an opportunity of correcting, in the subsequent editions, the errors of his first: but these letters having been since published without any such correction, the answer was printed, that every reader might judge for himself.

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of their meetings. There are several of these in London; but that which he carried me to, stands near the famous pillar called the Monument. The brethren were already assembled when I entered with my guide. There might be about four hundred men, and three hundred women, in the place. The women hid their faces with their hoods, and the men were covered with their broad-brimmed hats. All were sitting, and there was an universal silence amongst them. I past through the midst of them; but not one lifted up his eyes to look at me. This silence lasted a quarter of an hour; when at last an old man rose up, took off his hat, and after making a number of wry faces, and groaning in a most lamentable manner, he, half mouthing, half snuffling, threw out a heap of unaccountable stuff, (taken, as he thought, from the Gospel) which neither himself nor any of his auditors understood. When this religious buffoon had ended his curious soliloquy, and that the assembly broke up, very much edified, and very stupid, I asked my guide, how it

The Quakers complain, that M. de Voltaire mistook his talents, when he meddled with religion; the facetious levity of his expression being quite unsuitable to the serious gravity of such a subject. The vivacity of his stile, and the delicacy of his diction (say they), are very pleasant and entertaining: but *errors in fact*, so clad, are the more dangerous; the frequency of which, in his third and fourth letters, bespeaks him not well read in the history he undertook to write. For a refutation of those errors, and as the means of obviating the author's misrepresentations of the Quakers, the curious reader is referred to the Letter abovementioned, and to Penn's Rise and Progress of that People, printed by L. Hinde in George-yard, Lombard-street.

WAS

was possible the judicious part of them could suffer such incoherent prating? We are obliged, said he, to suffer it, because no one knows, when a brother rises up to hold forth, whether he will be moved by the spirit or by folly. In this uncertainty, we listen patiently to every one. We even allow our women to speak in public: two or three of them are often inspired at the same time, and then a most charming noise is heard in the Lord's house. You have no priests, then? said I. No, no, friend, replied the Quaker, heaven make us thankful! Then opening one of the books of their sect, he read the following words in an emphatic tone: God forbid we should presume to ordain any one to receive the Holy Spirit on the Lord's day, in exclusion to the rest of the faithful! Thanks to the Almighty, we are the only people upon earth that have no priests! Wouldst thou deprive us of so happy a distinction? Wherefore should we abandon our child to hireling nurses, when we ourselves have milk enough to nourish it? These mercenary creatures would quickly domineer in our houses, and oppress both the mother and the child. God has said, You have received freely, give as freely. Shall we, after this injunction, barter, as it were, the Gospel; sell the Holy Spirit, and make of an assembly of Christians a mere shop of traders? We do not give money to a set of men, clothed in black, to assist our poor, to bury our dead, or to preach to the brethren: these holy offices are held in too high esteem by us to intrust them to others." "But how, said I, with some warmth, how can you pretend to know whether

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ther your discourse is really inspired by the Almighty? Whosoever, replied my friend, shall implore Christ to enlighten him, and shall publish the truths contained in the Gospel, of which he inwardly feels, such a one may be assured that he is inspired by the Lord. He then overwhelmed me with a multitude of scripture quotations, which proved, as he imagined, that there is no such thing as Christianity, without an immediate revelation; and added these remarkable words: When thou movest one of thy limbs, is it moved by thy own power? Certainly not; for this limb is often liable to involuntary motions; consequently he who created thy body gives motion to this earthy tabernacle. Or are the several ideas, of which thy soul receives the impresson, of thy own formation? Still less so; for they come upon thee whether thou wilt or no, consequently thou receivest thy ideas from him who created thy soul. But as he leaves thy heart at full liberty, he gives thy mind such ideas as thy heart may deserve: if thou livest in God, thou actest and thinkest in God. After this, thou needest but open thine eyes to that light which enlightens all mankind, and then thou wilt perceive the truth, and make others perceive it. Why, this, says I, is our Malbranche's doctrine to a tittle. I am acquainted with thy Malbranche, said he: he had something of the Quaker in him; but he was not enough so.

These are the most considerable particulars I have been able to gather, concerning the doctrine of the Quakers. In the ensuing pages you will find some account of their history, which is still more singular than their opinions.

HISTORY of the QUAKERS.

YOU have already heard that the Quakers date their epocha from Christ, who, according to them, was the first Quaker. Religion, say they, was corrupted almost immediately after his death, and remained in that state of corruption about sixteen hundred years. But there were always a few of the faithful concealed in the world, who carefully preserved the sacred fire, which was extinguished in all but themselves; till at length this light shone out in England in 1642.

It was at the time when Great Britain was distracted by intestine wars, which three or four sects had raised in the name of God, that one George Fox, a native of Leicestershire, and son to a silk-weaver, took it into his head to preach the Word, and, as he pretended, with all the requisites of a true apostle; that is, without being able either to read or write. He was a young man, about twenty-five years of age, of irreproachable manners, and religiously mad. He was clad in leather from head to foot, and travelled from one village to another, exclaiming against the war and the clergy. Had he confined his invectives to the military only, he would have had nothing to fear; but he inveighed against churchmen. Fox was seized at Derby, and being carried before a justice of peace, he stood with his leathern hat on: upon which an officer gave him a great box on the ear,

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ear, and cried to him, "You unmannerly rascal, don't you know you are to appear uncovered before his worship?" Fox very deliberately presents his other cheek to the officer, and begged him to give him another box of the ear for God's sake. The justice would have had him sworn before he put any questions to him; but Fox refused, saying, "Friend, know that I never swear." The justice, finding himself *thee'd* and *thou'd* by him, and enraged at his insolence, ordered him to the house of correction, there to be whipt. Fox returned thanks to the Lord all the way he went to prison, where the justice's orders were executed with great severity. Those who whipt him were greatly surpris'd to hear this enthusiast beseech them to give him a few more lashes, for the good of his soul. These gentlemen did not wait for many intreaties: Mr. Fox had his dose doubled, for which he thanked them very cordially, and then began to hold forth. At first the attendants fell a-laughing; but they afterwards listened to him: and as enthusiasm is a catching distemper, many were persuaded, and those who had scourged him became his disciples. Being afterwards set at liberty, he went up and down the country, with a dozen proselytes at his heels, declaiming against the clergy, and receiving flagellations from time to time. One day being set in the pillory, he made so moving an harangue to the crowd, that fifty of the auditors became his converts; and he won so much over the rest, that they tumultuously pulled his head out of the hole, and then went in a body to search for the church of England clergyman who had been chiefly in-

instrumental in bringing him to this punishment, and set him on the same pillory where Fox had stood.

Fox had the boldness to make converts of some of Oliver Cromwel's soldiers, who immediately quitted the service, and refused to take the oaths. Oliver, having as great a contempt for a sect which would not fight, as pope Sixtus V. had for another sect, *dove non si chiavava*, began to persecute these new converts. The prisons were crouded with them; but persecution seldom has any other effect than to increase the number of proselytes. They came forth from their confinement more full of zeal than ever, and followed by their jailors, whom they had likewise converted. But what contributed chiefly to the spreading of this sect were the following circumstances. Fox thought himself inspired, and was therefore of opinion, that he must speak in a manner different from the rest of mankind: upon which he began to writhe his body, to screw up the muscles of his face, to hold in his breath, and to exhale it again in a forcible manner, insomuch that the priestesses of the Delphic god could not have acted her part to better advantage. Inspiration soon became so habitual to him, that he could scarce deliver himself in any other manner. This was the first gift he communicated to his disciples: these copied their master closely in his grimaces and contortions, and shook from head to foot at the instant of inspiration; and from hence they got the name of Quakers. The vulgar, ever the dupes of novelty, amused themselves with mimicking these people, trembled, spoke through the nose, quaked, and fancied

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themselves inspired by the Holy Ghost. They only wanted a few miracles, and those they wrought.

This new patriarch Fox said one day to a justice of peace, before a large assembly of people, " Friend, take care what thou do'st : God will soon punish thee for persecuting his saints." This magistrate, being one who besotted himself every day with bad beer and brandy, died of an apoplexy two days after, just as he had signed a *Mittimus* for imprisoning some Quakers. The sudden death of this justice was not ascribed to his intemperance ; but was universally looked upon as the effect of the holy man's predictions ; so that this accident made more Quakers than a thousand sermons, and as many shaking fits, would have done. Cromwel, finding them increase daily, was willing to bring them over to his party, and for that purpose tried bribery : however, he found them incorruptible, which made him one day declare, that this was the only religion he had ever met with that could resist the charms of gold.

The Quakers suffered several persecutions under Charles II. not upon a religious account ; but for refusing to pay the tythes, for *theeing* and *thouing* the magistrates, and for refusing to take the oaths enacted by the laws.

At length Robert Barclay, a native of Scotland, presented to the king, in 1675, his Apology for the Quakers ; a work as well drawn up as the subject could possibly admit. The dedication to Charles II. instead of being filled with mean flattering encomiums, abounds with bold truths and the wisest counsels. " Thou
hast

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thou hast tasted," says he to the king, at the close of his Epistle Dedicatory, " of prosperity and adversity: thou hast been driven out of the country over which thou now reignest, and from the throne on which thou sittest: thou hast groaned beneath the yoke of oppression; therefore hast thou reason to know how hateful the oppressor is, both to God and man. If, after all these warnings and advertisements, thou do'st not turn unto the Lord, with all thy heart; but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give thyself up to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy guilt, and bitter thy condemnation. Instead of listening to the flatterers about thee, hearken only to the voice that is within thee, which never flatters. I am thy faithful friend and servant, ROBERT BARCLAY."

The most surprising circumstance is, that this letter, though written by an obscure person, was so happy in its effects as to put a stop to the persecution.



C O N C L U S I O N
O F T H E
HISTORY of the QUAKERS.

ABOUT this time appeared the illustrious William Pen, who established the power of the Quakers in America, and would have rendered them respectable in the eyes of the

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Europeans, if mankind could respect virtue when appearing in the shape of folly. This man was the only son of vice-admiral Pen, favourite to the duke of York, afterwards king James II.

William Pen, when only fifteen years of age, chanced to meet a Quaker in Oxford, where he was then following his studies. This Quaker made a proselyte of him; and our young man, being naturally sprightly and eloquent, having a very winning aspect and engaging carriage, soon gained over some of his companions and intimates, and in a short time formed a society of young Quakers, who met at his house; so that at the age of sixteen he found himself the head of a sect. Having left college, at his return home to the vice-admiral his father, instead of kneeling to ask his blessing, as is the custom with the English, he went up to him with his hat on, and accosted him thus; "Friend, I am glad to see thee in good health." The vice-admiral thought his son crazy; but soon discovered he was turned Quaker. He then employed every method that prudence could suggest, to engage him to behave and act like other people. The youth answered his father only with repeated exhortations to turn Quaker also. After much altercation, his father confined himself to this single request, that he would wait on the king and the duke of York with his hat under his arm, and that he would not *thee* and *thou* them. William answered that, his conscience would not permit him to do these things. This exasperated his father to such a degree, that he turned him out of doors. Young Pen gave God thanks
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that he permitted him to suffer so early in his cause, and went into the city, where he held forth, and made a great number of converts; and being young, handsome, and a graceful figure, both court and city ladies flocked very devoutly to hear him. The patriarch Fox, hearing of his great reputation, came to London (notwithstanding the length of the journey) purposely to see and converse with him. They both agreed to go upon missions into foreign countries; and accordingly they embarked for Holland, after having left a sufficient number of labourers to take care of the London vineyard.

Their labours met with all the success they could wish in Amsterdam: but a circumstance, which reflected the greatest honour on them, and at the same time put their humility to the strongest test, was the reception they met from the princess Palatine, Elizabeth, aunt to George I. of Great Britain, a lady conspicuous for her genius and knowledge, and to whom Descartes had dedicated his Philosophical Romance.

She was then retired to the Hague, where she received these *Friends*; for so the Quakers were at that time called in Holland. This princess had several conferences with them: they held several of their meetings at her house, and, if they did not make a perfect convert of her, they at least acknowledged that she was not far from the kingdom of heaven. The Friends sowed the good seed likewise in Germany; but had only an indifferent harvest; for the mode of *theizing* and *thouing* was not relished in a country where every one was obliged to make use of Your Highness, and Your Excellence.

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cellence. Pen soon quitted that country, and returned to England, having received advice that his father was ill, to see him before he died. The vice-admiral was reconciled to his son, and, though of a different persuasion, embraced him tenderly. William, in vain, exhorted his father not to receive the sacrament, and to die a Quaker; and the good old man intreated his son William to wear buttons on his sleeves, and a crape hatband in his beaver; but all to no purpose.

William inherited very large possessions, part of which consisted in crown-debts, due to the vice-admiral for sums he had advanced for the sea-service. No moneys were at that time less secure than those owing from the king. Pen was obliged to go, more than once, and *thee* and *thou* Charles and his ministers, to recover the debt; and at last, instead of specie, the government invested him with the right and sovereignty of a province of America, to the south of Maryland. Thus was a Quaker raised to sovereign power.

He set sail for his new dominions with two ships filled with Quakers, who followed his fortune. The country was then named by them Pensylvania, from William Pen; and he founded Philadelphia, which is now a very flourishing city. His first care was to make an alliance with his American neighbours; and this is the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never infringed. The new sovereign likewise enacted several wise and wholesome laws for his colony, which have remained invariably the same to this day. The chief is,
to

to ill-treat no person on account of religion, and to consider as brethren all those who believe in one God. He had no sooner settled his government, but several American merchants came and peopled this colony. The natives of the country, instead of flying into the woods, cultivated by degrees a friendship with the peaceable Quakers. They loved these new strangers as much as they disliked the other Christians, who had conquered and ravaged America. In a little time these savages, as they are called, delighted with their new neighbours, flocked in crowds to Pen, to offer themselves as his vassals. It was an uncommon thing to behold a sovereign *thee'd* and *thou'd* by his subjects, and addressed by them with their hats on; and no less singular for a government to be without one priest in it; a people without arms, either for offence or preservation; a body of citizens without any distinctions but that of public employments; and for neighbours to live together free from envy or jealousy. In a word, William Pen might, with reason, boast of having brought down upon earth the Golden Age, which, in all probability, never had any real existence but in his dominions.

Some time afterwards he returned to England, to settle some affairs relating to his new dominions. King James II. who had loved his father, had the same affection for the son, and considered him rather as a great man than an obscure sectary. The king's politics, on this occasion, agreed with his inclinations. He was desirous of pleasing the Quakers, by annulling the laws made against Nonconformists, in order to have an opportunity, by this general

toleration, to introduce the Romish religion. All the sectaries in England saw the snare that was laid for them, and took care to be upon their guard: they always unite when the Romish religion, their common enemy, is to be opposed. But Pen did not think himself bound, in any manner, to renounce his principles, merely to favour Protestants who hated him, in opposition to a king who loved him. He had established liberty of conscience in his American dominions, and he would not appear to intend to destroy it in Europe. He therefore adhered to James, and so strictly, that he was generally accused of being a Jesuit. However, the unfortunate king James II. was, like most princes of the Stuart family, an odd medley of grandeur and weakness; and, like them, always did too much or too little, lost his kingdom in a manner that could not be accounted for. All the English sectaries accepted from William III. and his parliament, the toleration and indulgence which they had refused, when offered by king James. It was then the Quakers began to enjoy, by virtue of the laws, the several privileges they possess at this time.

Pen, having at length seen Quakerism firmly established in his native country, returned back to Pensylvania; where, at his arrival, he was received by his own people and the Americans with tears of joy, as if he had been a father, who was returned to his children after a long absence. The laws he had enacted had been religiously observed in his absence; a circumstance which had happened to no legislator but himself. After having resided some years in Pensylvania, he quitted it, but with great reluctance,

Iustance, to return to England, there to solicit some matters in favour of the trade of Pennsylvania. But he lived not to revisit it again, being taken off by death in London, anno 1718.

It was in the reign of Charles II. that they obtained the noble distinction of being exempted from giving their testimony on oath in a court of justice, and being believed on their bare affirmation. On this occasion the chancellor, who was a man of wit, spoke to them as follows: " Friends, Jupiter one day ordered that all the beasts of burthen should repair to be shoed. The asses represented, that their laws would not allow them to submit to that operation. Very well, said Jupiter; then you shall not be shoed; but the first false step you make, you may depend upon being severely drubbed."

I cannot guess what may be the fate of Quakerism in America; but I perceive it loses ground daily in England. In all countries, where the established religion is of a mild and tolerating nature, it will at length swallow up all the rest. Quakers cannot sit as representatives in parliament, nor can they enjoy any post or office under the government, because an oath must be always taken on these occasions, and they never swear; so that they are reduced to the necessity of subsisting by traffick. Their children, when enriched by the industry of their parents, become desirous of enjoying honours, and of wearing buttons and ruffles; are ashamed of being called Quakers, and become converts to the church of England, merely to be in the faction.

OF THE
CHURCH of ENGLAND.

ENGLAND is truly the country of sectaries, (*in my father's house there are many mansions.*) An Englishman, in virtue of his liberty, goes to heaven his own way. And yet, notwithstanding that every one is permitted to serve God after his own way, the true religion of the nation, that in which a man makes his fortune, is the sect of Episcopalians, called the Church of England, or simply *the Church*, by way of eminence. No one can possess an employment, either in England or Ireland, unless he be ranked among the orthodox, or a member of the church of England, as by law established. This reason (which carries its conviction with it) has operated so effectually on the minds of dissenters of all persuasions, that not a twentieth part of the nation is out of the pale of the established church.

The English clergy have retained a great number of the ceremonies of the church of Rome; and, in particular, that of receiving, with a most scrupulous exactness, their tithes. They have also the pious ambition of aiming at superiority; for where's the simple curate of a village who would not willingly be pope?

Moreover, they make a religious merit of inspiring their flock with a holy zeal against every one who dissents from their church. This zeal burnt fiercely under the Tories during the four last years of queen Anne's reign; but happily produced no greater mischief than the

breaking the windows of some few meeting-houses: for the rage of religious parties ceased in England with the civil wars, and was under queen Anne no more than the murmurings of a sea, whose billows still heaved, after a violent storm. When the Whigs and the Tories laid waste their native country, in the same manner as the Guelphs and Gibelines formerly did Italy, it was absolutely necessary for both parties to call in religion to their aid. The Tories were for Episcopacy, the Whigs for abolishing it; but when these had got the upper hand, they contented themselves with only abridging it of its power.

At the time when the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke used to drink healths to the Tory cause, the church of England considered these noblemen as defenders of its holy privileges. The lower house of convocation, a kind of house of commons, composed wholly of the clergy, was in some credit at that time; at least, the members of it had the liberty to meet, to discuss ecclesiastical matters; to sentence, from time to time, to the flames, all impious books, that is, books written against themselves. The ministry, which is composed of Whigs at present, does not now so much as allow these gentlemen to assemble; so that they are at this time reduced (in the obscurity of their respective parishes) to the dull occupation of praying for the prosperity of that government, whose tranquility they would not unwillingly disturb.

With respect to the bishops, who are twenty-six in all, they still maintain their seats in the house of lords in spite of the Whigs; because ancient custom, or, if you please, abuse, of con-

60 Of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

sidering them as barons, still subsists. There is a clause, however, in the oath they are obliged to take to the government, that puts these gentlemen's christian patience to a severe trial; namely, that they shall be of the church of England, as by law established. There is hardly a bishop, dean, or other dignitary, but imagines himself so *jure divino*; and consequently it cannot but be a great mortification to them to be obliged to confess, that they owe their dignities to a pitiful law made by a set of profane laymen. A learned monk (father Couzayer) wrote a book, not long ago, to prove the validity and succession of English ordinations. This book was forbid in France: but think you the English ministry were pleased with it? No such thing. Those cursed Whigs do not care a straw whether the episcopal succession among them hath been interrupted or not; or whether bishop Parker was consecrated in a tavern *, (as some pretend) or in a church, chusing rather that the bishops should derive their authority from the parliament than from the apostles. Lord B—— observed, that the notion of divine right would only serve to make tyrants in lawn sleeves and rochets; but that the law made citizens.

With respect to the morals of the English clergy, they are more regular than those of France, and for this reason: the clergy, in general, are educated in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, at a distance from the depravity and corruption that are found in the capital. They are not called to the dignities

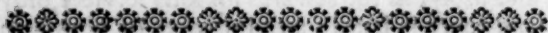
* Alluding to the Nag's-Head Consecration,

of the church till very late, at a time of life when men are sensible of no other passion but avarice, and their ambition wants a supply. Employments are here bestowed, both in church and army, as the rewards for long services only; and there is hardly any instances of boys being made bishops or colonels, immediately upon their leaving school. Besides, most of the clergy are married. The pedantic airs contracted at the university, and the little commerce men of this profession have with the women, commonly oblige a bishop to confine himself to his own. Clergymen sometimes take a chearful glass at the tavern, because it is the custom so to do; and if they chance to take a cup too much, it is with great sobriety, and without giving the least scandal.

That mixed kind of mortal (not to be defined), who is neither of the clergy nor the laity; in a word, the thing called *abbé* in France, is a species utterly unknown in England. All the clergy here are very much upon the reserve, and most of them pedants. When these are told, that in France young fellows, distinguished for their dissoluteness, and raised to the prelacy by female intrigues, address the Fair publicly in an amorous way, amuse themselves with writing tender songs, entertain their friends splendidly every night at their own houses, and, after the feast is over, withdraw to invoke the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and boldly assume the title of successors to the apostles; when the English, I say, are told these things, they bless God that they are Protestants. But these are shameless heretics,
who

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who deserve to fry in hell with all the devils, as master Rabelais says; and, for this reason, I shall trouble myself no more about them.



OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

THE church of England is confined wholly to England and Ireland, Presbyterianism being the established religion in Scotland. This Presbyterianism is exactly the same with Calvinism, as it was established in France, and is now professed at Geneva. As the priests of this sect receive but very inconsiderable stipends from their churches, and consequently cannot live in the same luxurious manner with bishops, they very naturally exclaim against honours they cannot attain to. Figure to yourself the haughty Diogenes trampling under foot the pride of Plato. The Scotch Presbyterians are not very unlike that proud and beggarly reasoner. Diogenes did not treat Alexander with half the insolence as these treated King Charles II. for when they took up arms in his cause against Cromwell, who had deceived them, they compelled that poor prince to undergo the hearing of three or four sermons every day; would not suffer him to play; reduced him to a state of penance and mortification; insomuch, that Charles very soon grew weary of these pedants, and made his escape from them with as much joy as a youth does from school.

In

In presence of the young, the gay, the sprightly French graduate, who bawls for a whole morning together in the divinity-school; and makes one at a concert in the evening with the ladies, a church of England clergyman is a Cato. But this Cato is a very Jemmy, when compared with a Scotch Presbyterian *. The latter affects a solemn gait, a sour countenance, wears a broad-brimmed hat and a long cloak over a short coat, preaches through the nose, and calls by the name of *Whore of Babylon* all churches where the ministers are so fortunate as to enjoy a good five or six thousand a year, and where the people are weak enough to suffer this, and give them the titles of My Lord, Your Grace, or Your Eminence. These gentlemen, who have also some churches in England, have brought an outside of gravity and austerity in some measure into fashion. To them is owing the sanctification of Sunday in the three kingdoms. People are forbid to work or take any recreation on that day, which is being twice as severe as the Romish church. No operas, plays, or concerts, are allowed in London on Sundays; and even cards are so expressly forbid, that none but persons of quality, and those we call genteel, play on that day; the rest of the nation go either to church, to the tavern, or to a kept mistress's.

Though the Episcopal and Presbyterian sects are the two prevailing ones in Great Britain,

* With respect to the Presbyterians, times are much altered since our author published this description, which, by the bye, seems to have been taken from the Puritans of the last century; at least, we do not remember to have seen such an animal, with a broad beaver and a short coat, covered with a long cloak,

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yet all others are very welcome to come and settle in it, and they live very sociably together, though most of their preachers hate one another, almost as cordially as a Jansenist damns a Jesuit.

Take a view of the Royal Exchange in London, a place more venerable than many courts of justice, where the representatives of all nations meet for the benefit of mankind. There the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian, transact business together, as though they were all of the same religion, and give the name of Infidels to none but bankrupts; there the Presbyterian confides in the Anabaptist, and the Churchman depends on the Quaker's word. At the breaking up of this pacific and free assembly, some withdraw to the synagogue, and others to take a glass. This man goes and is baptized in a great tub, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that man has his son's foreskin cut off, and causes a set of Hebrew words (to the meaning of which he himself is an utter stranger) to be mumbled over the infant; others retire to their churches, and there wait the inspiration of heaven with their hats on; and all are satisfied.

If one religion only were allowed in England, the government would very possibly become arbitrary; if there were but two, the people would cut one another's throats; but, as there are such a multitude, they all live happy, and in peace.

Of the SOCINIANS, or ARIANS, or ANTITRINITARIANS.

THERE is a little sect here, composed of clergymen, and a few the most learned of the laity, who neither assume the name of Arians or Socinians, and yet are directly opposite in opinion to St. Athanasius with regard to the Trinity; not scrupling to declare frankly, that the Father is greater than the Son.

Do you remember what is related of a certain orthodox bishop, who, in order to convince an emperor of the reality of consubstantiation, put his hand under the chin of the monarch's son, and gave him a tweak by the nose in presence of his Most Sacred Majesty. The emperor was going to order his attendants to throw the bishop out of the window, when the good old man gave him this polite and convincing reason: "Since your majesty, says he, is angry when your son has not due respect shewn him, what punishment do you think will God the Father inflict on those who refuse his Son Jesus the titles due to him?" The persons I am speaking of declare, that the holy bishop was a rash old fool; that his argument was by no means conclusive; and that his Imperial Majesty should have answered him in this manner: "Learn that there are two ways by which men may be wanting in the respect they owe to me: first, in not doing honour sufficient to my son; and, secondly, in paying him the same honours as to me."

Be

Be this as it will, the principles of Arius began to revive, not only in England, but in Holland and Poland. The celebrated Sir Isaac Newton honoured this opinion so far as to countenance it. This philosopher thought that the Unitarians argued more mathematically than we do; but the most zealous stickler for Arianism is the illustrious Dr. Clark. This man is rigidly virtuous, and of a mild disposition; is more fond of his tenets than desirous of propagating them; and so totally absorbed in problems and calculations, that he is a mere reasoning machine. 'Tis he who wrote a book, which is very much esteemed, and little understood, on the Existence of God; and another, more intelligible indeed, but pretty much contemned, on the Truth of the Christian Religion.

He never engaged in those curious scholastic disputes which our friend calls *venerable Trifles*. He only published a work containing all the testimonies of the primitive ages, for and against the Unitarians, and leaves to the reader the counting of the voices, and the liberty of passing sentence. This book won the doctor a great number of partizans, and lost him the archbishoprick of Canterbury; for when Queen Anne was about to bestow that see on him, a reverend doctor, whose name was Gibson, for certain reasons known to himself, and which were doubtless very good ones, observed to her majesty, that Dr. Clark was undoubtedly the most learned and upright man in the kingdom, and that he wanted only one qualification to be the most deserving object of her majesty's gracious favour. And pray what is that, doctor?

tor? asked the queen. May it please your majesty, to be a Christian, replied the humane and benevolent priest. In my opinion, Dr. Clarke was a little out in his calculation; and had better have been an orthodox primate of all England, than a mere Arian curate.

You see that opinions are subject to as many revolutions as empires. Arianism, after having triumphed during three centuries, and buried in oblivion for twelve, rises at length out of its own ashes; but it has chosen a very improper time to make its appearance in, the present age being quite cloyed with disputes and sects. The members of this sect are as yet too few to be indulged the liberty of holding public assemblies, which, however, they will doubtless be permitted to do, in case they spread considerably: but people are now-a-days so cold, with respect to all things of this kind, that there is little probability of making a fortune, either in a new religion, or in one revived. Is it not whimsical enough, that Luther, Calvin, and Zwinglius, whose writings no-body now reads, should have founded sects that are at present spread over a great part of Europe? That Mahomet, though so ignorant, should have given a religion to Asia and Africa? and that Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Locke, Mr. Le Clerc, and others, the greatest philosophers, as well as the ablest writers of their ages, should scarce have been able to raise a better flock. This it is to be born at a proper period of time. Were cardinal de Retz to return again into the world, he would not draw ten women in Paris after him; were Oliver Cromwell, he who beheaded his sovereign, and seized upon the regal dignity,

nity, to rise from the dead, he would be a wealthy city trader, and nothing more*.



OF THE PARLIAMENT.

THE members of the English parliament are fond of comparing themselves, on all occasions, to the old Romans.

Not long since, Mr. Shippen opened a speech in the house of commons with these words: "The majesty of the people of England would be wounded." The singularity of this expression occasioned a loud laugh; but this gentleman, so far from being disconcerted, repeated the same words again with a resolute tone of voice, and the laugh ceased. I must own, I see no resemblance between the majesty of the people of England and that of the Romans, and still less between the two governments. There is in London a senate, some of the members whereof are accused (doubtless very unjustly) of selling their votes, on certain occasions, as was done at Rome; and herein lies the whole resemblance†. In other respects, the two na-

* Probably a Methodist haberdasher.

† It would have been no more than justice in our author to own, that the people of England resemble the Romans in their fierce unconquerable spirit, in their unquenchable hate of tyrants, and in their invincible passion for liberty. With respect to religious quarrels, England has been as little harrassed by them, and perhaps not so much, as any of her neighbours: nor do we remember one battle ever fought in this kingdom between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians merely on the score of religion.

tions appear to be quite opposite in character, with regard both to good and evil. The Romans never knew the terrible madness of religious wars. This abomination was reserved for devout preachers of patience and humility. Marius and Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey, Anthony and Augustus, did not draw their swords against each other to determine whether the Flamen should wear his shirt over his robe, or his robe over his shirt; or whether the sacred chickens should both eat and drink, or eat only, in order to take the augury. The English have formerly destroyed one another, by sword or halter, for disputes of as trifling a nature. The sects of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians quite turned the heads of these gloomy people for a time: but I believe they will hardly ever be so silly again, as they seem to have grown wiser at their own expence; and I do not perceive the least inclination in them to murder one another any more for mere syllogisms. But who can answer for the follies and prejudices of mankind?

Here follows a more essential difference between Rome and England, which throws the advantage entirely on the side of the latter; namely, that the civil wars of Rome ended in slavery, and those of the English in liberty. The English are the only people upon earth who have been able to prescribe limits to the power of kings by resisting them, and who, by a series of struggles, have at length established that wise and happy form of government where the prince is all-powerful to do good, and at the same time is restrained from committing evil; where the nobles are great without insolence

lence or lordly power, and the people share in the government without confusion.

The house of lords and that of the commons divide the legislative power under the king; but the Romans had no such ballance *. Their Patricians and Plebeians were continually at variance, without any intermediate power to reconcile them. The Roman senate, who were so unjustly, so criminally, formed as to exclude the Plebeians from having any share in the affairs of government, could find no other artifice to effect their design, but by employing them in foreign wars. They considered the people as a wild beast, whom they were to let loose upon their neighbours, for fear they should turn upon their masters. Thus the greatest defects in the government of the Romans was the means of making them conquerors; and, by being unhappy at home, they became masters of the world, till in the end their divisions sunk them into slavery.

The government of England from its nature can never attain to so exalted a pitch †, nor can it ever have so fatal an end. It has not in view the splendid folly of making conquests, but only to prevent their neighbours from conquering. The English are not only jealous of their own liberty, but even of that of other na-

* This is an imaginary ballance; nor do we find from history, that in any parliamentary contest, the king and peers, when joined, were able to counter-balance the power of the commons; yet, while individuals are corruptible, the crown of Britain will always be in possession of the means to secure a majority.

† The success attending the operations of Great Britain in the present war, plainly proves, that the government of England is extremely well calculated for conquest.

tions. The only reason of their quarrels with Lewis XIV. was on account of his ambition.

It has not been without some difficulty that liberty has been established in England, and the idol of arbitrary power has been drowned in seas of blood; nevertheless, the English do not think they have purchased their laws at too high a price. Other nations have shed as much blood; but then the blood they spilt in defence of their liberty, served only to enslave them the more.

That which rises to a revolution in England, is no more than a sedition in other countries. A city in Spain, in Barbary, or in Turkey, takes up arms in defence of its privileges, when immediately it is stormed by mercenary troops, it is punished by executioners, and the rest of the nation kiss their chains. The French think that the government of this island is more tempestuous than the seas which surround it; in which, indeed, they are not mistaken: but then this happens only when the king raises the storm by attempting to seize the ship, of which he is only the pilot. The civil wars of France lasted longer, were more cruel, and productive of greater evils, than those of England: but none of these civil wars had a wise and becoming liberty for their object.

In the detestable times of Charles IX. and Henry III. the whole affair was only, whether the people should be slaves to the Guises. As to the last war of Paris, it deserves only to be hooted at. It makes us think we see a crowd of schoolboys rising up in arms against their master, and afterwards whipped for it. Cardinal de Retz, who was witty and brave, but
employed

employed those talents badly ; who was rebellious without a cause, factious without design, and the head of a defenceless party, caballed for the sake of caballing, and seemed to foment the civil war for his own amusement and pastime. The parliament did not know what he aimed at, nor what he did not aim at. He levied troops, and the next instant cashiered them : he threatened ; he begged pardon ; he set a price on Cardinal Mazarin's head, and afterwards made him his congratulations in a public manner. Our civil wars under Charles VI. were bloody and cruel, those of the League execrable, and that of the Frondeurs * ridiculous.

That for which the French chiefly reproach the English nation, is the murder of king Charles I. a prince who merited a better fate, and whom his subjects treated just as he would have treated them, had he been powerful and at ease. After all, consider, on one side, Charles I. defeated in a pitched battle, imprisoned, tried, sentenced to die in Westminster-hall, and then beheaded ; and, on the other, the emperor Henry VII. poisoned by his chaplain in receiving the sacrament ; Henry III. of France stabbed by a monk ; thirty different plots contrived to assassinate Henry IV. several of them put in execution, and the last depriving that great monarch of his life. Weigh, I say, all these wicked attempts, and then judge.

* As this name has occurred frequently in the course of this work, especially in the historical part, it may not be improper to inform the reader, that *Frondeurs*, in its proper sense, signifies *Slingers*, and figuratively *cavillers*, or lovers of contradiction ; and was a name given to a party that opposed the French ministry under cardinal Mazarin in 1648.

ON THE
ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

THIS mixture of different departments in the government of England, this harmony between the king, lords, and commons, has not always subsisted. England was for a long time in a state of slavery, having, at different periods, wore the yoke of the Romans, Saxons *, Danes, and, last of all, the Normans. William the Conqueror in particular governed them with a rod of iron. He disposed of the goods and lives of his new subjects like an eastern tyrant: he forbid, under pain of death, any Englishman to have either fire or light in his house after eight o'clock at night †. Whether it was that he intended by this edict to prevent their holding any assemblies in the night, or that, by so whimsical a prohibition, he had a mind to try to what a degree of abjectness men might be subjected by their fellow-creatures. It is, however, certain the English had parliaments both before and since the time of William the Conqueror; they still boast of them, as if the assemblies which then bore the title of Parliaments, and which were composed of the ec-

* The English were absolutely free under the Saxon government, to which indeed they owe the best privileges they now enjoy.

† The English doubtless complained of this regulation, which, however, was common in all the kingdoms of the continent, where the houses, being built of wood, were the more subject to conflagration.

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clesiastical tyrants and of the barons *, had been actually the guardians of their liberties, and the preservers of the public felicity.

These Barbarians, who poured like a torrent from the shores of the Baltic, and over-ran all the east of Europe, brought the use of these estates or parliaments, which are the subject of so much noise, though very little known, along with them. It is true, kings were not then despotic, which is precisely the reason why the people groaned under so intolerable a yoke. The chiefs of those barbarians, who had ravaged France, Italy, Spain, and England, made themselves monarchs. Their captains divided and shared with them the lands of the conquered: hence those margraves, lairds, barons, with all that gang of petty tyrants who have often disputed with sovereigns, who were not firmly fixed on their thrones, the spoils and plunder of the people. It was so many birds of prey fighting with an eagle, that they might suck the blood of the doves; and every nation, instead of one good and indulgent master, which might have happened to their share, had a hundred of those blood-sucking monsters. Presently after priest-craft began to mingle in civil matters; from the earliest antiquity, the fate of the Gauls, Germans, and inhabitants of Great Britain, depended on the Druids, and on the heads of their villages, an antient kind of barons, tho' a less tyrannical sort than their predecessors. These Druids called themselves Mediators between Men and the Deity: it was

* Our author is here mistaken. Every free man had a seat in the *Micklgemot*, or great assembly of the Saxons, where every law received its final sanction.

they

they who made laws, excommunicated, and, lastly, punished criminals with death. The bishops succeeded by imperceptible degrees to their temporal authority in the Gothic and Vandal government. The popes put themselves at their head, and with their briefs, bulls, and their other more mischievous instruments, the monks, made kings tremble on their thrones, deposed or assassinated them at pleasure, and, in a word, drew to themselves all the treasure of Europe. The weak Ina *, one of the tyrants of the English heptarchy, was the first who, in a pilgrimage which he made to Rome, submitted to pay *Peter's pence* (about a French crown, or half crown sterling nearly) for every house in his kingdom. The whole island presently followed this example; England became insensibly a province to the pope; and the holy father sent thither, from time to time, his legates to levy extraordinary impositions. At last John, surnamed Sans Terre, or Lack Land, made a formal cession of his kingdom to his holiness, who had excommunicated him. The barons, who were by no means gainers by this proceeding, expelled this wretched prince, and set up in his place Lewis VIII. father to St. Lewis king of France; but they were presently

* Ina, sovereign of Essex, and afterwards declared monarch of the Anglo Saxons, was the most illustrious of all the kings who had reigned in this country. He compiled a body of laws, which served as the ground-work of those published by Alfred. The only weak part of his character was an unkingly spirit of devotion, which prompted him to abdicate the throne: but he was not blameable for the establishment of Peter-pence, which was originally no other than an elymosinary donation for the support of the English college built by him at Rome.

disgusted with this new monarch, and then compelled him to cross the seas again.

Whilst the barons, with the bishops and popes, were tearing all England to pieces, where each of them would fain have ruled, the people, that is to say, the most numerous, the most useful, and even the most virtuous part of mankind, composed of those who addict themselves to the study of the laws and of the sciences, of merchants, mechanics, and, in a word, of labourers, that first and most despised of all professions; the people, I say, was considered by them as animals of a nature inferior to the rest of the human species. The commons were then far from enjoying the least share in the government: they were then villains or slaves, whose labour, and even whose blood, was the property of their masters, who called themselves the Nobility. Far the greatest part of the human species were in Europe, what they still are in several parts of the world, the slaves of some lord, and at best but a kind of cattle, which they bought and sold with their lands. It was the work of ages to render justice to humanity, and to find out what a horrible thing it was, that the many should sow whilst a few did reap: and is it not the greatest happiness for the French, that the authority of those petty tyrants has been extinguished by the lawful authority of our sovereign, and in England by that of the king and nation conjointly?

Happily in those shocks which the quarrels of kings and great men gave to empires, the chains of nations have been relaxed more or less. Liberty in England has arisen from the quarrels of tyrants. The barons forced *John*

Sans Terre and Henry III. to grant that famous charter, the principal scope of which was in fact to make kings dependant on the lords; but, at the same time, the rest of the nation were favoured, that they might side with their pretended protectors. This great charter, which is looked upon as the palladium and the consecrated fountain of the public liberty, is itself a proof how little that liberty was understood: the very title * sets it beyond all doubt, that the king thought himself absolute, *de jure*; and that the barons, and even the clergy, forced him to relinquish this pretended right, only because they were stronger than he. It begins in this manner: "We, of our free will, grant the following privileges to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and barons of our kingdom," &c. In the articles of this charter there is not one word said of the house of commons; a proof that no such house then existed; or, if it did, that its power was next to nothing. In this the

* M. de Voltaire seems to have considered this subject superficially. The two great charters were no other than a confirmation and augmentation of those rights and privileges which the English had enjoyed under the Saxon monarchs; to the maintenance of which, indeed, all the kings since the Conquest had sworn, at or after their coronation. The expression of "we grant of our free will," &c. implies no more than his voluntary compliance with the demands of the barons. They demanded such privileges as their right, and he declared he granted them freely. The most essential articles of the great charter were these: "No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or free customs, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal process—Amerciements shall be proportioned to the offence and circumstances of the offender, so as not to affect his landed estate, or disable him from following his vocation; but be rated by a verdict of twelve creditable men in the neighbourhood."

free men of England are specified ; a melancholly proof that there were then some who were not so. We see, by the thirty-second article, that those pretended free men owed their lords certain servitude. Such a liberty as this smelled very rank of slavery. By the twenty-first article, the king ordains, that from henceforth officers shall be restrained from forcibly seizing the horses and carriages of free men, except on paying for the same. This regulation was considered by the people as real liberty, because it destroyed a most intolerable kind of tyranny. Henry VII. that fortunate conqueror and politician, who pretended to cherish the barons, whom he both feared and hated, bethought himself of the project of alienating their lands. By this means the villains, who afterwards acquired property by their industry, bought the castles of the great lords, who had ruined themselves by their extravagance ; and by degrees all the estates almost in the kingdom changed masters.

The house of commons became every day more powerful ; the families of the antient peerage became extinct in time ; and as, in the rigour of the law, there is no other nobility in England besides the peers, the whole order would have been annihilated, had not the kings created new barons from time to time ; and this expedient preserved the body of the peers they had formerly so much dreaded, in order to oppose the house of commons, now grown too powerful. All the new peers, which form the upper house, receive nothing besides their titles from the crown ; scarce any of them possessing the lands from whence those titles are derived. The duke of Dorset, for example, is one of them,

them, though he possesses not a foot of land in Dorsetshire; another shall be earl of a village, who hardly knows in what quarter of the island such a village lies. They only have a certain power in parliament, and no where out of it, which, with some few privileges, is all they enjoy.

Here is no such thing as the distinction of high, middle, and low justice in France; nor of the right of hunting on the lands of a citizen, who has not the liberty of firing a single shot of a musket on his own estate.

A peer or nobleman in this country pays his share of the taxes as others do, all of which are regulated by the house of commons; which house, if it is second only in rank, is the first in point of credit. The lords and bishops, it is true, may reject any bill of the commons, when it regards the raising of money; but are not entitled to make the smallest amendment in it: they must either pass it or throw it out, without any restriction whatever. When the bill is confirmed by the lords, and approved of by the king, then every person is to pay his quota without distinction; and that not according to his rank or quality, which would be absurd, but in proportion to his revenue. Here is no *taille*, or arbitrary poll-tax, but a real tax on lands; all of which underwent an actual valuation under the famous William III. The taxes subsist always the same, notwithstanding the value of lands has risen; so that no one is stripped to the bone, nor of consequence can there be any ground of complaint: the feet of the peasant are not tortured with wooden shoes; he eats the best wheaten bread, is well and warmly cloth-

ed, and is in no apprehensions on account of the increase of his herds and flocks, or terrified into a thatched house, instead of a convenient slated roof, for fear of an augmentation of the *taille* the year following. There are even a number of peasants, or, if you will, farmers, who have from five to six hundred pounds sterling yearly income, and who are not above cultivating those fields which have enriched them, and where they enjoy the greatest of all human blessings, liberty.



OF THEIR COMMERCE.

NEVER has any people, since the fall of Carthage, been at the same time powerful by sea and land, till Venice shewed the example. The Portuguese, from their good fortune in discovering the passage by way of the Cape of Good Hope, have been for some time great lords on the coasts of the East Indies, but have never been very respectable in Europe. Even the United Provinces became warlike, contrary to their natural disposition, and in spite of themselves; and it can in no sort be ascribed to their union among themselves, but to their being united with England, that they have contributed to hold the balance in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Carthage, Venice, and Amsterdam, were undoubtedly powerful; but their conduct has been exactly like that of merchants grown rich by traffic, who afterwards purchase lands with the

the dignity of lordship annexed to them. Neither Carthage, nor Venice, nor Holland have, from a warlike and even conquering beginning, ended in a commercial nation. The English are the only people existing who have done this: they were a long while warriors before they learned to cast accounts. They were entirely ignorant of numbers when they won the battles of Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers, and were likewise ignorant that it was in their power to become corn-factors and woollen-drapers, two things that would certainly turn to much better account. This science alone has rendered the nation at once populous, wealthy, and powerful. London was a poor country-town when Edward III. conquered one half of France; and it is wholly owing to this that the English have become merchants; that London exceeds Paris in extent, and number of inhabitants; that they are able to equip and man two hundred sail of ships of war, and keep the kings their allies in pay. The Scotch are a people born warriors, and who, from the purity of their air, inherit good sense. Whence comes it then that Scotland, under the name of an *Union*, is become a province to England? It is because Scotland* has scarce any other commodity than coal, and that England has fine tin, excellent wool, and
abounds

* Scotland is by nature surprisngly adapted to the growth of commerce and manufacture. Besides coal, her mountains afford inexhaustible mines of lead, iron, and copper. Her hills and vallies produce excellent pasturage for black cattle and sheep; her soil is capable of raising hemp, flax, and corn; her seas teem with myriads of fish for food and

abounds in corn, manufactures, and trading companies.

When Lewis XIV. made Italy tremble, and his armies, already in possession of Savoy and Piedmont, were on the point of reducing Turin, prince Eugene was obliged to march from the remotest parts of Germany to the assistance of the duke of Savoy. He was in want of money, without which cities can neither be taken nor defended. He had recourse to the English merchants. In half an hour's time they lent him five millions, with which he effected the deliverance of Turin, beat the French, and wrote this short note to those who had lent him the money: "Gentlemen, I have received your money, and flatter myself I have employed it to your satisfaction." This gives an Englishman a kind of pride, which is extremely well founded, and causes him, not without reason, to compare himself to a citizen of Rome. Thus the younger son of a peer of the realm is not above traffic. My lord Townshend, secretary of state, has a brother who is satisfied with being a merchant in the city. At the time when my lord Oxford ruled all England, his younger brother was a factor at Aleppo, whence he could never be prevailed on to return, and where he died. This custom, which is now unhappily beginning to be laid aside, appears monstrous to a German, whose

exportation; her coast abounds with the best harbours in Europe; and her situation between the Atlantic and German oceans is peculiarly favourable to foreign trade: her subordination to England was the natural consequence of her adjoining to a more populous, wealthy, industrious, and united people.

head

head is full of the coats of arms and pageants of his family. They can never conceive how it is possible the son of an English peer should be no more than a rich and powerful citizen, whilst in Germany they are all princes. I have known above thirty highnesses of the same name, whose whole fortunes and estate put together amounted to a few coats of arms, and the starving pride they inherited from their ancestors.

In France every body is a marquis; and a man just come from the obscurity of some remote province, with money in his pocket, and a name that ends with an *ac* or an *ille*, may give himself airs, and usurp such phrases as, *A man of my quality and rank!* and hold merchants in the most sovereign contempt. The merchant again, by dint of hearing his profession despised on all occasions, at last is fool enough to blush at his condition. I will not, however, take upon me to say which is the most useful to his country, and which of the two ought to have the preference; whether the powdered lord, who knows to a minute when the king rises or goes to bed, perhaps to stool, and who gives himself airs of importance in playing the part of a slave in the antichamber of some minister; or the merchant, who enriches his country, and from his counting-house sends his orders into Surat or Cairo, thereby contributing to the happiness and convenience of human nature.

O N
I N O C U L A T I O N
O F T H E
S M A L L - P O X.

THE rest of Europe, that is, the Christian part of it, very gravely assert that the English are fools and madmen ; fools, in communicating the contagion of the small-pox to their children, in order to hinder them from being subject to that dangerous and loathsome disorder ; madmen, in wantonly exposing their children to this pestilence, with design to prevent a contingent evil. The English, on their side, call the rest of Europe unnatural and cowardly ; unnatural, in leaving their children exposed to almost certain death by the small-pox ; and cowardly, in fearing to give their children a trifling matter of pain from a purpose so noble and so evidently useful. In order to determine which of the two are in the right, I shall now relate the history of this famous practice, which is in France the subject of so much dread.

The women of Circassia have from time immemorial been accustomed to give their children the small-pox, even as early as at six months old, by making an incision in the arm, and afterwards inserting in this incision a pustule carefully

carefully taken from the body of some other child. This pustule so insinuated produces in the body of the patient the same effect that leaven does in a piece of dough; that is, it ferments in it, and communicates to the mass of blood the qualities with which it is impregnated. The pustules of the child infected in this manner serve to convey the same disease to others. This disorder therefore is perpetually circulating through the different parts of Circassia; and when, unluckily, there is no infection of the small-pox in the country, it creates the same uneasiness as a dearth, or an unhealthy season, would have occasioned.

What has given rise to this custom in Circassia, and which is so extraordinary to other nations, is, however, a cause common to them with all the nations on the face of the earth; that is, the tenderness * of mothers, and motives of interest. The Circassians are poor, but have handsome daughters; which, accordingly, is the principal article of their foreign commerce. It is they who furnish beauties for the seraglios of the grand signior, the sophi of Persia, and others who are rich enough to purchase and to maintain these precious commodities. These people bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; that is, in virtuous and honourable principles, which contain the whole science of wheedling the male part of the creation; the art of dancing, with gestures expressive of uncommon effeminacy and lasciviousness; and lastly, that of rekindling,

* This is a strange effect of maternal tenderness, to breed up their children for sale.

by the most bewitching artifices, the exhausted appetites of those haughty lords to whom their fates have destined them. These poor creatures repeat their lesson every day with their mothers, in the same manner as our girls do their catechism; that is, without understanding a single syllable of what is taught them. Now it often happened, that a father and mother, after having taken an infinite deal of pains in giving their children a good education, are all of a sudden frustrated of their hopes. The small-pox getting into the family, one daughter perhaps died; another lost an eye; a third recovered, but with a disfigured nose; so that here was an honest couple ruined past all remedy. Often too an entire stagnation of all kind of commerce has ensued, and that for several years running, when the disorder happened to be epidemical, to the no small detriment of the seraglios of Turkey and Persia.

A commercial people are always exceedingly vigilant with regard to their interest, and never neglect those pieces of knowledge that may be of use in the carrying on their traffic. The Circassians found, that upon computation, in a thousand persons there were hardly one that was ever twice seized with the small-pox completely formed; that there had been instances of a person's having had a slight touch of the small-pox, or something resembling it, but there never were any two relapses known to be dangerous: in short, that in fact the same person has never been known to have been twice infected with this disorder. They further remark, that when the disease is mild, and the breaking out has only to pierce through
a thin

a thin and delicate skin, they leave no sort of mark on the face behind them. From these natural observations they concluded, that if a child of six months or a year old was to have a mild kind of the small-pox, that not only the child would certainly survive, but would get the better of it without so much as bearing any marks of it, and would assuredly be quit of it during the remainder of its life. From hence it followed of course, that their only method would be to communicate the disorder to their children betimes, which they did, by insinuating into the child's body a pustule taken from the body of one infected with the small-pox, the most completely formed, and at the same time the most favourable kind that could be found. The experiment could scarce possibly fail. The Turks *, a very sensible people, soon adopted this practice; and, at this day, there is scarce a bashaw in Constantinople who does not inoculate his children while they are at the breast.

There are some who pretend the Circassians formerly learned this custom from the Arabians. We will leave this point in history to be elucidated by some learned Benedictine, who will not fail to compose several volumes in folio upon the subject, together with the necessary vouchers. All I have to say of the matter is, that in the beginning of the reign of George I. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, one of the most celebrated ladies in England for her strong and solid good sense, happening to be with her

* The Turks never adopted the practice of inoculation, if we may depend upon the latest and best accounts received from Constantinople.

husband at Constantinople, resolved without any kind of difficulty to give the small-pox to a child she had had in that country. In vain did her chaplain remonstrate that this practice was by no means consistent with Christian principles, and could only be expected to succeed with infidels; my lady Wortley's son recovered, and was presently as well as could be wished. This lady, on her return to London, communicated the experiment she had made to the princess of Wales*, now queen of Great Britain. It must be acknowledged that, setting crowns and titles aside, this princess is certainly born for the encouragement of arts, and for the good of the human race, to whom she is a generous benefactor: She is an amiable philosopher seated on a throne, who has improved every opportunity of instruction, and who has never let slip any occasion of shewing her innate generosity. It is she who on hearing that a daughter of Milton was still living, and in extreme misery, immediately sent her a considerable present; she it is, who encourages the celebrated father Courayer; in a word, it is she who deigned to become the mediatrix between doctor Clarke and Mr. Leibnitz†. As soon as she heard of inoculation for the small-pox, she caused an experiment of it to be tried on four criminals under sentence of death, who were thus doubly indebted to her for their lives: for she not only rescued them from the gallows, but, by means of this artificial kind

* The late Queen Caroline.

† Leibnitz attacked the philosophy of Sir Isaac Newton, which was defended by Dr. Clarke.

of the small-pox, prevented them from having it in the natural way, which they, in all human probability, would have had, and of which they might have died in a more advanced age. The princess, thus assured of the utility of this proof, caused her own children to be inoculated. All England, or rather Britain, followed her example; so that from that time at least six thousand children stand indebted for their lives to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, as do all the fair of the island for preserving their beauty.

In an hundred persons that come into the world, at least sixty are found to catch the small-pox; of these sixty, twenty are known to die in the most favourable times, and twenty more wear very disagreeable marks of this cruel disorder as long as they live. Here is then a fifth part of the human species assuredly killed, or, at least, horribly disfigured. Among the vast numbers inoculated in Great Britain, or in Turkey, none are ever known to die, except such as were in a very ill state of health, or given over before. No one is marked with it, no one is ever infected a second time, supposing the inoculation to be perfect, that is, to have taken place as it ought. It is therefore certain, that, had some French lady imported this secret from Constantinople into Paris, she would have rendered an inestimable and everlasting piece of service to the nation. The duke de Villequier, father to the present duke d'Aumont, a nobleman of the most robust constitution, would not have been cut off in the flower of his age; the prince de Soubise, who enjoyed the
most

most remarkable state of good health ever known, would not have been carried off at five and twenty; nor would *Monseigneur*, the grandfather of Lewis XV. been laid in his grave by it in his fiftieth year. The twenty thousand persons who died at Paris in 1723 would have been now alive. What shall we say then? Is it that the French set a lower value upon life? or are the ladies of France less anxious about the preservation of their charms? It is true, and it must be acknowledged, we are a very odd kind of people! It is possible, that in ten years we may think of adopting this British custom, provided the doctors and curates, allow us this indulgence; or, perhaps, the French will inoculate their children, out of mere whim and maggot, should those islanders leave it off, from their natural inconsistency*.

I learn that the Chinese have practised this custom these two hundred years last past; the example of a nation that has the first character in point of natural good sense, as well as of their excellent internal police, is a strong prejudice in its favour. It is true, the Chinese follow a method peculiar to themselves; they make no incision, but take the small-pox up the nose in powder, just as we do a pinch of snuff: this method is more pleasant, but amounts to much the same thing, and serves equally to prove, that had inoculation been practised in France, it must assuredly have saved the lives of thousands.

* This chapter is taken from a letter written in 1727. the rest has been added since that time.

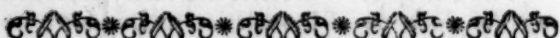
It is some years since a Jesuit missionary having read this chapter, and being in a province of America, where the small pox makes horrible ravages, bethought himself of causing all the Indian children he baptized to be inoculated, so that they are indebted to him not only for this present life, but also for life eternal at the same time: what inestimable gifts for savages!

The bishop of Worcester has lately preached up the doctrine of inoculation at London; he has proved, like a good citizen and patriot, what a vast number of subjects this practice preserves to a nation; a doctrine which he has also enforced by such arguments as might be expected from a pastor and a Christian. They would preach at Paris against this salutary invention, as they wrote twenty years ago against Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy: in short, every thing contributes to prove that the English are greater philosophers, and possessed of more courage than we. It will require a considerable space of time before a true spirit of reason and a particular boldness of sentiment, will be able to make their way over the Straits of Dover.

It must not, however, be imagined, that no persons are to be met with from the Orkneys to the South Foreland but philosophers; the other species will always form the greatest number. Inoculation was at first opposed in London; and a great while before the bishop of Worcester preached this gospel from the pulpit, a certain curate had taken it into his head to declaim against this practice: he told his congregation, that Job had certainly been inoculated by the devil. This man spoiled a good Capuchin,

92 ON CHANCELLOR BACON.

Capuchin, for which nature seems to have intended him; he was certainly unworthy the honour of being born in this island. So we see prejudice, as usual, first got possession of the pulpit, and reason could not reach it till long after; this is no more than the common progress of the human mind.



ON CHANCELLOR BACON.

IT is not long since that ridiculous and threadbare question was agitated in a celebrated assembly; who was the greatest man, whether Cæsar or Alexander, Tamerlane or Cromwell. Somebody made answer, that it must undoubtedly be Sir Isaac Newton. This man was certainly in the right; for if true greatness consists in having received from heaven the advantage of a superior genius, with the talent of applying it for the interest of the possessor and of mankind, a man like Mr. Newton, and such an one is hardly to be met with in ten centuries, is surely by much the greatest; and those statesmen and conquerors which no age has ever been without, are commonly but so many illustrious villains. It is the man who sways our minds by the prevalence of reason and the native force of truth, not they who reduce mankind to a state of slavery by brutish force and downright violence; the man who by the vigour of his mind, is able to penetrate into the hidden secrets of nature, and
whose

whose capacious soul can contain the vast frame of the universe, not those who lay nature waste, and desolate the face of the earth, that claims our reverence and admiration.

Therefore, as you are desirous to be informed of the great men that England has produced, I shall begin with the Bacons, the Lockes, and the Newtons, &c. The generals and ministers will come after them in their turn.

I must begin with the celebrated baron of Verulam, known to the rest of Europe by the name of Bacon, who was the son of a certain keeper of the seals, and was for a considerable time chancellor under James I. Notwithstanding the intrigues and bustle of a court, and the occupations incident to his office, which would have required his whole attention, he found means to become a great philosopher, a good historian, and an elegant writer; and what is yet more wonderful is, that he lived in an age where the art of writing was totally unknown, and where sound philosophy was still less so. This personage, as is the way amongst mankind, was more valued after his death than whilst he lived. His enemies were courtiers residing at London, whilst his admirers consisted wholly of foreigners. When the marquis d'Effiat brought the princess Mary, daughter to Henry the Great, over to be married to king Charles, this minister paid Bacon a visit, who being then confined to a sick bed, received him with close curtains. "You are like the angels," said d'Effiat to him; "we hear much talk of them, and whilst every body thinks them superior to men, we are never favoured with a sight of them."

You

You have been told in what manner Bacon was accused of a crime which is very far from being the sin of a philosopher*; of being corrupted by pecuniary gifts; and how he was sentenced by the house of peers to pay a fine of about four hundred thousand livres of our money, besides losing his office of chancellor, and being degraded from the rank and dignity of a peer. At present the English revere his memory to such a degree as, with great difficulty, to allow him to have been in the least guilty. Should you ask me what I think of it, I will make use of a saying I heard from Lord Bolingbroke. They happened to be talking of the avarice with which the duke of Marlborough had been taxed, and quoted several instances of it, for the truth of which they appealed to Lord Bolingbroke, who, as being of a contrary party, might perhaps, without any trespass against the laws of decorum, freely say what he thought. "He was," said he, "so great a man that I do not recollect whether he had any faults or no." I shall therefore confine myself to let you know what these qualities are which have

* Lord Verulam being committed to the Tower, and conscious of that corruption which was laid to his charge, presented a petition to the house of peers, confessing himself guilty, and requesting that he might not be exposed to the shame of a public trial. He was deprived of his office of chancellor; rendered incapable of sitting in the upper house of parliament; fined in forty thousand pounds; and condemned to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. James, in consideration of his great genius, remitted his fine, released him from prison, and indulged him with a very considerable pension. After all, the crime laid to his charge was rather the effect of weakness and inattention, than owing to a vicious heart or sordid disposition.

acquired chancellor Bacon the esteem of all Europe.

The most singular, as well as the most excellent of all his works, is that which is now the least read, and at the same time the most useful; I mean his *Novum Scientiarum Organum*. This is the scaffold by means of which the edifice of the new philosophy has been reared; so that when the building was compleated, the scaffold was no longer of any use. Chancellor Bacon was still unacquainted with nature, but he perfectly knew, and pointed out extraordinary well, all the paths which lead to her recesses. He had very early despised what those square-cap'd fools teach in those dungeons called *Colleges*, under the name of philosophy, and did every thing in his power that those bodies, instituted for the cultivation and perfecting the human understanding, might cease any longer to mar it, by their *quiddities*, their *horrors of a vacuum*, their *substantial forms*, with the rest of that jargon which ignorance and a nonsensical jumble of religion had consecrated.

This great man is the father of experimental philosophy. It is true, wonderful discoveries had been made even before his time; the mariner's compass, the art of printing, that of engraving, the art of painting in oil, that of making glass, with the remarkably advantageous invention of restoring in some measure sight to the blind; that is, to old men, by means of spectacles; the secret of making gunpowder, &c. had been already discovered. They had gone in search of, discovered, and conquered a new world in another hemisphere. Who would not have thought that these sublime discoveries had

had been made by the greatest philosophers, and in times much more enlightened than ours? By no means; for all these astonishing revolutions happened in the ages of scholastic barbarity. Chance alone has brought forth almost all these inventions; it is even pretended, that chance has had a great share in the discovery of America; at least, it has been believed that Christopher Columbus undertook this voyage on the faith of a captain of a ship who had been cast by a storm on one of the Caribbee islands. Be this as it will, men had learned to penetrate to the utmost limits of the habitable globe, and to destroy the most impregnable cities with an artificial thunder, much more terrible than the real; but they were still ignorant of the circulation of the blood, the weight and pressure of the air, the laws of motion, the doctrine of light and colour, the number of the planets in our system, &c. And a man that was capable to maintain a thesis on the *Categories of Aristotle*, the *universale à parte rei*, or such-like nonsense, was considered as a prodigy.

The most wonderful and useful inventions are by no means those which do most honour to the human mind. And it is to a certain mechanical instinct, which subsists in almost every man, that we owe far the greater part of the arts, and in no manner whatever to philosophy. The discovery of fire, the arts of making bread, of melting and working metals, of building houses, the invention of the shuttle, are infinitely more useful than printing and the compass; notwithstanding, all these were invented by men who were still in a state of barbarity. What astonishing things have the
Greeks

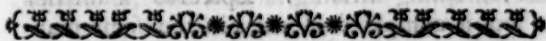
Greeks and Romans since done in mechanics? Yet men believed, in their time, that the heavens were of chrystal, and the stars were so many small lamps, that sometimes fell into the sea; and one of their greatest philosophers, after many researches, had at length discovered that the stars were so many pebbles, that had flown off like sparks from the earth.

In a word, there was not a man who had any idea of experimental philosophy before chancellor Bacon; and of an infinity of experiments which have been made since his time, there is hardly a single one which has not been pointed out in his book. He had even made a good number of them himself. He constructed several sorts of pneumatical machines, by which he discovered the elasticity of the air; he had long brooded over the discovery of its weight, and was even at times very near catching it, when it was laid hold of by Torricelli. A short time after, experimental physicks began, at the same instant, to be cultivated in almost all parts of Europe. This was a hidden treasure of which Bacon had some glimmerings, and which all the philosophers whom his promises had encouraged, made their utmost efforts to lay open. We see in his book mention made in express terms of that new attraction of which Mr. Newton passes for the inventor. "We must enquire," said Bacon, "whether there be not a certain magnetical force, which operates reciprocally between the earth and other heavy bodies, between the moon and the ocean, between the planets, &c." In another place he says, "Either heavy bodies are impelled towards the center of the earth, or they are mutually

tually attracted by it; in this latter case it is evident, that the nearer falling bodies approach the earth, the more forcibly are they attracted by it. We must try, continues he, whether the same pendulum clock goes faster on the top of a mountain, or at the bottom of a mine. If the force of the weight diminish on the mountain, and increase in the mine, it is probable the earth has a real attracting quality."

This precursor in philosophy was also an elegant writer, an historian, and a wit. His moral essays are in high estimation, though they seem rather calculated to instruct than to please; and as they are neither a satire on human nature, like the maxims of Rochefoucault, nor a school of scepticism, like Montagne, they are not so much read as these two ingenious books. His life of Henry VII. passed for a master-piece; but how is it possible some people should have been idle enough to compare so small a work with the history of our illustrious M. de Thou? Speaking of that famous impostor Perkins, son of a Jew convert, who assumed so boldly the name of Richard IV. king of England, being encouraged by the duchess of Burgundy, and who disputed the crown with Henry VII. he expresses himself in these terms: "About this time king Henry was beset with evil spirits, by the witchcraft of the duchess of Burgundy, who conjured up from hell the ghost of Edward IV. in order to torment king Henry. When the duchess of Burgundy had instructed Perkins, she began to consider with herself in what region of the heavens she should make this comet shine, and resolved immediately that it should make its appearance in the horizon of Ireland." I think

our sage de Thou seldom gives into this gallimaufry, which used formerly to pass for the sublime, but which at present is known by its proper title, the *bombast*.



ON LOCKE.

THERE surely never was a more solid and more methodical understanding, nor a more acute and accurate logician than Locke, though he was far from being an excellent mathematician. He never could bring himself to undergo the drudgery of calculation, nor the dryness of mathematical truths, which offer no sensible image to the understanding: and no one has more fully evinced than he has done, that a man, without the smallest assistance from geometry, might still possess the most geometrical intellect possible. The great philosophers before his time, had made no difficulties in determining the essence or substance of the human soul; but as they were wholly ignorant of the matter, it was but reasonable they should be all of them of different opinions.

In Greece, which was at one the cradle of arts, and of errors, where the greatness and folly of the human mind were pushed to so great a height, they reasoned on the soul exactly as we do. The divine Anaxagoras, who had altars erected to him, for teaching men that the sun was bigger than the Peloponnesus, that snow was black, that the sky was of stone, affirmed that

the soul was an aerial spirit, though immortal. Diogenes, a different person from him, who became afterwards a Cynic from a counterfeiter of money, asserted, that the soul was a portion of the substance of God; a notion which had at least something striking. Epicurus maintains the soul is composed of parts in the same manner as matter. Aristotle, whose works have been interpreted a thousand different ways, because they were in fact absolutely unintelligible, was of opinion, if we may trust some of his disciples, that the understandings of all mankind were but one and the same substance. The divine Plato, master to the divine Aristotle, and the divine Socrates, master to the divine Plato, said, that the soul was at the same time corporeal and eternal. The demon of Socrates had, no doubt, let him into the secret of this matter. There are actually some who pretend, that a fellow who boasted of having a familiar, was most assuredly either knave, or fool; possibly they who say so may be rather too squeamish.

As for our fathers of the church, several of them, in the first ages, were of opinion that the human soul, as well as the angels and God himself, were all corporeal. The world is every day improving. St. Bernard, as father Mabillon is forced to own, taught, with respect to the soul, that after death it did not behold God in heaven, but was obliged to rest satisfied with conversing with the humanity of Jesus Christ. Possibly they took it for once on his bare word; though the adventure of the crusade has somewhat lessened the credit of his oracles: Whole
drones

drönes of schoolmen came after him : there was the irrefragable doctor *, the subtil doctor †, the angelic doctor §, the seraphic doctor ||, the cherubimical doctor, all of whom made no scruple of saying they were perfectly clear as to the soul's substance, but who have, for all that, spoken of it exactly as if they neither understood one syllable of what they spoke of, and wanted that nobody else should. Our Descartes, born to discover the mistakes of antiquity, only that he might substitute his own in their place, and bore down by the stream of system, which hoodwinks the greatest men, imagined he had demonstrated, that the soul was the same thing with thought, in the same manner as matter is the same with extension. He firmly maintained, that the soul always thinks, and that at its arrival in the body, it is provided with a whole magazine of metaphysical notions, as of God, space, infinity, and fully supplied with all sorts of abstract ideas, which it unhappily loses the moment it comes forth from its mother's womb. Father Mallebranche, of the oratory, in his sublime illusions, admits of no such thing as innate ideas, though he made no manner of doubt of our seeing every thing in God; and that God himself, if it is lawful to speak in this manner, was the very essence of our soul.

After so many speculative gentlemen had formed this romance of the soul, one truly wise man appeared, who has, in the most modest manner imaginable, given us its real history. Mr. Locke has laid open to man the anatomy of his own

* Hales, † Scot. § Thomas, || Bonaventure.

soul, just as some learned anatomist would have done that of the body. He avails himself throughout of the help of metaphysical lights; and altho' he is sometimes bold enough to speak in a positive manner, he is on other occasions not afraid to discover doubts. Instead of determining at once what we were entirely ignorant about, he examines, step by step, the objects of human knowledge; he takes a child from the moment of its birth; he accompanies him through all the stages of the human understanding; he views what he possesses in common with the brutes, and in what he is superior to them. Above all, he is solicitous to examine the internal evidence of consciousness. "I leave, says he, those who are possessed of more knowledge than I am, to determine whether our souls exists before or after the organization of the body; but cannot help acknowledging that the soul that has fallen to my share, is one of those coarse material kinds of souls which cannot always think; and I am even so unhappy as not to be able to conceive how it should be more indispensably necessary that the soul should always think, than it should be that the body should always be in motion."

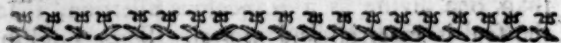
For my own share, I am proud of the honour of being every whit as stupid in this point as Mr. Locke. Nobody shall ever persuade me that I always think; and I don't find myself in the least more disposed than he to think, that a few weeks after I was conceived my soul was very learned, and acquainted with a thousand things that I forgot the moment I came into the world, and that I possessed to very little good purpose in the *uterus*, so many valuable secrets in philosophy, all of which abandoned me the instant they

they could have been of any advantage, and which I have never since been able to recover.

Locke, after demolishing the notion of innate ideas; after having renounced the vain opinion that the mind always thinks; having fully established this point, that the origin of all our ideas is from the senses*; having examined our simple and compound ideas; having accompanied the mind in all its operations; having shewn the imperfection of all the languages spoken by men, and what a gross abuse of terms we are every moment guilty of; Locke, I say, at length proceeds to consider the extent, or rather the nothingness, of human knowledge. This is the chapter in which he has the boldness to advance, though in a modest manner, "That we shall never be able to determine, whether a being, purely material, is capable of thought or no?" This sagacious proposition has passed with more than one divine as a scandalous assertion, that the soul is material and mortal. Some English devotees as usual gave the alarm. The superstitious are in society what poltroons are in an army; they infect the rest with their own panics. They cried out, that Mr. Locke wanted to turn all religion topsy-turvy: there was, however, not the smallest relation to religion in the affair, the question was purely philosophical, and altogether independent of faith and revelation. They had only to examine, without rancour, whether it were a contradiction to say, that

* This is expressly the doctrine of Aristotle. The soul has no knowledge but that which she acquires through the canal of the senses.

“matter is incapable of thought,” and, “God is able to endow matter with thought.” But it is too frequent with theologians to begin with pronouncing that God is offended, whenever we are not of their side of the question, or happen not to think as they do: the case is pretty much like that of the bad poets, who took it into their heads to imagine Boileau spoke high-treason, when he was only laughing at the silliness of their wretched compositions. Doctor Stillingfleet has acquired the character of a moderate divine, only because he has refrained from abuse in his controversy with Mr. Locke. He ventured to enter the lists with him, but was vanquished, because he reasoned too much like a doctor; whilst Locke, like a true philosopher, fully acquainted with the strength and weakness of human understanding, fought with arms of whose temper he was perfectly well assured.



ON THE SOUL.

LET us suppose a dozen philosophers in an island, where they never saw any thing besides the vegetable world. Such an island, and especially half a score or a dozen good philosophers, are, 'tis true, no easy matter to be met with; but however we may very well imagine them, and therefore the hypothesis is allowable. They admire that life which circulates through the pores and fibres of plants, which seems sometimes to be annihilated, and at others to revive again:

again : and not being over and above well informed of the generation of plants, or in what manner they receive their growth and nourishment, they therefore call this the vegetative soul. What do you mean by the term *vegetative soul*? will some one ask. It is, answer they, a word we make use of to signify that unknown spring by which all these operations are performed. But, says some mechanic, do you not see all this is done in a natural way, by means of weights, levers, wheels, and pullies? No, say our philosophers, by no means. There is something more in this sort of vegetation than mere matter and motion; there is besides a secret power with which all plants are endowed, by which they admit the sap that is necessary for their nourishment; and this power, which cannot possibly be explained by any laws of mechanism, is a gift which God has bestowed on matter, and whereof neither you nor I can comprehend the return.

After a good deal of wrangling, at length our philosophers discover the animals. Aha! say they, after a long scrutiny, here are beings organized exactly as we are! They have certainly the gift of memory, and that frequently in a degree superior to ourselves. They have the same passions too; they have knowledge or consciousness; they communicate their wants; and perpetuate their species exactly in the same manner, and as well as the best metaphysician of us all could have done. They proceed to the dissection of one of these beings, in which they find a heart and a brain. What! say they, is it possible the author of these machines, who makes nothing in vain, should have given them all the

organs of sensation, merely to prevent their being in the least capable of sensation? The thought seems with absurdity. There is therefore most assuredly some attribute within them, which is properly what we call *Soul*, for want of a better word; something which is capable of perception, and which is provided with a certain stock of ideas. The question is, what this thinking principle is? Can it be something entirely different from matter? Is it a pure unmixed spirit? or shall we say, it is a being of a middle nature between that matter, whose properties we know not in any degree, and pure spirit, about which we are at least as much in the dark? or shall it be a property with which God endowed organized matter?

Then they fall to making experiments on insects, as on earth-worms, or the polypus; they cut them into several portions, and are astonished, after some little time, to see new heads grow out of each single part; the same animal reproduces itself, and draws from its very destruction the means of multiplying its species. Has it several souls, which wait to animate these parts so reproduced, when the head shall have been severed from the original trunk? They resemble the trees which shoot out branches, and which reproduce their like from their wounds: Can these trees have several souls too? This is by no means likely; it is therefore probable the souls of these beasts are of another species than that to which we gave the name of *vegetative soul* in plants; it must therefore be a superior faculty, with which God has designed to animate certain portions of matter; it is a new proof of his power, and affords new matter of adoration.

Some

Some person, equally overbearing and false in his reasonings, happens to hear this discourse, and says, You are a set of impious wretches, whose bodies ought to be burned, for the good of your souls, for denying man's immortality. Our philosophers are struck with such unheard of language, and look at one another in amazement; one of them answers in a mild and placid tone of voice, Why in such haste to burn-us? What reason can you have to think that we hold that cruel soul of yours to be mortal? Because you believe, replies the other, that God has given these brutes, who are organized as we are, the faculty of forming ideas and sentiment. Now know that the souls of brutes perish with them; therefore you must certainly hold that the souls of men perish also.

The philosopher answers, We are far from pretending to any certainty that what we call *soul* in the brutes perishes with them; we are well assured matter never perishes at all; and we are of opinion, it is possible God may have endowed animals with somewhat that may retain to all eternity, if God so please, the faculty of forming ideas. We are very far from asserting, that the thing is really and certainly so; it belongs not to man to be so confident of himself; but we dare not set bounds to the power of the Deity. We say it is extremely probable that the brutes, which are mere matter, may have received from him a certain portion of intelligence. We discover daily certain properties of matter; that is to say, so many gifts of the Deity, whereof we had here before no manner of conception. We at first defined matter to be an extended substance: afterwards we discovered

we ought to have added solidity; some time after we knew that this matter had a certain power, or force, which is called *inert force*, or *vis inertiae*; after which again we were quite astonished, to be reduced to the necessity of acknowledging that matter gravitates.

Upon our attempting to push our enquiries still farther, we were forced to own there were beings resembling matter in some points, but which are likewise without certain attributes with which matter is sometimes endowed. The elementary fire, for instance, acts on our senses as well as other bodies, yet it tends not to one common center as they do; on the contrary, it diverges from the center in straight lines towards all sides. It appears contradictory to all the laws of attraction and gravity, to which the other parts of matter are subject. Optics has mysteries altogether unaccountable, and for which it is impossible to assign any reason, but by hazarding the supposition that the rays of light penetrate each other. There is undoubtedly some property in light, which distinguishes it from all the other known parts of matter: it would seem that light is a kind of middle substance between bodies and the other kinds of beings, of which we are entirely ignorant. It is very probable, that those other species of matter are themselves a certain middle rank which leads to other creatures, and that there may be, in this manner, a chain of substances which rise to infinity.

Usque adeo quod tangit idem est, tamen ultima distant.

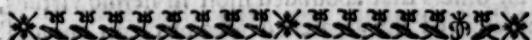
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This idea seems to us worthy of the greatness of God, if any ever was or can be so. Amongst these substances he might no doubt have chosen one, in order to place it in our body, and which is known by the name of the Human Soul; the sacred books which we have read, tell us this soul is immortal. Reason in this point agrees with revelation; for how is it possible any substance should perish? And if all nature is destroyed, yet being must ever exist. We cannot conceive such a thing as the creation of a substance; and it is equally impossible for us to form any idea of its annihilation. But we dare not venture to assert, that the Sovereign Lord of all things may not also have given sentiment and perception to the being called matter. You are perfectly sure the essence of your soul is thought, which is what we are by no means so positive of; for on examining a foetus, we are at a loss to imagine its head can possibly be so well stored with ideas, and are quite dubious, that in the cases of a deep and perfect sleep, or in a complete lethargy, there is any such thing as meditation. Thus it appears to us, that thought may be, not the essence of the thinking substance, but a gift with which the Creator may have given those we call thinking beings. All this has created in us a doubt, that, were he so pleased, he might endow a single atom with this faculty, and preserve this atom to eternity, together with this gift, ordering both or either at his pleasure. There is less difficulty in conceiving how matter may be rendered capable of thinking, than to divine how any substance whatever should think. You have no ideas, only because it was the will of
God

God you should enjoy this faculty; why then would you hinder him from bestowing this quality on other species of beings? Can you be daring enough to believe that your soul is exactly of the same substance with those beings which approach nearest to the Deity? There is abundance of reason to think them of a very superior order; and that consequently God hath designed to endue them with a faculty of thinking infinitely superior and more beautiful, in the same manner as he has granted a very moderate measure of ideas to brute animals, which are of an order inferior to you. I am utterly ignorant how I live, or how I bestow life, and you require me to comprehend how I come by ideas: the soul is as it were a clock which God has given us to regulate, but without telling us of what sort of substance the main spring of it is formed.

Is there any thing in all this from whence it can be inferred that our souls are mortal? Nay, further, we think as you do with respect to that immortality which the gospel announces; but at the same time we hold ourselves too ignorant to be able to affirm, that God has not power to bestow thought on whatever being he pleases. You set bounds to the power of the Creator, which is beyond all bounds, and we stretch it as far as his existence. You will forgive us if we hold him Almighty, as we forgive you the having restrained his power. You are certainly well-informed of what he is capable of doing, whilst we pretend to know nothing of the matter. Let us therefore live in peace like brothers who adore one common father; you as becomes people possessed of souls at once bold and well-

well-informed; and we like ignorant and cowardly spirits, as we certainly are. We have both but a span of existence to enjoy. Let us then enjoy it in peace, without falling together by the ears for quibbles and knotty questions, which will be better resolved on our entering that boundless ocean of eternity, which begins the moment our hour-glass is entirely spent.



ON TOLERATION;

And on the Maxim, That it is impossible
PHILOSOPHERS should be of Prejudice
to Human Society.

THIS brutal person unable to make a satisfactory reply, talked for a long time, and with great heat. Our poor philosophers in the mean while applied themselves to reading history, and after much study declared to the barbarian, That he was unworthy to possess an immortal soul.

Friend, we read that throughout all antiquity matters went altogether as well as in our times; that there were even greater virtues, and that philosophers were never persecuted for matters of mere opinion; why then would you punish us for opinions we never held, and which have no existence but in your own disordered brain? We read that all antiquity believed matter to be eternal. Even those who discovered it to have been created, let others enjoy their opinions in peace. Pythagoras

ras had been a cock, and his parents hogs : nobody had any thing to say against it, whilst his sect was loved and revered by all mankind, except by cooks, and those who had any beans to dispose of.

The Stoics acknowledged God much such another Deity as has been so rashly abandoned by the Spinofists * ; yet the Stoics was the sect of all others that abounded most in heroic virtues, and enjoyed the greatest degree of credit amongst mankind.

The Epicureans made their gods resemble our canons, who maintain their *divine right* by a luxurious indolence, sipping their nectar and ambrosia in perfect peace, and giving themselves no sort of trouble how the world went. These Epicureans boldly taught the materiality and mortality of the soul. They were not the less regarded on that account. They were admitted into all offices of trust or honour, and yet their jumble of atoms did not occasion the least disorder in the world.

The Platonists, like the Gymnosophists, did not do us the honour to think such a being as God ever deigned to create us with his own hands. He had, according to them, left this fervile office to subalterns called *Genii*, who committed a thousand disorders and blunders in the exercise of their function. The god of the

* The famous Spinoza, the son of a Portuguese Jew, was born at Amsterdam in the last century, and has been branded as an atheist for maintaining that the whole universe, and all it contains, belongs essentially to the nature of God, considered as one only substance, of which thought and infinite extent are no more than the properties.

Platonists was an excellent workman, who employed but bungling apprentices in his work here below. Yet men were not wanting in their respect for the school of Plato.

In a word, both with Greeks and Romans, so many sects, so many different moods or ways there were of thinking about the Deity, the soul, the past, and the future; yet none of all these sects were ever persecuted. They were all mistaken, a circumstance we are exceedingly sorry for; yet were they all peaceable and quiet, which confounds and amazes, because it condemns us, by shewing, that most of the reasoners of this day are monsters, whilst those of antiquity were no other than human beings. They sung publicly on the stage at Rome, *Post mortem nihil est; ipsaque mors nihil*. "There is nothing after death; and death itself is but nothing." These sentiments rendered them neither better nor worse; and the world was as easily and as well governed as before; whilst a Titus, a Trajan, and a Marcus Aurelius swayed the world, like so many beneficent deities.

If we pass from the Greeks and Romans to the barbarous nations, let us stop a while amongst the Jews. Superstitious, cruel, and ignorant as this wretched people certainly were, yet they honoured the Pharisees, who admitted the fatality of destiny, and the metempsychosis. They also respected the Sadducees, who absolutely denied the immortality of the soul, together with the existence of any manner of spirits, founding their dogmas on the law of Moses, which never makes the least mention either of rewards or punishments after this life. The Essenians, who held the opi-

opinion of fatality too, and who never offered up any kind of victim in the temple, were still more revered than the Pharisees and the Sadducees; yet did none of their opinions occasion the least disturbance in government. There was reason, however, sufficient to promote cutting of one another's throats, burning and exterminating each other by turns, had they had the least inclination to divert themselves that way. O wretched mortals! profit by these examples. Think for yourselves, and let others enjoy the privilege to do so too. It is the sole consolation of weak minds in this short and transitory life of ours. What! shall you receive with politeness a Turk, who believes Mahomet made a voyage to the moon? You would be very careful how you would have disoblged the bashaw Bonneval, yet would you cut your brother Christian to pieces, because he believes God is able to have bestowed intelligence and thought on every creature.

In this manner spoke one of those philosophers: a second added; "Believe me, we ought never to admit such a thought as that any philosophical notion is capable of hurting the established religion of a country. Although our mysteries contradict our demonstration; yet they are, not a whit the less revered by our christian philosophers, who know that the objects of faith and of reason are of a very opposite nature. Never will philosophers be the founders of any religious sect: Why? Because they are without the leaven of enthusiasm. Divide the human race into twenty parts; nineteen are composed of such persons, who maintain themselves by the labour of their hands, and who will hardly know that such men as Locke and Newton
ever

ever existed. In the remaining twentieth part, how few shall we find who read? And, even of those who do twenty are readers of romances, for one that studies philosophy. The number of those who study is infinitely small, and those few will never think of disturbing the peace of mankind.

Who are they who have brought the flame of discord into their country? Was it Pomponacius, Montagne, le Vayer, Descartes, Gassendi, Bayle, Spinosa, Hobbes, lord Shaftsbury, the count de Boulainvilliers, the consul Maillet, Toland, Collins, Fludd, Woolston, Becker, the author who disguises himself under the feigned name of James Massey, the writer of the Turkish Spy, of the Jewish Letters, of the Persian letters, of the *Pensée Philosophiques*, &c.? By no means: they were generally theologians, who, being at first actuated with the ambition of becoming heads of sects, had soon afterwards adopted that of being chiefs of a party. What do I say? All the books of modern philosophy put together could not have made such a disturbance as the dispute of the Cordeliers formerly did, to determine the orthodox form of their sleeves and cowls.

ON

DESCARTES and NEWTON.

A Frenchman, on his arrival in London, finds a total change in philosophy, as in every thing else. He has just left the world, which abhors a *vacuum*, for one full of emptiness. At Paris we see a world composed of vortices of a subtile matter; at London there is no such thing in nature. With you, it is the pressure of the moon that occasions the flux and reflux of the sea: amongst the English, it is the sea which gravitates towards the moon; so that, when you think the moon ought to give us high water, these philosophers hold we ought to have quite the contrary, or low water. Unhappily for us, there is no coming at the truth † of this, except one had been able to examine the moon and the tides at the first moment of their creation. You will farther remark, that the sun, which in France passed for a mere cypher in this affair, clubs in this country for a fourth part of the reckoning. Amongst your Cartesians, every thing

† It is not a very easy matter to understand our author's meaning in this paragraph. The greatest difficulty about the tides was that of accounting for their rising equally high, or nearly so, at the same time, on both sides of the earth, which could not possibly be affected equally by the attraction of the moon. But this difficulty is removed by the ingenuity of Mr. Ferguson, who proves, by experiment, that the centrifugal force of the side of the earth furthest from the moon, overballances her attraction nearly as much as her attraction on the side next her overballances the centrifugal force of that side,

is performed by means of a certain impulse, that is past all understanding: according to Mr. Newton, it is done by means of attraction; the cause of which is altogether as great a secret. At Paris, you figure to yourselves the earth much like a melon; at London, it is flattened on both sides*. Light, with a Cartesian, exists in the air; according to a Newtonian, it travels to us from the sun, and is about six minutes and an half in its passage. Your chymistry performs all its operations by means of acids and alkalies, and a certain portion of subtle manner; in the English chymistry it is attraction which predominates.

Even the essence of things has undergone a total change. You agree neither about the definition of the soul, nor that of matter. Descartes asserts the soul to be the very same individual substance with thought; whilst Mr. Locke shews the contrary, with all the ease and perspicuity imaginable. Descartes maintains, that matter is nothing but extension; Newton must needs add solidity. Here are terrible contradictions truly!

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

This famous Newton, the destroyer of the Cartesian system, died in the month of March of the year 1727. He lived honoured by his countrymen, and has been venerated as a king who had been a benefactor to his people. He has been read with extreme avidity; and the eulogium of Newton, pronounced by Fontenelle in

* That the earth is an oblate spheroid, is now well known, and universally acknowledged.

the Academy of Sciences, has been translated into English. They expected also his judgment, as a solemn declaration of the superiority of the English philosophy. But on finding he not only deceived them in giving an account of this philosophy, but even that he compared Descartes with Newton, the whole Royal Society of London rose up in arms; and, far from acquiescing in his determination, they were very severe in their criticism on that piece. There were even some (and these not the greatest philosophers among them) who were shocked at the comparison, for no other reason than that Descartes was a Frenchman.

It must be acknowledged these two philosophers pursued a very different conduct, as well in regard to their fortune and way of life as their philosophy. Descartes was born with a strong and lively imagination, which rendered him extremely singular in his private conduct of life, as well as in his method of reasoning. His fancy could not be restrained even in his philosophical works, in which we are constantly meeting with ingenious and lively turns of thought. Nature had almost made him a poet; and he actually composed for the queen of Sweden an entertainment in verse, which, for the honour of his memory, has not been printed. He followed for some time the profession of arms; and then, all of a sudden turning philosopher, at length he thought fit, in spite of the gravity of his character, to fall in love. He had by his mistress a daughter called Francine, who died young, to the great regret of the father. Thus he experienced all the different vicissitudes incident to human life.

He was for a great while of opinion, that, in order to philosophize in full liberty, it was necessary to fly the society of men, and especially to quit his country. He was certainly in the right, his contemporaries being utterly incapable of giving him any assistance, and more likely to do him prejudice than be of any kind of advantage to him. He quitted France, therefore, in quest of truth, which was then persecuted on all sides by the wretched philosophy of the schools; but he found reason to the full as little encouraged in the universities of Holland, whither he retired: for whilst they condemned in France only such propositions in his philosophy as were true, he was equally persecuted by the philosophers in Holland, who did not understand it more than the former; and who, as they beheld his credit from a nearer point of view, for that very reason hated his person more: he was therefore obliged to leave Utrecht. He underwent the accusation of atheism, the last resource of calumny; and the man who had employed all the efforts of his natural sagacity to find out new proofs of the being of a God, was accused of denying his existence. So many persecutions necessarily supposed an extraordinary share of merit and reputation: and he was well known to enjoy a great share of both. Reason began to make some small progress in the world, and to penetrate the fogs and darkness of the schools, as well as to thin the mazes of popular prejudices. His name, at length, made such a noise, that it was proposed to engage him to return into France, by rewarding him according to his merit. He was offered a pension of a thousand crowns. In hopes of this, he actually
re-

returned, payed the charge of the patent, was disappointed of his pension, and went back to philosophize in the solitudes of North Holland; whilst the great Galileo, at the age of fourscore, groaned away his days in the dungeons of the Inquisition, because he had demonstrated, by irrefragable proofs, the motion of the earth. At length our philosopher ended his life suddenly at Stockholm, his premature death being occasioned by a bad regimen, in the presence of some of the learned, who were his enemies, and in the management of certain physicians, who bore him a mortal antipathy.

The career of Sir Isaac Newton was intirely different from his: his life, which lasted till near fourscore, was attended throughout with a happy tranquility, honoured and esteemed by his country. It was his great good fortune not only to be born in a free country, but in an age too in which all the fooleries of the schools had been banished, and reason alone was cultivated: thus mankind were more disposed to become his scholars than his enemies.

There is one very singular difference between his fortune and that of Descartes; which is this, that, in the course of so long a life, he was intirely free from the tyranny of passion, as he was from any kind of failing. He never had the least commerce with any woman; a circumstance of which I have been assured by the physician and surgeon in whose hands he died: in this we ought certainly to admire Newton, yet without blaming a contrary conduct in Descartes.

The public opinion in England, with regard to the two philosophers we are now speaking of,

is, that the former was properly no more than a dreamer, whilst the other was a true sage. There are very few in London who read Descartes, whose works are, in effect, grown perfectly useless: there are also few who read Newton; but this is owing to its requiring much learning to be able to comprehend him. Yet every body talks of them; and whilst the Frenchman stands excluded from any kind of respect or admiration, no praises are thought too high for the merit of the English philosopher. Some folks imagine, that the exploding that odd notion of the horrors of a *vacuum*, the discovery of the weight and spring of the atmosphere, and the invention of telescopes, are all of them owing to the sagacity of Newton: in short, he is in this country a second fabulous Hercules, to whose single valour the ignorant have ascribed the exploits of all the others.

In a critique published in London on Fontenelle's discourse, they have the boldness to assert, that Descartes is no geometrician. Those who talk in this manner may be justly accused of turning against their benefactor. Descartes has made full as great a progress, from the point in which he found geometry to that to which he has carried it, as Newton has done after him. He is the first who taught the manner of finding the algebraic equation of curves. His geometry, which has, thanks to him for it, become so common since his time, was then thought so very deep, that no professor would take upon him to explain it; and there was no one in France, but Fermat, or in all the United Provinces, besides Schouten, who understood it. He carried this geometrical and inventive genius with him

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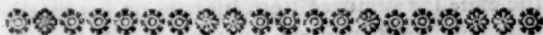
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into the study of dioptrics, which became an art intirely new in his hands; and if he has made considerable mistakes, it is because they who discover new countries cannot be supposed, at the first, to be alike thoroughly acquainted with every part of it. They who have followed him in it, owe him at least the obligation of the discovery. At the same time, I am far from asserting that there are not abundance of mistakes in Descartes.

Geometry was a guide, which he had formed in some measure himself, and which would have conducted him with great certainty in his researches in physics: but at last, abandoning this guide, he was bewildered in the mazes of system, which he adopted. From this time forwards his philosophy became no other than an ingenious romance, and, at best, probable only in the eyes of those ignorant philosophers who were his contemporaries. He was mistaken with respect to the soul, the laws of motion, and the doctrine of light and colour. He admitted innate ideas, invented new elements, created a world, and made man after his own fancy; so that it was said, with great justice, that man, as made by Descartes, was a perfect original, wholly different from that formed by God Almighty. He carried his metaphysical mistakes so very far as to pretend that two and two make four, because it was the will and pleasure of God it should be so; but I think I need hardly fear the imputation of partiality in saying, that his very wanderings have somewhat amiable. It is true, he was deceived; but it was, at least, according to method, and his errors were the fruit of consequences very justly drawn from their premises.

If he invented new chimeras in physics, we must at the same time acknowledge that he destroyed the antient ones, and that he taught his contemporaries to reason, and even to fight him at his own weapons. In short, if he has not always paid in sterling coin, we owe him the obligation of having put down the bad.

Descartes bestowed one eye on the blind, which enabled them to discover the blunders of antiquity as well as his own: the road he laid open is, since his time, become infinitely frequented. Rohault's little book was formerly deemed a complete system of physics: at this day, all the collections of the several academies of Europe do not form what may be called a good introduction to this science. By dint of sounding this abyss, we have at last discovered it to be bottomless, and really infinite.



ON NEWTON.

NEWTON was first intended for the church. He set out with the study of divinity, and retained a tincture of it to his dying day. He very seriously adopted the cause of Arius against Athanasius, and even went farther than he, as all the Socinians actually do. There are at present a great many of the learned of this opinion; I shall not venture to say of this communion, as they make no distinct body. They are, moreover, divided amongst themselves; and several of them have brought their system to pure Deism, to which they have adapted the morality

of Jesus Christ. Newton was by no means of the number of these latter, and differed from the English church only on the point of Consubstantiation, being orthodox in all the rest.

A proof of the sincerity of his faith, is his writing a commentary on the Revelations. Here he finds it clear, to a demonstration, that the pope is Antichrist, and explains the rest of this book exactly as the other commentators have done. Possibly he meant, by this commentary, to console the rest of the human race for the great superiority he had over them. There are several who, having read the little treatise of Metaphysics which Newton has placed at the end of his *Principia Mathematica*, have met with somewhat full as obscure as the Apocalypse. Metaphysicians and theologians are much like those kind of gladiators who were obliged to fight hood-winked. But when Newton worked with the bandage removed from his eyes on his mathematics, his sight pierced to the utmost limits of nature.

He invented the calculation of infinites; he has discovered and demonstrated a new principle, which sets the universe in motion. Light was wholly unknown before his time. There were only confused and false ideas of it, till Newton pronounced the most admirable *fiat*, and said, *Let light be known, and light was known*.

He was the inventor of reflecting telescopes; and the first that ever was seen was the work of his own hands. He likewise demonstrated the reason why the power and focus of common telescopes are not to be augmented. It was owing to this new telescope that a German took Newton for a mechanic, that is, for a spectacle-

spectacle-maker. *Artifex quidam nomine Newton*, says he, in some poultry book. But posterity has since sufficiently revenged the affront. He had still greater injustice done him in France, where he was held as a blundering trier of experiments; and because Mariotte made use of false prisms, the discoveries of Newton were exploded.

He was admired by his countrymen as soon as he had published and proved the truth of his theory by his new-invented instruments; but it was forty years before he was properly known in France. But to make amends, we had the fluted and ramose matter of Descartes, the little soft vortices of the reverend father Mallebranche, and the system of M. Privat de Moliere, which is yet much inferior in value to the works of Poquelin de Moliere.

There is no one of those who were in the least acquainted with cardinal Polignac, who has not heard him say a number of times, that Newton was certainly a Peripatetic, and that his coloured rays and his attraction bordered very near on atheism. Cardinal de Polignac joined to all those advantages he had received from nature, a very great share of eloquence: he composed verses in Latin with a surprising and a happy facility; but he knew no other philosophy than that of Descartes, all of whose arguments he had retained, just like so many dates. He was not yet become a geometrician, and nature had not formed him for a philosopher. He was an excellent judge of Catiline's Conspiracy, or of an Æneis; but by no means fit to decide on the merits of a Locke or a Newton.

When one considers that Newton, Locke, Clarke, and Leibnitz, would have been persecuted

cuted in France, imprisoned at Rome, and burned at Lisbon, what are we to think of human reason? One would swear it was a native of England in the present age at least. In the time of queen Mary there was a violent persecution, on account of the proper way of pronouncing Greek, in which the persecutors were, as usual, in the wrong. They who put Galileo into the inquisition were still more so; and every inquisitor ought to blush, from the bottom of his soul, at the sight of the sphere of Copernicus. Notwithstanding, had Newton been born in Portugal, and a Dominican friar happened to have discovered a heresy in his inverted ratio of the squares of the distances of the planets, Sir Isaac Newton had certainly walked in procession in his *sanbenito* * at some *Auto de Fe*.

It has been often asked, how it comes to pass that they who, by their function, ought to be learned and humane, have so commonly proved, to the last degree, ignorant and implacable? Their ignorance was wholly owing to their having studied too closely, and too much; and their unrelenting cruelty was occasioned by the consciousness, that their wretched learning was the just object of the contempt of true philosophers. Notwithstanding, those very inquisitors, who had the effrontery to condemn the system of Copernicus, not only as heretical but as absurd, had not the smallest grounds of apprehension from that system. Although the

* This is a corruption of *sacco benito*, the sackcloth worn by penitents in the primitive church. It is now the name given to the scapulary, or broad piece of cloth marked with the sign of the Cross, put upon convicted heretics when they are brought from the Inquisition to the stake.

earth performed her annual revolution round the sun, together with the rest of the planets; the church would, for all that, have enjoyed both her revenues and her dignities. Even the ecclesiastical dogmas are in perfect safety, when impugned only by philosophers: all the academies under the cope of heaven are not able, with their utmost efforts, to make the smallest revolution in the common creed of a nation, let its tenets be ever so absurd. From what source, then, arises this pious rage, which has so often inflamed the Anitus's against the Socrates's? It is because the Anitus's are conscious, that they merit and enjoy the sovereign contempt of the Socrates's.

I had a notion in my younger days, that Newton had made his fortune by his extraordinary merit. I made no doubt that both court and city at London had created him, with one common consent, chief manager and supreme director of the coin of the kingdom. I was herein greatly mistaken; Sir Isaac Newton had a pretty niece, called Mrs. Conduite, who had the good fortune to please the lord high treasurer † Halifax. Had it not been for this handsome niece, his doctrine of gravitation and *infinitesimalis*, had been wholly useless to him, and he might have starved with all his talents.

* The earl of Halifax was chancellor of the Exchequer.

ON CHRONOLOGY,

AS REFORMED BY NEWTON,

Who makes the World younger than the
common æra by five hundred years.

I Come now to take notice of another work, more within the reach of the human mind; but which, notwithstanding, discovers that creative genius that Mr. Newton displayed in all his productions. This is his system of Chronology, which is wholly new; for he appears to have been fated, in whatever subject he engaged, to make a total revolution, in the common received opinions of the rest of mankind. Accustomed as he was to bring order out of confusion, and to fetch beauty and regularity from the chaos of opinions he examined, he engaged in this work with a view to throw light upon those remote parts of history, where fables and facts lay jumbled together, and to fix and ascertain a very doubtful chronology. One thing is past all manner of doubt, that there is scarce a family, city, or nation, which does not endeavour, by all possible means, to carry their original as far back into antiquity as may be. Besides, the first historians are generally the least exact in fixing the dates of transactions. Books were then a thousand times scarcer than at present, and consequently were less obnoxious to criticism; they imposed on mankind with greater impunity; and as it is unquestionable that facts have frequently

quently been forged, it is more than probable that dates have been so likewise. Upon the whole, it appeared to Mr. Newton, that the world was younger by five hundred years than the accounts of the chronologers make it. He grounds his conjecture on the common course of nature, and on astronomical observations.

What is here meant by the common course of nature, is the duration of each generation of men. The Egyptians were the first that made use of this vague way of computation, in their accounts of the first periods in their history. They reckoned three hundred and forty-one generations from Menes to Sethon; and having no fixed dates, they reckoned three generations made up the space of one hundred years. Thus, from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon, they computed eleven thousand three hundred and forty years. The Greeks, before the institution of the Olympiads, followed the same method of computation with the Egyptians, and somewhat augmented the duration of each generation, by valuing each at about forty years. Now both Greeks and Egyptians were most egregiously out by this method of calculation. It is true, according to the common course of nature, three generations make pretty nearly from one hundred to six-score years; but it is far from following from hence that three reigns make up this number of years. Thus a man, who should set about writing a history, without the assistance of fixed epochas, and having learned that in such a nation there had been a series of nine kings, would err considerably in allowing three hundred years for those nine kings. Each generation is about thirty years, and each reign

about twenty, one with another. If we take the thirty kings who have reigned in England from William the Conqueror to George I. their reigns will be found to amount to six hundred and forty-eight years, which, divided by thirty, the number of those kings, will allow about one and twenty years and a half for each reign. This is properly the common course of nature. The ancients were therefore deceived in making the duration of reigns and that of generations to be generally equal; they have consequently over reckoned themselves, so that there is a necessity to retrench this computation a little.

Astronomical observations seem to yield our philosopher still greater aid. He fights to advantage on his ground. The earth, you know, besides its annual motion which whirls it round the sun from West to East in the space of a year, has likewise a peculiar revolution altogether unknown till these latter ages. Its poles have a very slow retrograde motion from East to West, so that its position is every day changed with regard to the heavens. This yearly change of position, though insensible, becomes considerable in time, so as "in seventy-two years to amount to one degree; that is to say, the three hundredth and sixtieth part of the heavens. Hence, in the space of seventy-two years the vernal equinoctial colure, which, in the beginning of that period, passed through a certain fixed star, will at the end of it pass through a different fixed star. From this it follows that the sun, instead of being in that part of the heavens where the ram was placed in the time of Hipparchus, is found to correspond to that part of the heavens where the constellation of the Bull

is

is situated, and the Twins have succeeded to the place in which the Bull then was. All the signs have changed places; notwithstanding we have retained the way of speaking assumed by the ancients. We say, for instance, that the sun in the spring is in the Ram, by the same complaisance by which we say the sun moves.

Hipparchus was the first of the Greeks who perceived that some change happened in the constellations with regard to the equinoxes, or rather learned this circumstance of the Egyptians. Their philosophers attributed this motion to the stars, for at that time of day they were very far from imagining any such revolution in the earth. It was believed by them wholly immoveable: they therefore created a heaven, in which they stuck all the fixed stars, and this heaven they gave a particular motion, which caused it to advance towards the East, whilst all the stars seemed to have a daily revolution from East to West. To this error they added a second, which was much more consequential. They believed that this imaginary heaven of the fixed stars advanced one degree towards the East in a hundred years. Thus they were mistaken in their astronomical calculations, as well as in their system of the universe: for instance, an astronomer would then have said that the vernal equinox was in the time of such an observer, in such a sign, and in such a fixed star. He has made a progress of two degrees from that observator to our time: now, two degrees are equal to two hundred years; therefore it follows, that this observator must have lived two hundred years before us. It is certain that an astronomer who should have reasoned in this manner, would

have been wrong by about fifty years. This is then the reason why the ancient astronomers, thus doubly deceived, made their great year of the world (that is to say, of the revolution of the whole heavens) to consist of about thirty-six thousand years. But the moderns know, that this imaginary revolution of the starry heavens, is no more than the revolution of the poles of the earth, which it performs in twenty-five thousand nine hundred years. It will be proper to observe by-the-by, that Mr. Newton, in determining the figure of the earth, has very happily explained this revolution.

All this being laid down, it remains, in order to ascertain chronology to see at what fixed star the equinoxial colure now cuts the ecliptic in the spring, and to know whether some of the ancients may not have informed us in what point the ecliptic was cut in his time by the same equinoxial colure. Clemens Alexandrinus relates, that Chiron, who was in the expedition of the Argonauts, observed the constellations in the time of that famous expedition, and fixed the vernal equinox in the middle of the Bear, the autumnal equinox in the middle of the Balance, our summer solstice in the middle of Cancer, and the winter solstice in the middle of Capricorn.

A long time after the expedition of the Argonauts, and a year before the Peloponnesian war, Meton observed that the point of the summer solstice passed through the sixth degree of Cancer.

Now each sign in the Zodiac consists of thirty degrees. In the time of Chiron the solstice was in the middle of the sign, that is to say, in its fifteenth degree; a year before the Peloponnesian war, it was in the eighth degree; it had therefore

fore been retrograde seven degrees; a degree then being then equal to seventy-two years, it follows that from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war to the expedition of the Argonauts, there are but seven times seventy-two, which makes five hundred and four years, and not seven hundred years as the Greeks say.

Thus, by comparing the state of the heavens at this day to the state in which it then was, we see the expedition of the Argonauts ought to have been placed nine hundred and nine years before Jesus Christ, and not about fourteen hundred years, and that consequently the world is younger by about five hundred years than was commonly imagined.

By this means all the epochas are brought nearer to us, and every transaction is made to happen later than they are said to have been. This system seems to me to be true, tho' I dare not take upon me to say whether it will be adopted by the multitude, or whether men will hence be brought to reform the vulgar chronology. The learned may possibly be of opinion, that it would be doing too much honour to one and the same person to allow him to have perfected physics, geometry, and history; this would be a kind of universal monarchy in literature, which self-love will not easily put up with. Thus, whilst the partizans of vortices and fluted matter attacked gravitation, which had been already demonstrated, the reverend father Souciet and Mr. Freret were writing against Newton's chronology before it was printed.

N. B. The chapters on light and attraction have been retrenched here, but will be found in that part of this edition which treats on philosophy, which is their proper place.

ON THE
ENGLISH TRAGEDY.

THE English had a regular theatre, as well as the Spaniards, whilst the French had as yet but booths. Shakespear, whom the English consider as another Sophocles, flourished about the time of Lopez de Vega: he was properly the creator of their theatre. His genius was at once strong and abundant, natural and sublime, but without the smallest spark of taste, and void of the remotest idea of the rules. I will venture to tell you a bold, but yet undoubted truth; which is, that the merit of this author has been the ruin of the English stage: there are in him scenes so perfectly beautiful, and passages so very full of the great and terrible, spread up and down those monstrous farces of his which they have christened tragedies, that his pieces have always been played with prodigious success. Time, which alone is capable of establishing the reputation of authors, serves at length to consecrate their very defects. The greatest part of those extravagant passages, and of that bombast which abounds in his works, have, in the course of an hundred and fifty years, acquired a kind of title to pass for the true sublime. Their modern authors are, generally speaking, no more than copiers of him, though what succeeded in *Shakespear* is hissed in them; and you know the veneration they entertain for this author increases in proportion to their contempt of the moderns. They never
once

once reflect that it is absurd to pretend to imitate him ; and it is wholly owing to the ill success of those copiers, and not to their want of capacity, that he is thought inimitable.

You know that in the tragedy of the Moor of Venice, a very interesting piece, a husband smotheres his wife on the stage, and the poor woman dies asserting her innocence. You are not ignorant that in Hamlet a couple of gravediggers dig a grave upon the stage, singing and drinking at their work, and passing the low jokes common to these sort of people, on the skulls they throw up : but what will most astonish you, is, that these fooleries have been imitated.

In the reign of Charles the Second, which was the reign of politeness, and the æra of the fine arts, Otway, in his *Venice Preserved*, introduced the senator *Antonio*, and his courtesan *Aquilina*, in the midst of the horrors of *Bedemar's* conspiracy ; the old senator plays all the monkey-tricks, on the stage, of an old impotent crazy lecher. He mimicks by turns a bull, and a dog, and he bites his mistress's legs, who alternately whips and kicks him. These buffooneries, however, calculated to please the rabble, have since been omitted in the representation of this piece ; but in *Julius Caesar*, the idle jests of Roman shoemakers and cobblers are still introduced on the stage with Cassius and Brutus.

You will, no doubt, lament that those who have hitherto spoken to you of the English stage, and particularly of the celebrated Shakespeare, have only pointed out his errors, and that no one has translated those striking passages
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in this great man which atone for all his faults. To this I shall answer, that it is very easy to recount in prose the absurdities of a poet, but very difficult to translate his fine verses; those who set themselves up for critics of celebrated writers generally compile volumes; but I had rather read two pages which discover only their beauties; for I shall always concur with all men of taste in this opinion, that there is more to be learnt in a dozen verses of Homer or Virgil, than in all the criticisms on those great men.

I have ventured to translate some passages of the best English poets, and I begin with one of Shakespear's.—Be indulgent to the copy, in honor to the original; and always remember, that when you see a translation, you perceive only a faint copy of a fine picture. I have selected the soliloquy in the tragedy of Hamlet, which is universally known, and begins with this line:

To be, or not to be! that is the question!

It is Hamlet prince of Denmark who speaks.

*Demeure, il faut choisir, & passer à l'instant
De la vie à la mort, ou de l'être au néant.
Dieux justes, s'il en est, éclairez mon courage.
Faut-il vieillir courbé sous la main qui m'outrage,
Supporter, ou finir mon malheur & mon sort?
Qui suis-je? Que m'arrête? Et qu'est-ce que la
mort?
C'est la fin de nos maux, c'est mon unique azile;
Après de longs transports, c'est un sommeil tranquille.
On s'endort, & tout meurt; mais un affreux réveil
Doit succéder peut-être aux douceurs du sommeil.
On nous menace, on dit, que cette courte vie
De tourmens éternels est aussi-tôt suivie.*

O mort!

O mort ! moment fatal ! affreuse éternité !
 Tout cœur à ton seul nom se glace épouvanté.
 Eh ! qui pourrait sans toi supporter cette vie ?
 De nos Prêtres menteurs bénir l'hypocrisie ?
 D'une indigne maîtresse encenser les erreurs ?
 Ramper sous un Ministre, adorer ses hauteurs ?
 Et montrer les langueurs de son ame abattue,
 A des amis ingrats, qui détournent la vue ?
 La mort serait trop douce en ces extrémités.
 Mais le scrupule parle, & nous crie, Arrêtez.
 Il défend à nos mains cet heureux homicide,
 Et d'un Héros guerrier, fait un Chrétien timide.

Do not imagine that I have given you the English word for word ;—woe be to those literal translators, who, by rendering every single word, enervate the sense ! It is in this case that we may truly say, “ The letter kills, and the spirit revives.” *

I shall now give you a passage from the famous Dryden, an English poet who flourished in the reign of Charles the Second ; an author more fertile than judicious, who would have preserved an unblemished reputation, if he had wrote only the tenth part of his works.

The passage begins thus :

*When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat ;
 Yet, fool'd by hope, man favours the deceit, &c.*

*De desseins en regrets, & d'erreurs en desirs,
 Les mortels insensés promènent leur folie,*

* Were this paraphrase translated literally, an English reader would scarcely recognize in it any traces of the original. It must be owned, however, that M. de Voltaire has avoided the confusion of metaphors which is to be found in Shakespear.

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Dans des malheurs présens, dans l'espoir des plaisirs.

Nous ne vivons jamais, nous attendons la vie.

Demain, demain, dit-on, va combler tous nos vœux.

Demain vient, & nous laisse encor plus malheureux.

Quelle est l'erreur, hélas ! du soin qui nous dévore ?

Nul de nous ne voudrait recommencer son cours.

De nos premiers momens nous maudissons l'aurore,

Et de la nuit qui vient, nous attendons encore

Ce qu'ont en vain promis les plus beaux de nos jours, &c.

It is in these detached sentences that the English tragedies have hitherto excelled : Their pieces, almost always barbarous, void of decency, order, and probability, have yet, amidst this night of darkness, their splendid days of light : their stile is too stiff, too unnatural, too much copied from the Hebrew writers, and too full of Asiatic bombast ; but then the mind is transported to an amazing height, soaring on the pinions of the metaphorical stile which adorns the English language.

It sometimes seems as if nature were not the same in England as elsewhere. This same Dryden, in his farce of Don Sebastian king of Portugal, which he calls a tragedy, makes an officer give the following reply to that monarch :

LE ROI SEBASTIEN.

Ne me connais-tu pas, traître, insolent !

DORAX.

Qui moi ?

Je te connais fort bien, mais non pas pour mon Roi.

Tu.

On the ENGLISH TRAGEDY. 139

*Tu n'es plus dans Lisbonne, où ta Cour méprisable
Nourrissait de ton cœur l'orgueil insupportable.
Un tas d'illustres sots & de fripons titrés,
Et de gueux du bel air & d'esclaves dorés,
Chatouillait ton oreille & fascinait ta vue ;
On t'entourait en cercle ainsi qu'une statue.
Quand tu disais un mot, chacun le cou tendu,
S'empressait d'applaudir sans t'avoir entendu ;
Et ce troupeau servile admirait en silence
Ta royale sottise & ta noble arrogance :
Mais te voilà réduit à ta juste valeur. . . .*

SEBASTIAN.

—Be warn'd, and know me for thy king.

DORAX.

Too well I know thee, but for king no more :
This is not Lisbon, nor the circle this,
Where, like a statue, thou hast stood besieg'd
By sycophants and fools, the growth of courts.
Where thy gull'd eyes, in all the gaudy round,
Met nothing but a lie in every face ;
And the grois flattery of a gaping crowd,
Envious who first should catch, and first applaud.
The stuff, or royal nonsense.

This speech is in the English taste ; and the whole piece is full of buffoonery : How shall we reconcile, say our critics, so much good sense with such absurdity, so much meanness with such sublimity of expression ? Nothing so easy ; let it be remembered, that they were wrote by men. The Spanish stage has all the faults of the English, without its beauties ; and, in reality, what were the Greek authors ? what Euripides, who, in the same piece, paints so affecting, so noble a picture of Alcestes sacrific-

cing.

cing herself to the manes of her husband, and puts into the mouth of Admetes and his father such gross puerilities, that have puzzled even his commentators? A reader must have great patience and fortitude not to find Homer's sleepy fit sometimes a little tedious, and his dreams insipid?—It will require many ages to purify good taste.—Virgil among the Romans, Racine among the French, were the first who always preserved a purity of taste in capital pieces.

Addison was the first Englishman who wrote a rational tragedy; but I should pity him if he had only made it barely rational. His tragedy of Cato is wrote from the beginning to the end with that masterly and energetic elegance of which Corneille first gave us such fine examples in his unequal stile. It appears to me that this piece is adapted to an audience somewhat philosophic, and very republican. I much doubt if our young ladies and *petits-maitres* would have relished Cato in his night-gown, reading Plato's dialogues, and making reflections on the immortality of the soul: but those who soar above the customs, the prejudices, and the foibles of their own nation, who are of every age, and of every country, those who prefer philosophic grandeur to soft tales of love, will be pleased to find here a copy, though an imperfect one, of that sublime scene.—It seems as if Addison, in this fine soliloquy, aimed at rivaling Shakespear. I will translate the one as I did the other; I mean, with that freedom without which we are too apt to wander from the original, by endeavouring at too close an imitation. The ground-work is faithfully portrayed, I shall only add a few shades. Not being

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ing able to equal him, I must attempt to improve upon him.

*Oui, Platon, tu dis vrai, notre ame est immortelle.
C'est un Dieu qui lui parle, un Dieu qui vit en elle.*

*Eh! d'où viendrait sans lui se grand pressentiment,
Ce dégoût des faux biens, cette horreur du néant?
Vers des siècles sans fin je sens que tu m'entraînes.
Du monde & de mes sens je vai briser les chaînes,
Et m'ouvrir loin d'un corps dan la fange arrêté
Les portes de la vie & de l'éternité.*

*L'éternité! quel mot consolant & terrible!
O lumière! O nuage! O profondeur horrible!
Que suis-je? où suis-je? où vai-je! & d'où
suis-je tiré?*

Dans quels climats nouveaux, dans quel monde ignoré,

*Le moment du trépas va-t-il plonger mon être?
Où sera cet esprit qui ne peut se connaître?
Que me préparez-vous, abîmes ténébreux?
Allons, s'il est un Dieu, Caton doit être heureux.
Il est un sans doute, & je suis son ouvrage.
Lui-même au cœur du juste il empreint son image.
Il doit venger sa cause & punir les pervers.
Mais comment! dans quel tems? & dans quel Univers?*

*Ici la vertu pleure, & l'audace l'opprime;
L'innocence à genoux y tend la gorge au crime;
La fortune y domine, & tout y suit son char.
Ce globe infortuné fut formé pour César.
Hâtons nous de sortir d'une prison funeste.
Je te verrai sans ombre, ô vérité céleste!
Tu te caches de nous dans nos jours de scélérat:
Cette vie est un songe, & la mort un réveil.*

In

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In this tragedy of a patriot and philosopher, the character of Cato appears to me to be one of the most complete that ever appeared on any stage: The Cato of Addison is, in my opinion, greatly superior to the Cornelia of Pierre Corneille, for he is continually great without ostentation; and the part of Cornelia, besides being an unnecessary one, is in many places too declamatory: she would always be the heroine, and Cato never perceives that he is the hero.

It is a great pity that so fine a piece should not be a complete tragedy: unconnected scenes, which often leave the stage empty, injudicious and tedious apart or *aside* speeches, cold and insipid amours, a conspiracy quite foreign to the piece, a certain Sempronius disgusted and killed on the stage; all these put together render the celebrated tragedy * of Cato a performance that our comedians would never venture to present, even if we were of the same way of thinking as the Romans, or the English themselves. The barbarism and irregularity of the theatre at London made an impression on Addison's better judgment: methinks, I see in him the Czar Peter, who, in reforming the Russians, still retained some prejudices of his education, and of the manners of his country.

The custom of introducing love, right or wrong, into dramatic works, passed over from Paris to London about the year 1660, with our ribbons and perukes. The ladies, who there as well as here embellish the theatre, would no

* After all, the tragedy of Cato is a cold, declamatory piece, which owed its great success upon the stage to the circumstances of the time at which it was exhibited.

longer

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longer suffer any other but love-scenes on the stage. The sage Addison had the effeminate complaisance to bend the severity of his character to the manners of his time, and spoiled a master-piece to comply with the reigning mode.

Since his time the pieces are become more regular, the people more difficult, and the authors more timid. I have seen very decent, but very flat, modern compositions: it seems as if the English poets had hitherto been born to produce only irregular beauties.

The poetic genius of the English resembles, at this day, a spreading tree planted by nature, shooting forth at random a thousand branches, and growing with unequal strength: it dies if you force its nature, or shape it into a regular tree, fit for the gardens of Marly.



ON THE ENGLISH COMEDY.

IF in most of the English tragedies the heroes are awkward and the heroines extravagant, in return the stile is more natural in comedy; but then this stile would appear to us rather the stile of debauchery than of politeness: it distinguishes every thing by its proper name; a woman, enraged at her lover, wishes him the pox; a drunkard, in a piece that is very often performed, is disguised like a priest, makes a great riot, and is arrested by the watch: he calls himself a Curate; he is asked what cure he has;
and

and he replies, An excellent one for the
 In one of the most decent comedies, *The Careless Husband*, this husband is represented having his head rubbed by a servant-maid, who is seated by his side: his wife enters, and exclaims—To what power may one not arrive by being a whore! Some Cynics justify these gross expressions, and quote the example of Horace, who describes, by their proper names, all the parts of the human body, and all the pleasures they give. These are images that succeed with us only when properly veiled; but Horace, who seemed made for the stews as well as for the court, and who perfectly understood the customs of both, speaks as freely of the way of a man with a maid, as if he was describing a walk, or a collation. It has been observed, that the Romans, in the days of Augustus, were as polite as the Parisians are at present; and that this very Horace, who praises the emperor Augustus for reforming the manners, complied, without scruple, with the customs of the times, which permitted the promiscuous use of girls and boys, and of the proper names of things. Strange it is (if any thing can be said to be so) that Horace, while speaking the language of a debauchee, should be the favourite of a reformer; and that Ovid, for speaking only the language of gallantry, should be exiled by a debauchee, an impostor, an assassin, called Octavius, who acquired the empire by crimes which merited death.

However this be, Bayle pretends that expressions are indifferent, in which he, the Cynics, and the Stoics, deceive themselves; for every thing has different names which represent it

under different aspects, and afford different ideas of it. The words "magistrate and lawyer, gentleman and 'squire, officer and sharper, monk and friar," have not the same signification. The consummation of marriage, and every thing that contributes to the completion of this great work, will be differently expressed by the parson, the husband, the physician, and the rake. The word the latter of these would make use of would awaken the idea of pleasure, the terms the physician would explain himself in would put you in mind of a dead body, the husband would make that understood with decency which the young libertine had described immodestly, and the parson would attempt to give you the idea of a sacrament. Words then are not in themselves indifferent; for they are not synonymous.

It must further be considered, that tho' the Romans permitted these gross expressions in satires, which were read but by a few people, they never suffered indecent words on the stage; for, as La Fontaine says, "Chaste are the ears, although the eyes are wanton." In a word, no expression should be made use of in public, which a modest woman would be ashamed to repeat.

The English have stolen, disguised, and mangled, most of Moliere's plays. They attempted to make a *Tartuffe*. It was impossible that this subject should succeed at London, because the portrait of a stranger affords very little pleasure. One of the blessings of the English nation is, that she has no *Tartuffes* *.

* Our author is very much mistaken if he thinks there are no religious hypocrites in England.

to have hypocrites, it is necessary to have bigots; but the name of bigot is almost unknown there, while that of an honest man is common. He sees no dotards committing to others the care of their souls; no petty tyrants establishing a despotic empire, in some quarter of the city, over a set of superannuated females, who were once coquets, and always weak; and over men still more weak and despicable. Philosophy, liberty, and the climate, lead the way to misanthropy. London, which has no *Tartuffes*, abounds with Timons. The *Plain Dealer* is one of the best English comedies: it was wrote at the time when Charles II. and his splendid court, were endeavouring to laugh away the settled gloom that had overspread the nation. Wycherly, the author of this comedy, was the professed admirer of the duchess of Cleveland, the king's mistress. This man, who passed his life in the gay world, as it is called, painted its follies and absurdities in the strongest colours. The strokes are bolder in Wycherly's piece than in Moliere's; but they are not so delicate, nor so refined. The English author has corrected the only fault in Moliere's piece, the want of plot and intrigue: the English comedy is interesting, the intrigue is ingenious, but too bold for our manners.

A captain of a ship, of distinguished courage and frankness, and a professed despiser of mankind, has a sincere and prudent friend whom he mistrusts, and a mistress, by whom he is tenderly beloved, whom he slights: whilst he places all his confidence in a false friend, the most unworthy of men; and gives his heart to a jilt, the most perfidious of her sex.
He

He believes, however, that this woman is a Penelope, and this false friend a Cato: he sets out on an expedition against the Dutch, and leaves all his money, jewels, and other effects, in the hands of this woman to the care of this friend he so firmly relies on; while the true friend, whom he mistrusts, embarks with him, and the lady, to whom he has not deigned to pay the least regard, disguises herself in the habit of a page, and performs the voyage with him, without discovering her sex the whole time.

The captain's ship being blown up in an engagement, he returns to London in the utmost distress, accompanied by his friend and the page, without knowing the friendship of the one, or the love of the other. He goes immediately to that paragon of women from whom he expects to receive his strong box, and a fresh proof of her fidelity. He finds her married to the sharper he had confided in, and can get no account of the treasure he had committed to her charge. The good man will hardly believe that so virtuous a woman could be guilty of such baseness; when the better to convince him of it, this honest lady falls in love with the little page, and attempts to take him away by force: but as it is necessary, in a dramatic piece, that justice should take place, vice be punished, and virtue meet its reward, at the close of the catastrophe, the captain supplied the place of the page, goes to bed to his inconstant mistress, cuckolds his treacherous friend, runs him through the body, recovers the remains of his effects, and marries his page. You will observe, that this piece is interlarded with an old litigious woman, related to the captain,

who is one of the merriest creatures, and one of the best characters, on the stage.

Wycherly has taken another piece from Moliere not less bold and singular; 'tis a sort of a "School for Women." The principal character in the piece is a drole libertine, the terror of the husbands of London; who, to make sure of his business, spreads a report, that, in a late illness, his surgeons had found it necessary to make him an eunuch. Having this curious character, the husbands grant him free access to their wives, and his only difficulty is where to fix his choice. However, at last, he gives the preference to a little country-woman, who has a great share of innocence, with a natural warmth of constitution, by which she makes her husband a cuckold with a good-will and readiness that far exceeds the premeditated malice of experienced dames. This piece is not indeed "The School of Morality;" but it is "The School of Wit and true comic Humour."

The comedies of Sir John Vanbrugh are more facetious, but less ingenious. The knight was a man of pleasure, and besides a poet and an architect. It is remarked, that he wrote as delicately and as elegantly as he built clumsily: it was he who built the famous castle of Blenheim; the heavy but durable monument of our unfortunate battle of Hochstet. If the apartments were only as large as the walls are thick, this mansion would be convenient enough. In Sir John Vanbrugh's epitaph, the earth is invoked to lie heavy on him, who, when living, had laid such heavy loads upon it. This gentleman took a tour into France just before the curious war of 1701, and was put into the Bastille, where he remained some time, without knowing what it

was that had procured him this mark of distinction from our ministry. He wrote a comedy in the Bastile, and, what is in my opinion very remarkable, there is not in all the piece the least stroke against the country where he suffered this violence.

Of all the English writers, the late Mr. Congreve has carried the glory of the comic theatre to the highest pitch. He wrote but a few pieces, but they are all excellent of their kind: the laws of the drama are strictly observed in them; they are full of characters elegantly varied; no mean pleasantry, not the least indecency, is introduced: you find in every part the language of politeness, even in describing the actions of knaves; which proves that he knew the world, and kept what is called good company. His comedies are the most sprightly and correct, Sir John Vanbrugh's the gayest, and Wycherly's the boldest. It is to be observed, that none of these sublime wits have spoken ill of Moliere: it is only writers of no repute that have villify'd this great man. In a word, do not expect from me any extracts from these English performances that I am so great an advocate for; nor that I should give you a single *bon mot* or jest from Congreve or Wycherly. One cannot laugh in a translation. - If you would be acquainted with the English comedy, you must go to London: you must reside there three years; you must learn the language perfectly, and constantly frequent the theatre. I take no great pleasure in reading Plautus or Aristophanes, because I am neither Greek nor Roman. The delicate turn of *bon mots*, the allusion, and the *a-propos*, is all lost to a foreigner.

It is not the same in tragedy ; that consists alone in the sublime passions, and heroic fooleries, consecrated by the stale error of fables and histories. *Cædipus* and *Electra* belong as much to us, to the English, and to the Spaniards, as to the Greeks : but true comedy is the living picture of the absurdities of a country ; and, if you are not thoroughly acquainted with the country, you can hardly judge of the painting.

It has been objected to the English, that their scene is bloody, and often covered with dead bodies ; that their gladiators fight half naked before young girls, and often return from the combat with the loss of a nose or a cheek. In answer to this, they tell you, that they imitate the Greeks in tragedy, and the Romans in the act of cutting off noses : but their theatre is widely different from that of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* ; and, with respect to the Romans, it must be acknowledged, that a nose or a cheek are trifles in comparison of that multitude of victims that mutually butchered each other in the circus for the diversion of the Roman ladies.

The English have sometimes had dances in their comedies, which were allegorical, and of a very singular taste. Despotic power and a republican state were represented by a very gallant dance in the year 1709. A king appears in the dance, who, after a few capers, gives his prime minister a very severe kick on the the minister bestows it on a second person, the second on a third, and, in fine, he who received the last represented the bulk of the nation, which had no-body to revenge itself on : all was performed in cadence. The Republican govern-
ment

ment was represented by a round dance, where every one equally received and returned the blow. This, however, is the country that has given birth to Addisons, Popes, Lockes, and Newtons.



On COURTIERS who have cultivated
LEARNING.

THERE was a time when the arts were cultivated in France by persons of the first distinction; even the courtiers applied themselves to the Belles Lettres, in spite of that dissipation, that taste for trifles, and that passion for intrigue, which are the deities of this country. It appears to me, that at present learning is not the reigning taste at court. Perhaps the passion of studying may one day return to us. The king has it in his power to do what he pleases with this nation. In England it is common to study, and learning is more in esteem there than with us. This advantage is a necessary consequence of their form of government. There are about eight hundred persons at London that have a right to speak in public, and to support the interest of the nation: about five or six thousand more pretend in their turns to the same happiness; all the rest erect themselves into judges of these, and every one gives his thoughts in print on the public affairs. Thus the whole nation is under a kind of necessity of being instructed. Nothing is talked of but the Athenian and Ro-

man governments. It is necessary, nevertheless, to read the authors who have treated of them. This study naturally leads to that of the *Belles-lettres*. In general men have the spirit or genius of their peculiar condition. Why have our magistrates, our physicians, and many of our ecclesiastics in general, more learning, taste, and judgment, than are to be found among other professions? It is because their station requires the cultivation of the mind, as that of a merchant demands a knowledge of commerce.

It is not long since a very young English nobleman paid me a visit at Paris on his return from Italy: he had composed a poetical description of that country, as politely wrote as any of lord Rochester's verses, or those of our Chaulieus, our Sarasins, or our Chapelles. The translation I have made of them is so far from approaching the energy and lively humour of the original, that I am obliged sincerely to ask pardon of the author and those who understand English: however, as I have no other way of making my lord Harvey's verses known, take them in my language—

*Qu'ai-je donc vû dans l'Italie ?
Orgueil, astuce ; & pauvreté ;
Grands complimens, peu de bonté,
Et beaucoup de cérémonie.*

*L'extravagante Comédie,
Que souvent l'Inquisition.
Veut qu'on nomme Religion,
Mais qu'ici nous nommons folie.*

*La nature en vain beinsaisante
Veut enrichir ces lieux charmans ;*

Des

*Des Pretres la main désolante
Etouffe ses plus beaux présens.*

*Les Monsignor, soi disans grands,
Seuls dans leurs Palais magnifiques,
Y sont d'illustres fainéans,
Sans argent & sans domestiques.*

*Pour les petits, sans liberté,
Martyrs du joug qui les domine ;
Ils ont fait vœu de pauvreté,
Priants Dieu par oisiveté.*

Et toujours jeûnans par famine.

*Ces beaux lieux du Pape bénis
Semblent habités par les Diables ;
Et les habitans misérables
Sont damnés dans le Paradis.*

I am not of Lord Harvey's opinion. There are countries in Italy which are very unfortunate, because foreigners have for a long time been fighting for the government of them ; but there are others where the people are neither so beggarly nor so foolish as he describes them.

OF THE
EARL of ROCHESTER,
AND
MR. WALLER.

THE earl of Rochester's reputation is universally known. Mr. de St. Evremond has taken great notice of him ; but he has only
H 5 made

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made us acquainted with the celebrated Rochester as a man of pleasure and intrigue. I propose to distinguish him as the man of genius and the poet. Among other works that are fraught with that lively imagination which he alone possessed, he wrote some satires on the same subjects as our celebrated Despreaux. I know nothing more useful towards perfecting true taste, than the comparing the works of great men who have exercised their talents on the same subject. Observe in what manner Despreaux speaks against human reason in his Satire on Man :

*Cependant à le voir, plein de vapeurs légères,
Soi-même se bercer de ses propres chimères,
Lui seul de la Nature est la base & l'appui,
Et le dixième Ciel ne tourne que pour lui.
De tous les animaux il est ici le maître ;
Qui pourrait le nier ? poursuis-tu : Moi peut-être.
Ce maître prétendu, qui leur donne des loix,
Ce Roi des animaux, combien a-t-il de Rois !*

Behold him of his boasted reason vain,
Drunk with the fumes of his distemper'd brain ;
Of nature he the base, and corner-stone ;
The Heav'n of Heav'ns revolves for him alone ;
Of all that breathes on earth the sov'reign lord,
And who will dare to doubt that sov'reign's
word ?

Why, faith, my friend, that doubt belongs to
me,
This king of beasts, how many kings has he ?

Observe likewise how very nearly Lord Rochester expresses himself on the same subject in his Satire on Man ; but let the reader always re-

member, that mine are free translations of the English poets, and that the curb of our versification, and the delicate decorum of our language, will never form an equivalent for the impetuous flow of the English stile.

*Cet esprit que je hais, cet esprit plein d'erreur,
Ce n'est pas ma raison, c'est la tienne, Docteur ;
C'est la raison frivole, inquiète, orgueilleuse,
Des sages animaux rivale dédaigneuse,
Qui croit entr'eux & l'Ange occuper le milieu,
Et pense être ici bas l'image de son Dieu.
Vil atome imparfait, qui croit, doute, dispute,
Rampe, s'élève, tombe, & nie encor sa chute,
Qui nous dit, je suis libre, en nous montrant ses
fers,*

*Et dont l'œil trouble & faux croit percer l'Univers..
Allez, réverends fous, bienheureux fanatiques,
Compilez bien l'amas de vos riens scholastiques.
Pères de visions, & d'énigmes sacrés,
Auteurs du labyrinthe où vous vous égarez,
Allez obscurément éclaircir vos mystères,
Et courez dans l'école adorer vos chimères.
Il est d'autres erreurs, il est de ces dévots
Condamnés par eux même à l'ennui du repos.
Ce mystique encloître, fier de son indolence,
Tranquille au sein de Dieu, qu'y peut-il faire? Il
pense*

*Non, tu ne penses point, tu végètes, tu dors ;
Inutile à la terre, & mis au rang des morts,
Ton esprit énervé croupit dans la mollesse.
Réveille-toi, sois homme, & sors de ton yvresse.
L'homme est né pour agir, & tu prétens penser !*

It is this very reason I despise ;
This supernat'ral gift, that makes a mite
Thinks he's the image of the infinite ;

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Comparing this short life, void of all rest,
To the eternal and the ever blest.
This busy puzzling stirrer up of doubt,
That frames deep mysteries, then finds 'em out,
Filling with frantick crowds of thinkingfools,
These reverend bedlams, colleges, and schools;
Borne on whose wings, each heavy sot can
pierce

The limits of the boundless universe ;

* * * * *

'Tis this exalted power whose business lies
In nonsense and impossibilities ;
This made a whimsical philosopher
Before the spacious world his tub prefer ;
And we have modern coxcombs who
Retire to think, 'cause they have nought to do.
But thoughts are given for action's govern-
ment ;
Where action ceases ; thought's impertinent.
Our sphere of action is life's happiness ;
And he who thinks beyond, is like an ass.

Be these ideas true or false, it is certain
that they are expressed with that energy which
constitutes the poet. I shall guard against
examining them as a philosopher, and not quit
the pencil for the compass: my only end in this
letter is to make known the genius of the Eng-
lish poets ; and this point I shall continue to
adhere to.

The celebrated Waller has been much talked
of in France. La Fontaine, St. Evremond,
and Bayle, have made his eulogium ; but little
more is known of him than his name. He had
very near the same degree of reputation at Lon-
don, that Voiture had at Paris ; and I think he
merited

merited it more. Voiture lived at a time when the people were just bursting the bands of barbarism, and were yet in a state of ignorance. Every one wanted genius, but none had it at that time. Witticisms were sought after instead of ideas: false stones are much easier found than diamonds.

Voiture, born with an easy but frivolous genius, was the first who made a figure in this dawn of the French literature. Had he come after those great men who have adorned the age of Lewis XIV. he would have been under a necessity of possessing something more than mere wit. His compositions might do well enough to amuse a private family, but are by no means worthy of being transmitted to posterity. It is true, Boileau praises him; but it is only in his first satires, that is to say, before his taste was completely formed; he was then but young, and in an age when we form our opinions of men rather by the reputation they have acquired, than by their real merit. And besides, Boileau was often very unjust both in his praises and in his censures. He extolled Segrais, whom nobody reads; he censured Quinault, whom every one repeats by heart; and he speaks not a syllable of la Fontaine.

Waller, tho' a better poet than Voiture, was yet short of perfection. His compositions, which are full of gallantry, breathe an air of easy gracefulness; but his negligence makes them often languid, besides that his pieces are extremely disfigured with false thoughts. The English understood not in his time the secret of writing with purity and correctness. His serious works are manly and vigorous, a circumstance

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no one would have looked for from the perusal of his other performances. His funeral panegyric on Oliver Cromwell, with all its faults, passes for a master-piece. To understand this poem it is necessary to know, that Cromwell died on the same day on which a prodigious storm happened. It begins in this manner :

*Il n'est plus, c'en est fait, soumettons-nous au sort.
Le Ciel a signalé ce jour par des tempêtes,
Et la voix du tonnerre élatant sur nos têtes,
Vient d'annoncer sa mort.*

*Par ses derniers soupirs il ébranle cette Isle,
Cette Isle, que son bras fit trembler tant de fois,
Quand dans le cours de ses exploits
Il brisait la tête des Rois,*

*Et soumettait un peuple, à son joug seul docile.
Mer, tu t'en es troublée : ô Mer ! tes flots émus
Semblent dire en grondant aux plus lointains ri-
vages,*

*Que l'effroi de la Terre & ton Maître n'est plus.
Tel au Ciel autrefois s'envola Remulus,
Tel il quitta la Terre au milieu des orages,
Tel d'un peuple guerrier il reçut les hommages ;
Obei dans sa vie, à sa mort adoré,
Son palais fut un temple, &c.*

We must resign ; Heav'n his great soul does
claim

In storms as loud as his immortal fame.
His dying groans, his last breath shake our isle ;
And trees uncut fall for his funeral pile :
About his palace their broad roots are tost
Into the air ; so Romulus was lost.

Now

Now Rome in such a tempest miss'd her king,
And from obeying fell to wofshipping.
On Oeta's top thus Hercules lay dead,
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him spread;
Those his vast fury from the mountain rent:
Our dying hero from the continent
Ravish'd whole towns, and forts from Spaniards
rest,

As this last legacy to Britain left.
The ocean, which so long our hopes confin'd,
Could give no limits to his vaster mind:
Our bounds enlargement was his latest toil;
Nor hath he left us prisoners to our isle.
Under the tropic is our language spoke,
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke.

From civil broils he did us disengage;
Found nobler objects for our martial rage:
And with wise conduct to his country shew'd,
The ancient way of conquering abroad.

Ungrateful then, if we no tears allow
To him that gave us peace and empire too!
Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd to
see

No pitch of glory from the grave is free.
Nature herself took notice of his death,
And sighing swell'd the seas with such a breath,
That to the remotest shores her billow roll'd,
Th'approaching fate of their great ruler told.

It was on occasion of this panegyric on Cromwell that Waller made Charles II. that famous answer, recorded in Bayle's dictionary: The king, whom Waller, according to the old custom between kings and poets, had waited upon, in order to present him with a poem stuffed with praises, reproached him with having written a better.

ter for Oliver. Waller answered, "Sir, we poets succeed much better in fiction than in truth." This answer was not so sincere as that of the Dutch ambassador, who, on the same king's complaining, that his nation had shewed less respect for him than for Cromwell, made answer, "Ah! Sir, Cromwell was quite a very different sort of a man." There are courtiers even in England, and Waller was certainly one in the truest sense of the word; but I consider men, after their death, by their works only: all the rest is with me wholly buried in oblivion. I will only remark, that Waller, born in a court, with a fortune of three thousand pounds a-year, had neither the silly pride nor the stupidity to abandon the talent with which nature had endowed him. The Earls of Dorset and Buckingham, my lord Halifax, and many others, did not think they derogated from their high rank and quality in becoming excellent poets, and illustrious writers. Their works certainly do them more honour than their titles. They have cultivated letters, as if the making of their fortunes had depended on their studies. They have moreover rendered the arts and sciences respectable in the eyes of the people, who in every thing stand in need of being guided by the great, and who, notwithstanding, are less influenced by their example in England than in any other country in the universe.

ON PRIOR; that singular Poem called
HUDIBRAS; and Dean SWIFT.

WHEN Prior first came over to France as ambassador-plenipotentiary from Q. Anne to settle the terms of peace granted to Lewis XIV. and previous to the arrival of Lord Bolingbroke, who signed the treaty; when this peer, I say, first came to France, no one imagined him to be at once a statesman and a poet. France has since paid England in her own coin; for cardinal Du Bois sent our Des Touches to London, who passed as little for a poet in England, as Prior did in France. Prior, the plenipotentiary, was originally a waiter in a tavern; the earl of Dorset, who himself was an excellent poet, and besides loved his bottle, found him one day reading Horace on a bench in the tavern, just as my lord Ilay found his gardener's boy reading Newton. Ilay made his young gardener a great philosopher, and Dorset made a very pleasant poet of his waiter.

Alma, or the History of the Soul, wrote by this poet, is the most natural history that has been given till now, of that being so well perceived, and so little understood. The soul has her residence at first in the extremities of the body, in the feet and hands of children; from thence she insensibly places herself in the centre of the body at the age of puberty; afterwards she takes possession of the heart, where she produces sentiments of love, gallantry, and heroism. In a still riper age, she mounts upwards to the head, where she reasons in the best manner

manner she is able; 'till at last, in old age, she retires the Lord knows whither, like the sap of an old tree, which evaporates, and is at last wholly lost. Possibly this work may be rather too prolix; all pleasantry ought to be concise, and perhaps the serious kind would hardly be the worse for a small spice of this quality.

The same Prior has composed a small poem on the battle of Hochstet. This is by no means comparable to his History of the Soul; the only good thing in it is his apostrophe to Boileau.

*Satyrique flateur, toi qui pris tant de peine
Pour chanter que Louis n'a point passé le Rhin, &c.*

Pindar, that eagle, mounts the skies,
While virtue leads the noble way;
Too like a vulture Boileau flies,
Where sordid int'rest shews the way.
When once the poet's honour ceases,
From reason far his transports rove;
And Boileau for eight hundred pieces,
Makes Louis take the wall of Jove.

Our plenipotentiary concludes with a paraphrase, consisting of five hundred verses on these words, which are commonly ascribed to Solomon, *All is vanity*. It were no difficult matter to have written five thousand on the same topic. But wo to him that says all he is able to say.

Queen Anne being dead, and a change happening in the ministry, the peace of which Prior had sketched the first outlines, became the detestation of the people; and the political bard had no other resource left him, but an edition of his works, published by a subscription set on

foot

foot by those of his own party; after which he died like a philosopher, that is, as every honest Englishman dies, or at least is thought to die.

I should be glad now to give you a slight idea of the poetical writings of the earl of Roscommon and Dorset; but I am sensible this would make a little volume, and, after all, I should be able to give you but a very imperfect idea of so many different pieces. Poetry is akin to Music, which must be heard, to form any judgment of its excellence. Even when I attempt to translate some passages of these foreign poets, I can at best but give you a very imperfect notion of their harmony or numbers; and I find it utterly impossible to convey to you the smallest notion of their cadences.

But above all, the English poem called Hudibras, is what puzzles me most to make you at all acquainted with. It is a piece wholly in the comic or burlesque stile, tho' the subject is of no less consequence than the civil wars of Cromwell. This cruel war, which has been the occasion of so many tears, and which has caused such an ocean of blood to be spilt, has notwithstanding given birth to a poem, which I defy the gravest reader to peruse, without laughing. There is something of this contrasted kind to be met with in our Menippean Satire. The Romans would certainly never have thought of writing a burlesque poem on the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey, or on the proscriptions of Antony and Augustus. Whence then comes it to pass, that the dreadful disasters occasioned in France by the League, and those in England between the king and parliament, have

have given rise to so much pleasantry? It is undoubtedly true, that those fatal broils had actually somewhat exceedingly ridiculous at bottom. The citizens of Paris, at the head of the faction of the Sixteen, mingled abundance of folly and impertinence with the horrors of faction. The intrigues of the women, the legate, and the monks, had a droll aspect, notwithstanding those numberless calamities of which they were the occasion. The theological disputes, and the fanaticism of the Puritans in England, were fruitful fields for ridicule; and this source of ridicule, well laid open, was capable of affording large scope for pleasantry, after these tragical horrors, under which it lay concealed, were once removed. Altho' the bull *Unigenitus* has been the occasion of much bloodshed, yet is not the little poem of *Philotamus* the less adapted to the subject; and the only reproach that can, with any justice, be made him is, that he is not so merry and diverting, and so diversified, as he ought to be, and that he does not introduce in the course of the work, what he promises in the beginning.

The poem *Hudibras* I am now mentioning to you, seems to be a mixture of the *Menippéan Satire* with *Don Quixote*, with this double advantage, that it is written in verse, and that it is infinitely more witty. As for the *Menippéan Satire*, it cannot stand in competition with it, and is really but a very middling performance. But his superabundance of wit is what has made him inferior to *Don Quixote*. Taste, pleasing simplicity, the art of narration, of properly disposing the different adventures, of checking the natural fertility of one's genius,

are

On the POEM called HUDIBRAS. 165

are, in my humble opinion, infinitely superior to mere wit. Hence it is, that Don Quixote is read by all the nations of Europe, whilst Hudibras affords entertainment only for those of his own country.

The name of this extraordinary author is Butler: he was cotemporary with Milton, and had an infinitely greater share of reputation than he, from the pleasantry and humour of his poem; whereas that of Milton is very dismal. Butler made the enemies of Charles II. the subject of universal ridicule, and had this for his sole recompense, that the king often did him the honour to quote his verses. The battles of the knight Hudibras were much better known than those of the angels and devils of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. But the court of England treated the witty and diverting Butler, as ill as the court above did the grave Milton, for both were in a state of starving, or very near it.

The hero of Butler's poem was no feigned personage, like the Don Quixote of Michael Cervantes; he was actually a knight-baronet, that had formerly been one of Cromwell's enthusiasts, in whose service he bore the office of a colonel. His name was Sir Samuel Luke. In order to understand the spirit of this poem, which is wholly singular in its kind, there will be a necessity of retrenching, at least three-fourths of the passages we want to translate; for Butler is an author who never thinks he has said enough. I have therefore reduced to about fourscore verses, the first four hundred in his work, to avoid a disgusting prolixity.

Quand

Quand les profanes & les Saints
 Dans l'Angleterre étaient aux prises,
 Qu'on se battait pour des Eglises,
 Aussi fort que pour des Catins ;
 Lorsqu' Anglicans & Puritains
 Faisaient une si rude guerre,
 Et qu'au sortir du cabaret
 Les orateurs de Nazareth
 Allaient battre la caisse en chaire ;
 Que partout sans savoir pourquoi,
 Au nom du Ciel, au nom du Roi,
 Les gens d'armes couvraient la terre ;
 Alors Monsieur le Chevalier,
 Longtems oisif ainsi qu'Achile,
 Tout rempli d'une sainte bile,
 Suivi de son grand écuyer,
 S'échapa de son poulaillier,
 Avec son sabre & l'Evangile,
 Et s'avisa de guerroyer.

Sire Hudibras, cet homme rare,
 Était, dit-on, rempli d'honneur,
 Avait de l'esprit & du cœur,
 Mais il en était fort avare.
 D'ailleurs par un talent nouveau,
 Il était tout propre au barreau,
 Ainsi qu'à la guerre cruelle ;
 Grand sur les bancs, grand sur la selle,
 Dans les camps & dans un bureau ;
 Semblable à ces rats amphibies,
 Qui paraissant avoir deux vies,
 Son rats de campagne & rats d'eau.
 Mais malgré sa grande éloquence,
 Et son mérite & sa prudence,
 Il passa chez quelques savants
 Pour être un de ces instruments,

Doni

*Dont les fripons avec adresse
Savent user sans dire mot,
Et qu'ils tournent avec souplesse ;
Cet instrument s'appelle un sot.
Ce n'est pas qu'en Théologie,
En Logique, en Astrologie,
Il ne fût un Docteur subtil ;
En quatre il séparait un fil,
Disputant sans jamais se rendre,
Changeant de thèse tout-à-coup,
Toujours prêt à parler beaucoup,
Quand il fallait ne point s'étendre.*

*D'Hudibras la Religion
Était tout comme sa raison,
Vuide de sens & fort profonde.
Le Puritanisme divin,
La meilleure secte du monde,
Et qui certes n'a rien d'humain ;
La vraie Eglise militante,
Qui prêche un pistolet en main,
Pour mieux convertir son prochain,
A grands coups de sabre argumente,
Qui promet les célestes biens
Par le gibet & par la corde,
Et damne sans pitié
Les péchés des autres Chrétiens,
Pour se mieux pardonner les siens ;
Secte qui toujours détruisante
Se détruit elle-même enfin :
Tel Samson de sa main puissante
Brisa le temple Philistin,
Mais il périt par sa vengeance,
Et lui-même il s'ensevelit,
Ecrasé sous la chute immense
De ce temple qu'il démolit.*

Au nez du Chevalier antique
 Deux grandes moustaches pendaient,
 A qui les Parques attachaient
 Le destin de la République.
 Il les garde soigneusement,
 Et si jamais on les arrache,
 C'est la chute du Parlement ;
 L'Etat entier en ce moment
 Doit tomber avec sa moustache.
 Ainsi Taliacotius
 Grand Esculape d'Etrurie,
 Répara tous les nez perdus
 Par une nouvelle industrie :
 Il vous prenait adroitement
 Un morceau du cu d'un pauvre homme,
 L'appliquait au nez proprement ;
 Enfin il arrivait qu'en somme,
 Tout juste à la mort du prêteur
 Tombait le nez de l'emprunteur,
 Et souvent dans la même bière,
 Par justice & par bon accord,
 On remettait au gré du mort
 Le nez auprès de son derrière.

Notre grand Héros d'Albion,
 Grimpé dessus sa haridelle
 Pour venger la Religion
 Avait à l'arçon de sa selle,
 Deux pistolets & du jambon.
 C'était de tout tems sa manière ;
 Sachant que si sa talonnière
 Pique une moitié du cheval
 L'autre moitié de l'animal
 Ne resterait point en arrière.
 Voila donc Hudibras parti ;
 Que Dieu bénisse son voyage,
 Ses argumens & son parti,
 Sa barbe rousse & son courage.

A man

A man whose imagination was capable of containing a tenth part of the *vis comica*, true or false, that predominates through every part of this work, would still be extremely diverting; but at the same time he would do well to have a care how he attempts to translate Hudibras: for how is it possible to excite laughter in readers who are foreigners, by means of the follies of persons long since forgotten in the very nation where they were once so famous? Dante is now no longer read in Europe, because his work is perpetually alluding to facts utterly unknown. The case is exactly the same with Hudibras. Most of the ridicule in this work falls on the theology and divines of his own time. A commentary is therefore wanted to every line. Humour that stands in need of being explained, from that moment ceases to be such; and it is very rare to find an explainer of the wit of others, have any of his own.

This is one reason why it will never be possible for the ingenious Dr. Swift to be understood in France, though he has justly acquired the title of the English Rabelais. He enjoys also the honour of the priesthood, while he laughs at the whole cloth. Rabelais, however, was in every respect superior to his age, though Swift is infinitely superior to Rabelais.

Our curate of Meudon, in his extravagant and unintelligible book, has diffused abundance of gaiety, and a still greater quantity of impertinence. He was equally full of prolixity, order, and erudition. A good story, which fills two pages, is bought at the expence of whole volumes of nonsense. There are none

but those of a capricious taste, that pique themselves on understanding and relishing the whole of his performance. The rest of the nation laugh at the pleasantries of Rabelais, whilst they despise his work, and he passes with them for the chief of buffoons. People are sorry that a man with so much wit should make such a low use of it. In short, it is a drunken philosopher, that writ only when he was not able to stand.

Dr. Swift is Rabelais in his right senses, but polished by frequenting the best company. It is true he has not the gaiety of the former, but he is possessed of all that delicacy, judgment, proper choice of matter, and that exquisite taste which is wholly wanting in the curate of Meudon. His verses are of a singular cast, and almost utterly inimitable. True pleasantry is his talent in prose and verse; but to understand him fully, there is a necessity to take a short trip into his country.

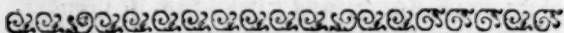
In this country, which appears so extraordinary to the rest of mankind, nobody was much surprised to see the reverend Dr. Swift, dean of a cathedral, laughing in his *Tale of a Tub* at Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists. He alledges in his own vindication, that he left Christianity untouched. He pretends to have shewn all manner of respect to the father, by giving a hearty drubbing to each of the three sons. Nice people will be apt to find this apology rather too slight for what passes with them for a flagrant enormity.

This famous *Tale of a Tub* is an imitation of the ancient tale of the Three Invisible Rings, which a certain father bequeathed to his three

children. These three rings were the Jewish, the Christian, and the Mahometan religions. It is likewise an imitation of the History of Mero and Enegu, by Fontenelle. Mero was the anagram of Rome, and Enegu that of Geneva. These were two sisters, who pretended each to have the right of succession to the kingdom of their father. Mero was the first that mounted the throne. Fontenelle represents her as a forceress, who was wont to steal bread, and who performed her enchantments by the help of dead bodies. She is exactly lord *Peter* in Swift, whilst he is presenting a piece of bread to his two brothers, and tells them, "Friends, here is some excellent Burgundy, this partridge has a most exquisite flavour." The same lord *Peter* plays every where the part of Mero in Fontenelle.

Thus almost every composition is no more than an imitation. The hint of the Persian Letters is taken from the Turkish Spy. Boiardo has imitated Pulci, as Ariosto has imitated Boiardo. The most original geniuses borrow from each other. Michael Cervantes makes his *Don Quixote* a fool; but pray is Orlando any other? It would puzzle one to decide whether knight-errantry has been made more ridiculous by the grotesque painting of Cervantes, than by the luxuriant imagination of Ariosto. Metastasio has taken the greatest part of his operas from our French tragedies. Several English writers have copied us, without saying one word of the matter. It is with books, as it is with the fires in our houses; one goes and lights his candle at his neighbour's, and then lights one of his own: whence he communi-

cates to his neighbours that want his assistance, so that it becomes absolutely the property of every one.



ON P O P E.

I FANCY it will be more easy for you to form some idea of Mr. Pope. He is in my opinion the most elegant, the most correct, and, what is still more difficult to find, the most harmonious poet that England has hitherto produced. He has reduced the shrill harshness of the English trumpet, to the soft sweetness of the Lydian flute. His Essay on Criticism will soon be sufficiently known in France, by the translations in verse which the abbé du Renel is about to publish.

What follows is a passage from his poem called the *Rape of the Lock*, which I have lately translated with my usual liberty; for I must again repeat it, I know nothing so execrable as a literal translation of a piece of poetry.

*Umbriel à l'instant, vieux Gnome rechigné,
Va, d'une aîle pesante, & d'un air renfrogné,
Chercher en murmurant la caverne profonde,
Où loin des doux rayons, que répand l'œil du monde,
La Déesse aux vapeurs a choisi son séjour:
Les tristes Aquilons y sifflent à l'entour,
Et le souffle mal-sain de leur aride haleine
Y porte aux environs la fièvre & la migraine.
Sur un riche sofa, derrière un paravent,
Loin des flambeaux, du bruit, des parleurs & du
vent, La*

La quinteuse Déesse incessamment repose,
 Le cœur gros de chagrin, sans en sçavoir la cause,
 N'ayant pensé jamais, l'esprit toujours troublé,
 L'œil chargé, le teint pâle, & l'hypocondre enflé.
 La médisante Envie est assise auprès d'elle,
 Vieux spectre féminin, décrépité pucelle,
 Avec un air dévot déchirant son prochain,
 Et chansonnant les gens, l'Evangile à la main.
 Sur un lit plein de fleurs, négligemment panchée,
 Une jeune beauté non loin d'elle est couchée ;
 C'est l'affectation, qui grassèye en parlant,
 Ecoute sans entendre, & lorgne en regardant :
 Qui rougit sans pudeur, & rit de tout sans joie,
 De cent maux différens prétend qu'elle est la proie,
 Et pleine de santé sous le rouge & le fard,
 Se plaint avec mollesse, & se pâme avec art.

Umbriel, a dusky melancholy sprite,
 As ever sullied the fair face of light,
 Down to the central earth, his proper scene,
 Repairs to search the gloomy cave of spleen.

Swift on his sooty pinions flits the gnome,
 And in a vapour reach'd the dismal dome.
 No cheerful breeze this sullen region knows,
 The dreaded east is all the wind that blows ;
 Here in a grotto, shelter'd close from air,
 And screen'd in shades from day's detested
 glare,

She sighs for ever on her pensive bed,
 Pain at her side, and Megrim at her head.

Two handmaids wait the throne, alike in
 place,
 But differing far in figure and in face :

Here stood *Ill-Nature*, like an ancient maid,
Her wrinkled form in black and white array'd;
With store of pray'rs, for mornings, nights,
and noons,
Her hand is fill'd; her bosom with lampoons.
There Affectation, with a sickly mien,
Shews in her cheek the roses of eighteen.
Practis'd to lisp, and hang the head aside,
Faints into airs, and languishes with pride:
On the rich quilt sinks with becoming woe;
Wrapt in a gown, for sickness and for show.

Pope's Essay on Man is in my opinion the finest, the most useful, and the sublimest didactic poem that has ever been written in any language. The ground-work of the whole, it is true, may be found in lord Shaftesbury's Characteristics, for which reason I cannot see why Mr. Pope has given all the honour of it to lord Bolingbroke, without mentioning a word of the famous Shaftesbury, the disciple of Locke.

As there is nothing in metaphysics but what has been often thought in every age and nation where the talents of the mind are cultivated, this system has a great conformity with that of Leibnitz; who pretends, that, of all possible worlds, God must certainly have chosen the best; and that, even in this best, all the irregularities of our globe, as well as the follies of its inhabitants, ought to have a place. It has also a resemblance to the notion of Plato, which says, that, in the infinite chain of beings, our earth, our bodies, and our souls, are so many necessary links. But neither Leibnitz nor Pope admit of those changes, which, according to Plato, have happened

happened to those links of it, our souls and bodies. Plato, in his unintelligible prose, wrote like a poet; whilst Pope, in his admirable version, is truly a great philosopher. He says, all things have at all times been, even from the very infancy of nature, as they are; that is, as they ought to be: "Whatever is, is best." I could not help being pleased, I own, to find he agreed with me in a point which I had maintained several years since.

"You are filled with wonder to think God should have made man with faculties so limited, so ignorant, and so much short of true happiness. Why do not you rather wonder he did not make him infinitely more so?" When a Frenchman and an Englishman happen to agree in any point, you may swear they are then in the right.

The son of the famous Racine has published a letter of Pope addressed to him, with a recantation of this doctrine. This letter is written in the stile and manner of Fénélon: it was delivered him by Ramsay, the editor of *Telemachus*; that Ramsay who was the imitator of *Telemachus*, and much such another as Boyer was of *Corneille*; that Scotch Ramsay who modestly demanded admittance into the French academy; in a word, by that Ramsay who was sadly disappointed at not being a doctor of the Sorbonne. This I know, as does every man of letters in England, that Pope, with whom I was very intimately acquainted, could hardly read French; spoke not one word of our language; never wrote one single syllable in the language not, being capable to do it; and, if he ever wrote such a

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letter to the son of our Racine, God must certainly have endowed him with the gift of tongues, by way of recompence for having composed so wonderful a work as his Essay on Man.



ON THE
ROYAL SOCIETY,
AND
ACADEMIES.

ALL great men have either been formed before the institution of academies, or at least without any assistance from them. Homer and Phidias, Sophocles and Apelles, Virgil and Vitruvius, Ariosto and Michael Angelo, belonged to no academy; Tasso met with no other advantages besides a few ill-grounded criticisms from that of La Crusca; nor was Newton indebted to the Royal Society of London for his discoveries in optics, gravitation, the doctrine of integrals, and chronology. Of what use then are academies? To keep alive that flame which great geniuses have kindled.

The Royal Society of London was formed in 1660, six years before our Academy of Sciences. This society bestows no premiums or rewards, as ours does; but then to make amends every member is perfectly at his liberty; there are none of those disagreeable distinctions invented by the Abbé Bignon, who divided the Academy of Sciences into literary members who had salaries,

ries, and mere honoraries who had no pretensions to learning. The society of London, wholly independent on, and unengaged by any but themselves, was composed of persons who as I have already observed, discovered the series of infinites, the laws of light and colours, those of gravity, the aberration of the fixed stars, the reflecting telescope, the fire-engine, the solar microscope, with many other inventions equally useful and astonishing. What more could those great men have done for the public utility, had they been either pensioners or honoraries?

The famous Dr. Swift, in the latter part of queen Anne's reign, formed the design of establishing an academy for the English language on the model of the French academy. This project was supported by the earl of Oxford, then at the head of the treasury, and still more by lord viscount Bolingbroke, who possessed the talent of speaking extempore in parliament with all that purity with which Swift wrote in his closet, and who would have been at once the patron and the ornament of this academy. The members who were to have composed it, were persons whose writings will last as long as the English language; namely, Dr. Swift; Mr. Prior, whom we have seen at our court, in a public character, and who is held in the same reputation in England as La Fontaine in France; Mr. Pope, the English Boileau; Mr. Congreve, who may be justly stiled their Moliere *, with

* Never did any two authors write on the same subjects so differently as did Moliere and Congreve. Moliere distinguished himself by his natural simplicity, and Congreve by his unnatural wit.

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several others whose names I cannot well remember; all of whom could not have failed to have rendered this body illustrious in its very infancy. But the queen unfortunately happening to die suddenly, the Whigs took it into their heads to bring the protectors of these if possible to the block or gallows; a mortal blow, as you may well imagine, to the *Belles-lettres*. The members who were to have composed this academy, would have had a prodigious advantage over the founders of ours. Swift, Prior, Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Addison, &c. had fixed the English language by their writings; whereas Chapelain, Colletet, Cassaigne, Faret, Cotin, our first academicians, were the scandal of our nation, and their names so ridiculous, that at this day, should any author have the misfortune to be called Chapelain or Cotin, he would be under a necessity of changing his name.

Besides, the English academy would have adopted a very different plan of operation from that of ours. One day one of the wits of that country asked me to shew him some of the memoirs of the French academy. I told him they had not written any memoirs, but they had printed about fourscore volumes of compliments. He glanced over one or two of them. He could by no means comprehend a single syllable of what they meant, though he very well understood all our good authors. All I can discover, said he, by this multitude of fine speeches, is, that after the new candidate has told them, that his predecessor was a very great man, that cardinal Richlieu was an exceeding great man, and chancellor Seguier a very eminent man; the director answered him in the same manner,

taht

that echoed back the same expressions ; adding, that the candidate might possibly be a great man ; and as for himself, the director, he did not mean by all this to forfeit his title to be one among the rest. It is easy to discover by what kind of fatality almost all those academical discourses have done this body so little honour. *Vitium est temporis potius quam hominis.* The custom has been established insensibly, that every academican should repeat those eulogiums at his reception : this was no more than to make it a kind of law, to tire the patience of the public. Should we afterwards enquire, how it came to pass, that the greatest geniuses who have entered into this society have sometimes made the worst harangues, the reason is very evident ; it is, that they wanted to shine by treating a thread-bare subject in a manner different from all who had gone before them. The necessity of saying something, when one has not a syllable to say ; the plague of mixing somewhat new in a subject already exhausted ; and withal, that passion of shewing one's parts ; are enough to make the greatest wit appear truly ridiculous. Not being able to find any thing but what has been said before, they rack their brains to give the old thoughts a new cloathing, by forced turns of expression, and have been compelled to speak without thinking ; like people who make as if they were eating, whilst they are ready to perish with hunger. Instead of the law whereby the French academy have bound themselves to print all their discourses, which are, properly speaking, the whole of their works, methinks they had done better, had they made it a law to print none of them at all.

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The academy of *Belles-lettres* have proposed a wiser and more advantageous end, which is that of presenting the public with a collection of memoirs, filled with researches and ingenious criticisms. Those memoirs are already in esteem amongst foreigners; only one would wish they had dipped somewhat deeper in certain subjects, and that they had entirely passed by some others without notice. We could have very well dispensed, for instance, with such disquisitions as the origin of the preference due to the right-hand above the left, with some other researches, which, though with titles not quite so ridiculous, are not less frivolous. The Academy of Sciences, in her more difficult, but more evidently useful enquiries, is wholly employed in the study of nature, and the perfecting the arts. It is to be believed, that studies, which are at once so profound and so closely pursued, calculations so exact, discoveries so nice and ingenious, and views so extensive, will one day produce something that may be greatly for the advantage of mankind.

The most useful discoveries have been made in the most barbarous ages; and it seems to be the lot of the most enlightened periods, and of the most learned boies, to reason about the inventions of the ignorant. We may know, after the long disputes of Mr. Huyghens and Mr. Renaud, the determination of the most advantageous angle of the rudder of a ship with her keel; but Christopher Columbus had discovered America without so much as dreaming of any such angle. I am far from inferring from this, that we ought to confine ourselves wholly to the uncertainty of blind practice; but it would be
a happiness

a happiness if natural philosophers and geometricians would, as much as possible, join the practical part to the theory. Is it absolutely necessary, that what does most honour to the human mind should often be the least useful? A man who is possessed of the four common rules of arithmetic, with a natural stock of good sense, becomes an eminent merchant, a James Cœur, a Delmet, or a Bernard; whilst a poor algebrast passes his days in discovering wonderful relations and astonishing properties in numbers, but of no manner of use, and which would never have let him into the common course of exchange. All the arts are pretty much the same. There is a certain point, beyond which all is matter of mere curiosity. These ingenious but useful truths are like the stars, which are placed at such an infinite distance from us, that we reap not the least advantage from their beams.

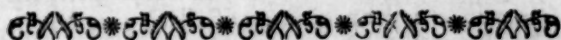
As for the French academy, what advantage might she not afford to learning, to the language, and to the nation, if, instead of pestering the world every year with a magazine of fulsome compliments, they had published the good authors of the age of Lewis XIV. purged from all those faults in language that have crept into them? Corneille and Moliere are quite full of them. Fontaine swarms with such mistakes. Those at least might be pointed out that appear incapable of being mended. Europe, which reads our authors, might in them learn our language safely from all danger of a vicious idiom. Its purity would then be fixed for ever. The best French authors, carefully published at the king's expence, would be one of the most glorious monuments

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monuments of the nation. I have heard that Boileau formerly made a proposal of this kind; and that it has been since renewed by one whose wit and good sense, as well as sound criticism, are well known; but with the common fate of many other useful projects, that of being approved and neglected.

It is very extraordinary, that Corneille, who composed the first of his good tragedies, at a time when the language was only beginning to be formed, should have wrote them with tolerable purity and great sublimity, and all the rest in a loose, incorrect, and even low stile, tho' Racine had then bestowed on the French language so much purity, so much sublimity and grace; and whilst Boileaux fixed it by the most exact correctness, precision, strength, fullness, energy, and harmony. Let any one but compare the *Berenice* of Racine with that of Corneille, one would imagine this latter to have been written in the age of *Tristan*. It would make one believe Corneille neglected his stile in proportion as he was under a greater necessity to support it, and that his sole emulation was to write, when it should have been to write well. His last twelve or thirteen tragedies are not only wretched, but in a very mean stile. What is still more surprising is, that, even in our own days, we have had plays, with other performances both in prose and verse, composed by academicians, who have neglected their language to such a degree, that one can hardly read ten verses in them without meeting with some barbarism. We may overlook a few faults in a good author; but where they grow numerous, it is impossible for such a work to support

the writer's reputation. A company of persons of good taste one day reckoned upwards of six hundred intolerable solecisms in a tragedy which had met with distinguished applause both at Paris and at court. Two or three instances of such unmerited success would be sufficient to corrupt the language past all possibility of recovery, and to plunge it into its antient barbarism, from whence it has been drawn by the assiduous labours of so many great men.



ON CROMWELL.

CROMWELL is commonly represented as one who was an impostor thro' the whole course of his life. This is what I can hardly believe. My opinion of the matter is, that he was first of all an enthusiast, but that afterwards he made his very fanaticism subservient to his greatness. A novice possessed of extreme religious fervour at twenty, often becomes a consummate knave at forty. In the great game of human life, men begin with being dupes, but end knaves. A statesman shall sometimes take for his chaplain a monk covered over with the little pedantry of his convent; fanatic, devout, credulous, awkward, and quite raw in the world, the monk acquires knowledge, politeness, learns to intrigue, till at last he supplants his patron.

Cromwell at first hardly knew what to make of himself, and was puzzled whether to be a churchman or a soldier. He was actually both. He made a campaign with Frederic-Henry prince of Orange in 1622, who was not only a man
of

of great capacity himself, but also brother to two illustrious personages. When he returned to England, he entered into the service of bishop Williams, and was my lord's chaplain, whilst my lord was thought to be rather too great with his wife. His religious principles were those of the puritanical sect; so that he could not but mortally hate the bishop, nor could he have any great affection for kings. He was banished the bishop's family on account of his being a Puritan, and this accident was properly the fountain and first beginning of all his grandeur*. The English parliament had declared against royalty and episcopacy, when some friends Cromwell had in that parliament procured him to be chosen for a borough. He may be said to have existed only from this time, and was turned of forty before he made any noise in the world. In vain had he studied the Bible, learned to wrangle about the institution of priests and deacons, and made some wretched sermons and libels: he was still in obscurity. I have seen a sermon of his pretty much like one of the Quakers harangues, in which one cannot discover the smallest traces of that persuasive eloquence †

* We know not where our author picked up these anecdotes; but we will venture to say they are not true. Cromwell had been a libertine in his youth; but he all at once became a fanatic; and was so engrossed by his exercises of devotion, that he neglected his temporal affairs, which were in great disorder when he was returned member of parliament for the town of Cambridge. He had attained his fortieth year before he embraced the military profession, and then the civil war had broke out.

† He never possessed the least talent for eloquence; on the contrary, his public harangues were insipid, perplexed, and often unintelligible.

by which he afterwards swayed the parliaments. The true reason of this is, he was much better qualified for the state than the church. But his eloquence consisted wholly in his air and in the tone of his voice; the single motion of that hand, that won so many battles, and killed so many Royalists, was more persuasive than all the studied periods of Cicero. It must also be acknowledged, that the reputation he acquired was wholly owing to his incomparable valour, which laid the first steps of that ladder, by which he reached the highest summit of human grandeur.

He began with serving as a volunteer desirous of making his fortune in the city of Hull*, which was then besieged by the king. Here he performed so many gallant and successful exploits, that he was rewarded by the parliament with a gratification of about six thousand livres of our money. Such a present, bestowed by the parliament on a simple volunteer, was a sure prognostic their party must one day get the better. The king was not then in a condition to make such a present to his general officers, as the parliament gave on this occasion to their volunteers. With money and fanaticism, they must, in the long run, overcome all that stood in their way: they made Cromwell a colonel: then it was that his great talents for war began to display themselves; insomuch, that, when the parliament made the earl of Manchester

* He was not in the town of Hull, which was never besieged, though Sir John Hotham refused to surrender it to the king. The first specimen of Cromwell's soldiering was his raising a troop of horse for the service of the parliament, and quartering them at Cambridge.

their general, they made Cromwell a lieutenant-general, without passing through the intermediate ranks. Never did man seem more worthy of command ; never was there seen a greater share of prudence and activity, or a more daring and undaunted spirit, joined to such an infinity of resources as were in Cromwell. He was wounded in the battle of York ; and whilst the surgeons were beginning to dress his wound, he was told that his general lord Manchester was retreating, and the battle entirely lost. He runs to lord Manchester, whom he finds flying with some of his officers : he immediately takes him by the arm ; and, with an air of intrepidity and greatness, told him ; “ You are mistaken, my lord ; this is not the way the enemy have fled.” He leads him back near to the spot on which the battle was fought ; rallies in the night upwards of twelve thousand men ; exhorts them in the name of the Lord ; cites the examples of Moses, Gideon, and Joshua ; beseeches them by all means not to neglect to engage the victorious Royalists at break of day ; and entirely defeats them. Almost all the officers in his army were enthusiasts, who carried their Bibles tied to the pommel of their saddles : there was nothing talked of, either in the army or in parliament, but the overthrowing of Babylon, establishing the Lord’s worship in the new Jerusalem, and breaking the great idol. Cromwell, tho’ amidst an host of fools, grew wise at last, and be-thought himself, that it was better to guide them, than to be governed by them. The habit, however, of preaching like one inspired still remained with him. Imagine to yourself a Faquir, with his loins bound about with a gir-
dle

dle of iron out of mere mortification, who afterwards pulls off his girdle, and falls to knocking down his brother Faquirs. This is Cromwell: he became full as good a politician as he was a soldier: he enters into an association with all the colonels of the army; and thus he forms his soldiers into a kind of republic, who force their general to abdicate. Another generalissimo is named, with whom he is presently dissatisfied: he governs the army, and with them the parliament, whom he at last compels to create him generalissimo. All this is certainly a great deal; but what is more remarkable is, that he gained every battle he fought, whether in Scotland, England, or Ireland; and gained them not like other generals, by being a mere spectator, solicitous about his own safety, but by continually charging the enemy in person; rallying his troops; by being present everywhere; often wounded; killing several of the Royalists with his own hand; like some furious grenadier, that delights in carnage.

In the midst of this cruel and bloody war, Cromwell was making love, and went with his Bible under his arm to lie with the wife of his major-general Lambert. This lady was in love with the earl of Holland, who was then serving in the royal army. Cromwell takes him prisoner in one of his battles, and has the pleasure to cut off his rival's head. His maxim was to cut off every enemy of any consequence, either in the field of battle, or by the hand of the executioner. He encreased his power on every occasion by perpetually abusing it; and the depth of his designs want nothing of his natural ferocity. He enters the parliament; and taking

taking out his watch, throws it on the ground, and breaks it to pieces with this expression I will break you, just as I have done that watch. Some time after he returns, and dissolves them by his own authority, making them file off, as it were in review, before him. Each member was obliged, as he passed him, to make him a profound bow. One of them, it seems, thought proper to pass him with his hat on; when Cromwell, taking it off, threw it on the ground. Learn, says he, to shew me the proper respect.

After having insulted every crowned head, by cutting off that of the king his lawful sovereign, and when he had even begun his own reign, he sent his picture to queen Christina of Sweden. Marvel, a famous English poet, who made very good Latin verses, composed six lines on the occasion, which were to accompany that present, in which he introduces Cromwell himself. Cromwell corrected the two last, which are these:

*At tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra,
Non sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.*

The bold sentiment expressed in those three couplets may be turned in this manner:

*Les armes à la main j'ai défendu les loix;
D'un peuple audacieux j'ai vengé la querelle.
Regardez sans frémir cette image fidèle;
Mon front n'est pas toujours l'épouvante des rois.*

Behold the chief who fought for dying laws,
And shun'd no dangers in his country's cause;
To kings no longer dreadful, sues to you;
And smooths the terrors of his awful brow.

This

This queen was the first who acknowledged him on his being made protector of the three kingdoms. Almost every sovereign in Europe sent ambassadors to their brother Cromwell, to this once menial servant of a bishop, who had put his sovereign, who was of their blood, to death by the hands of the executioner: nay, they disputed who should have the honour of being in alliance with him. Cardinal Mazarin, to please him, banished the two sons of Charles I. the two grandsons of Henry IV. the two cousins-germain of Lewis XIV. of France, conquered Dunkirk for him, and the keys of that place were accordingly sent him. When he died, Lewis XIV. with his whole court, put on mourning, except Mademoiselle, who had the courage to come to the circle in colours, thus singly maintaining the honour of her family.

Never was there king more absolute than Cromwell. He said, he liked better to govern under the quality of protector than that of king, because the power of the latter was well known to the people of England, whereas that of a protector was not. This shewed a thorough knowledge of mankind, who are slaves to opinion, which opinion often depends on a mere name. He had conceived a thorough contempt for religion, though he was indebted to it for all the power and honours he enjoyed. We have an undeniable anecdote of this preserved in the St. John family, which is a sufficient proof of the sovereign contempt Cromwell entertained for that instrument which had produced such wonderful effects in his hands. He was one day cracking a bottle with Ireton, Fleetwood,

Fleetwood, and St. John *, who was grandfather to the present Lord Bolingbroke ; they wanted to draw the cork of a bottle, when the corkscrew happened to fall under the table: they were all of them in search of it, but could not find it. In the mean time, word was brought in that a deputation from the Presbyterian churches waited for an audience in the antichamber. " Tell them," says Cromwell, " that I am *in private seeking the Lord.*" This was the canting expression of those fanatics for being at prayers. When he had in this manner dismissed the deputation of ministers, he made use of these very words to his companions: " Those knaves think we are seeking the Lord, whereas in truth we are looking for the corkscrew."

Europe has no example of any man who raised himself to such an height of glory, from so humble an original. What could such a man want? Success. 'This success he enjoyed; but was he happy with all his good fortune? He lived in very narrow and uneasy circumstances till past forty; he then bathed himself in blood, passed the rest of his days in perpetual anxieties, and died at last in his seven and fiftieth year. Let any man but compare the life of this man with that of Newton, who lived fourscore and four years, in perfect tranquillity, full of honour, the light and guide of all intelligent beings, his reputation and fortune daily encreasing, without care or remorse; and

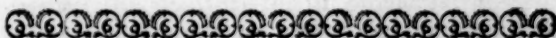
* The St. John here mentioned was no more than a natural son of Lord Bolingbroke's family, and a lawyer by profession.

then

ON FANATICISM. 191

then tell me whose was the happier lot of the two.

O curas hominum, ô quantum est in rebus inane!



ON FANATICISM.

GEOMETRY has not always the property of bestowing a just way of thinking on those who cultivate that science. Into what precipices may not one fall with those outlines of reason? A famous Protestant, who was reckoned one of the first mathematicians of his age, and who trod in the steps of Newton, Leibnitz, and Bernouilli, took it into his head, some years since, to draw some very odd-corollaries. It has been said, that with one grain of faith one might remove mountains; this person, by an analysis wholly geometrical, says to himself, "I have many grains of faith, therefore I ought to do something more than remove mountains." This was he who made his appearance in London in 1707, accompanied with some learned persons, and even some of them very sensible men. He gave out publicly, that he would raise a dead person to life in any church-yard they should think proper. Their reasonings were always guided by synthesis. They argued thus: The true disciples must certainly work miracles, and we are true disciples; ergo, we can do any thing we please. Simple saints of the church of Rome, who
were

were wholly ignorant of geometry, have raised a great number of dead; therefore, *a fortiori*, we who are the reformers of the reformed must certainly be able to raise whom we please.

It is impossible to answer such arguments; they are all according to the strictest rules of the schools. Here then is what has deluged antiquity with prodigies. Hence we may account for the temples of Esculapius being always full of votive tablets, and every pillar of it hung round with the crutches of the lame, and the pictures of cures performed, with the images of little children in silver, as big as the life; in short, every thing was miraculous.

In a word, our famous protestant geometrician that I am speaking of, was so much in earnest, that he positively assured the public he would raise the dead; and this plausible proposal made such an impression on the populace, that queen Anne was obliged to appoint a day, an hour, and a church-yard, in the option of the adept, where he might perform his miracle in a proper manner in the presence of the magistracy. Our geometrical apostle made choice of St. Paul's Cathedral to exhibit his holy art. The people lined the place, and soldiers were planted to keep the dead and the living in order. The magistrates took their seats; and the recorder wrote every circumstance of the transactions in the public archives. One cannot be too exact or use too many precautions where miracles are concerned. A body was therefore taken up in presence of the saint, such as he was pleased to direct. He prayed, fell on his knees, made a thousand holy contortions, in which he was followed by his companions—but in vain; the

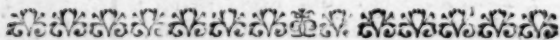
deceased gave not the smallest sign of life, so that they were forced to carry him back to his hole, and content themselves with some slight punishment of the raiser of the departed and his adherents. I have since seen one of those poor fellows; he owned to me that some one of them had been tainted with a little matter of venial sin, which the departed had discovered; and that, had it not been for this, the resurrection had most infallibly taken place.

Were it lawful to blaze abroad aught to the discredit of those to whom the public owes the greatest and most sincere respect, I should now be tempted to say, that Newton, the great Newton himself, has discovered in the Revelations that the pope is antichrist, with abundance of the same sort of stuff: I verily think I should call him an Arian in good earnest. I am sensible this weakness of Newton is to that of our other geometrician as an unit is to an infinite number. There is certainly no kind of comparison. But what a wretched set of beings must the human species be, when such a man as the immortal Newton could persuade himself he saw the present history of Europe in the Apocalypse!

It would seem that superstition is an epidemical kind of disorder, and from which the brightest minds, and even freethinkers, are not wholly exempt. There are in Turkey persons of extreme good sense, who would suffer em-paling alive for certain opinions of *Aboubeker*. These principles once admitted to be just, their other arguments are certainly very conclusive. The Navaricians, the Radarists, and the Jabarists, damn each other mutually, by mere subtile and cobweb arguments: they all of them draw

very plausible consequences; though none of them have the courage to examine the principles on which those arguments are founded.

A report is spread abroad in the world, that there is a giant seventy feet high; immediately the doctors in a body examine what the colour of his hair ought to be, together with the dimensions of his thumb, and the breadth of his nails. There is nothing but outcries, caballing, and disputes. They who maintain that the little finger of the giant is no more than fifteen lines in diameter, condemn such as affirm the little finger to be a foot thick to the flames. "But, for heaven's sake, gentlemen, are you sure there is such a monster in being as this giant?" says a by-stander, with great modesty. "What a blasphemous doubt!" cry all the disputants, "what an impious absurdity!" Thus they come to a pious conclusion to stone this by-stander; and after having murdered him in the most orthodox and edifying manner imaginable, they fall together by the ears, according to custom, about the mystery of the nails and the little finger.



On D E I S M.

DEISM is a religion which is diffused through all religions, a metal which mixes and unites with all other metals, and whose veins penetrate under ground to the extremities of the universe. This mine lies nearer the surface,

surface, and is more worked in China than in other parts; every where else it lies concealed, and is a secret wholly unknown to any but the true adepts.

There is no country where those adepts abound more than in England. In the last century there were even some atheists in that kingdom, as well as in France and Italy. What chancellor Bacon said has been fulfilled to a tittle, That a smattering of philosophy makes one an atheist, but that a profound application to it leads to the knowledge of a God. At the time that men believed with Epicurus, that chance governs every thing, or with Aristotle, and even with several ancient divines, that every thing owes its being to corruption, and that, with the help of a little matter and motion, the world went very well of itself, it was then possible for a man to have disbelieved a providence. But, after having a nearer view of nature, which the ancients never saw at all; after discovering that all matter is organized, and that every thing contains the principles of propagation; after a full conviction that a mushroom is as much the production of infinite wisdom as the system of the universe; thinking persons have fallen to adoring where their predecessors blasphemed. Natural philosophers are become the champions of a providence. A catechist announces a God to children, whilst a Newton is demonstrating its existence to the sages of the world.

Many have been desirous to know, whether deism, considered in itself, and without any religious ceremonies, can properly be called a religion. The answer is evident: He who only

acknowledges a creating God, he who considers God only as a being infinitely powerful, and who sees nothing in his creatures but machines of an admirable contrivance; can no more be said to have a right sense of religion towards him, than an European, who should admire the power of an emperor of China, would be, for that reason only, a subject of that prince: but he who is persuaded that God has been pleased to create a certain relation between himself and his creatures; that is, between himself and men, whom he has made free, capable of good and evil, and who hath bestowed on them all that faculty of right reason, which is properly the instinct of man, and on which is founded the law of nature; this person is certainly under the power of true religion, and a religion at least infinitely superior to all those of the sects who are not of our communion; for all those sects are in the wrong, whereas the law of nature is undoubtedly, so far as it goes, perfectly right: even our revealed religion neither is nor can be any other than right reason as yet unaided by revelation, whereas the other religions are only good sense perverted by superstition.

All the sects differ from one another, because they are of man; whereas morality is every-where the same, because it proceeds from God.

It has been asked, Why, of five or six hundred different sects, there has not been one that has not been the occasion of bloodshed? And that the Deists, who are so numerous in all parts, have never occasioned the smallest disturbance? The reason is, that they were philosophers. Now philosophers may, in all likelihood,

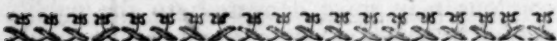
hood, be guilty of false reasoning, but never engage in intrigues of state; so that they who persecute philosophers, on pretence that their opinions may prove dangerous to the public, are full as absurd as a man would be who should imagine the study of algebra might possibly raise the price of corn at market. A thinking being, who is in an error, is an object of pity, and his persecutor a dangerous ideot and a madman. We are all sons of one parent; and should any of my brothers, who is full of filial respect, and animated with a charity truly fraternal, think proper to pay his respects to our Common Father after a different manner from me, am I therefore to cut his throat?

After all, what is a true Deist? One who says to God, "I adore and love thee;" one who says to a Turk, a Chinese, an Indian, and to a Russian, "I love thee."

But perhaps he doubts of Mahomet's voyage to the Moon, and accordingly makes bold to suppress one half of it, at least in his own private opinion; he does not insist his wife should leap into the fire on his death, out of pure devotion. Sometimes too he may be tempted to think the history of the eleven thousand virgins, and that of St. Amable, whose hat and gloves were carried to Rome by a sun-beam, a little dubious. In every other respect he may be a very honest man. Noah would certainly have admitted him into his ark; Numa Pompilius into his council; he would have rode on the car of Zoroaster, philosophized with Plato, Aristippus, Cicero, and Atticus; but

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tell me, do you think he would not have had a sip of the hemlock with Socrates ?



ON THE

CONTRADICTIONS of this WORLD.

THE more one knows this world of ours, the more contradictions and inconsistencies shall we find in it. To begin with the Grand Turk; he is under an indispensable necessity to cut off the head of every one who gives him the least grounds of displeasure, and is at the same time hardly able to preserve his own.

If from the Grand Turk we pass to St. Peter; his holiness confirms the election of emperors, has kings for his vassals, but is not more powerful than a duke of Savoy. He sends his commands into America and the East Indies; yet is he not able to take away one privilege from the republic of Lucca. The emperor is king of the Romans; but his whole right and prerogative consists in holding the pope's stirrup, and the bason for him to wash in at mass.

The English serve their monarch on the knee; but then they depose, imprison, and cut off his head on a scaffold.

Mén who have made a vow of poverty, obtain, even by virtue of that vow, an estate of two hundred thousand crowns yearly revenue; and

and, in consequence of their humility, become absolute sovereigns.

At Rome they rigorously condemn pluralities of benefices, with cure of souls; while at the same instant they will issue out bulls to some German to enable him to hold half a dozen bishoprics at once. It is, say they, because the German bishops have no church cures. The chancellor of France is the second person in the state, and yet he is never permitted to eat at the king's table; at least, it has never happened hitherto: while a colonel, who is scarce a gentleman, enjoys that honour. An intendant's lady is a queen in her husband's province, and at court no more than a simple country madam.

They who are convicted of that heinous sin of non-conformity, are publicly burnt; whilst the second eclogue of Virgil, in which is that warm declaration of love which Corydon makes the beauteous Alexis, *Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin*, is gravely expounded in every college; and they are even at abundance of pains to cause their pupils to take notice that tho' Corydon was fair and Amyntas swarthy, yet still Amyntas might justly claim the preference.

Should a poor harmless philosopher, who never dreamed of doing the least harm to any one, take it into his head to imagine that the earth moves, that light comes from the sun, or that matter might possibly have some other properties besides those we are yet acquainted with, immediately the hue-and-cry is raised against him as an impious disturber of the public tranquillity, notwithstanding his persecutors have translated and published, *in usum delphini*, Lu-

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cretius and Cicero's Tusculane Questions, which are two complete bodies of irreligion.

Our courts of justice have now rejected all belief of persons possessed with evil spirits, and witches are subjects of laughter; but Gaufredy and Grandier were both burnt for witchcraft; and lately, by a majority of voices, a monk was condemned to the stake by one of our parliaments, for having bewitched a young damsel of eighteen years by breathing upon her*.

The sceptical philosophy of Bayle was even persecuted in Holland. La Motte le Vayer, still a greater sceptic, though not near so good a philosopher, was preceptor to Lewis XIV. and his brother. Gourville was hanged in effigy at Paris, whilst he was the ambassador of France in Germany.

The famous atheist Spinoza lived and died in peace. Vanini, whose only crime was writing against Aristotle, was burnt for an atheist: in this quality he has had the honour to make a considerable article in the history of the republic of letters, as well as in all the dictionaries, those enormous archives of lies, with so small a mixture of truth: Do but open those books, you will there find it recorded that Vanini † not only

* This is the famous prosecution of Father Girard and Miss Cadiere. Never was there any thing more disgraceful to humanity.

† Julius Cæsar Vanini, born in the kingdom of Naples in the sixteenth century, was an adventurer in freethinking, and travelled into several countries, where he brought himself into trouble by speaking and writing on the mysteries of religion. At length he was imprisoned at Tholouse, tried and convicted of atheism and sorcery, for which he was brought to the stake and burned alive, after his tongue had been cut out.

taught atheism in his writings, but also that twelve professors of the same creed had actually set out from Naples with design to make proselytes to their gospel in all parts; then open Vanini's books, you will be astonished to find they contain nothing but so many proofs of the existence of a deity. See here what he says in his *Amphitheatrum*, a work condemned upon trust, because it is wholly unknown: "God is his own sole principal and boundary, without end, without beginning, having no need of either; and the father of all beginning and of every end; he exists for ever, but in no space of time; with regard to time, there is no duration, *a parte ante*, that is to say, which is past, nor futurity which will come hereafter; he is present every where without occupying any place; immoveable, yet without stopping, and rapid without motion; he is all, but without one exclusive of all; he is in every thing, but without being confined; and without every thing, but without being excluded from other beings; good, without quality; a whole, without parts; and, whilst he produces all the various changes in nature, he is himself unvaried and immutable; his will is his power; he is simplicity itself; there is no such thing as mere possibility, all in him is real; he is the first, the middle, and the last act; in one word, he is all, yet is he above all kings, without them, within them, beyond them, eternally before them, yet present with them." After such a confession of his faith, was Vanini denounced an atheist. Yet what could the grounds for his condemnation be? The simple deposition of a fellow called Frangon. In vain did his works bear witness in his

favour. A single enemy robbed him of his life and reputation, at least all over Europe, at the same time.

The little book, called the *Cymbalum Mundi*, which is no more than a cold imitation of Lucian, and which has not the slightest or most distant relation to Christianity, has in like manner been condemned to the flames; yet Rabelais has been printed *cum privilegio*, and the Turkish Spy, and even the Persian Letters*, have been suffered to pass unmolested, particularly the latter, that ingenious, diverting, and daring performance, which contains an entire letter in defence of suicide; another in which are these words: "If we suppose such a thing as religion;" another where it is said in express terms, that the bishops have properly no other function, but that of dispensing with the laws; in a word, another which calls the pope a magician, who endeavours to persuade us that three and one are the same; that the bread we eat is not bread, &c. The abbe de St. Pierre, a man who might possibly be deceived, but who has constantly kept the public good in sight in all his writings, and whose works cardinal Du Bois used to call the Dreams of a good Citizen; this abbe de St. Pierre, I say, was excluded from the French Academy, *nemine contradicente*, for having, in a political work, preferred the establishment of boards of council to the institution of secretaries of state; and for saying, that the finances had been shamefully managed towards the close of that glorious reign. The author of the Persian Letters made mention of Lewis XIV.

* By the Baron de Montesquieu.

only that he might have an opportunity to tell the world that the king was a magician, who undertook to persuade his subjects that paper was gold and silver; that he preferred the Turkish to all other forms of government; that he held a man who handed him a napkin in higher esteem than one who had won him battles; that he had given a pension to a person who had fled a matter of two leagues from the field of battle without once looking behind him, and a considerable government to one who had run four; that he was miserably poor, notwithstanding he says, in the same letter, that his finances are inexhaustible. Let us further see what the same author, in the only book of his then known, had said of Lewis XIV. the protector of the French Academy; and it is on the reputation he acquired by this book, he was admitted into their number. We may add to this, what crowns the inconsistency, that this company received him amongst them chiefly for making them ridiculous; for of all the books in which authors have made themselves merry at the expence of their company, there is none where they are worse handled than in the Persian Letters. Consult the letter in which it is said; "The members who compose this body, have no other employment but to prate everlastingly; and panegyric flows naturally out of that babbling of theirs, which is truly world without end," &c. After treating that body in this manner, they very complaisantly praised him for his address in drawing a strong likeness.

Were I disposed to examine the contrarieties to be met with in the republic of letters, I must

write the history of all the literati, and of all the wits who have ever had a being: in like manner, had I a mind to enter into the detail of all the inconsistencies to be found in human society, I should be obliged to write no less than a history of the whole human race. An inhabitant of Asia, who should travel into Europe, might take us all for Pagans. The very days of the week with us bear the names of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus; the marriage of Cupid and Psyche are painted in a palace belonging to the pope; but especially should this Asiatic be at one of our operas, he could have no manner of doubt but it was a festival in honour of the Heathen Gods. Were he to inform himself more exactly in what regarded our manners, he would be under much greater astonishment: he would find a law subsisting in Spain, by which all foreigners are excluded from the smallest commerce, directly or indirectly, with their American settlements, whilst those very foreigners carry on, by means of Spanish factors, a trade to the amount of fifty millions *per annum*; so that Spain could never grow rich, were it not for the violation of that law, which is still in being, though perpetually trampled upon: he could see the government in another country encouraging an India company, though their theologians had declared their dividends criminal before God: he would have the right of judging their fellow-subjects, the command of their armies in time of war, with the quality of counsellors of state, bought with money: he would never be able to comprehend how it should be mentioned in the patents which entitle them to hold those places,

places, that they have been granted, without calling, fee, or reward, and purely on the score of merit, whilst the valuable consideration is attached to their letters of provision. Would not our Asiatic be surprised to see our players at the same instant payed by the sovereign and excommunicated by the clergy? He would ask why a lieutenant-general, who is only a *roturier*, or man of the common class, though he may have won battles, shall, in the estimation of the *taille*, be ranked with a peasant, whilst an *Echevin*, or city sheriff*, shall be held as noble as the Montmorenci's? Why, during the time that all regular shows are prohibited in a week which is consecrated to edification, they allow of mountebanks, whose language is offensive to the least delicate ear? He would see almost all our laws in direct opposition to our customs; and were we to travel into Asia, we should find pretty near the same inconsistencies.

Men are every-where alike fools: they make laws after much such a manner as we repair breaches in walls. In one place the elder brothers have done all in their power to leave their younger mere beggars; in others they share all alike. At one time the church authorizes duels, at another she anathematizes them. The partizans and enemies of Aristotle have been excommunicated in their turn, so have the wearers of long and short hair. There has not in the known world any law been discovered that has been able to redress a very silly piece of folly, which is gaming. The laws of play are the

* This ridiculous custom has been at length abolished in 1751. The lieutenant-generals are now declared as noble as the *echevins*.

only ones which admit of neither exception, relaxation, imposition, nor variation. A fellow that has been a lackey, if he plays at *lanfquenet* with a king, and happens to win, is paid without the least hesitation: in every other respect, the law is a sword, with which the stronger cuts the weaker in pieces.

Yet the world subsists as if it were constituted in the wisest manner imaginable; irregularity is attached to our natures; our political world is much like our globe, tho' something hideous, it yet preserves itself. It would be folly to wish, that all the mountains, seas, and rivers, were drawn in regular geometrical figures: it would be a still higher piece of folly to require such a thing as consummate wisdom from men; it would be to give wings to dogs, or horns to eagles.

ON
WHAT IS NOT DONE,
AND
WHAT MIGHT BE DONE.

TO let the world go as it will, to do one's duty in a decent way, and to take care always to speak well of the prior, is an old maxim amongst the monks, but which would never draw the convent out of its ancient poverty, the neglect of its discipline, and the contempt that must of necessity ensue from such a conduct. When men are not spurred with emulation, they are properly so many asses who jog on slowly at the old pace, who stop at the smallest obstacle, and fall to eating their thistles with great composure, at sight of these obstacles which they try not to overcome; but on hearing the voice of some one who encourages them, on feeling the goad which rouses them, they become like coursers, whose flight o'erleaps all bounds. Had it not been for the salutary remonstrances of the abbé de St. Pierre, the barbarities proceeding from the arbitrary manner of levying the *taille*, would have never been abolished in France. Had it not been for the advice of Locke †, the general confusion

† When the leading men in parliament resolved upon a new coinage, in consequence of the advice Sir Isaac Newton gave to Mr. Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax; a question arose whether the new coin, in its different

fusion of the coin in England had never been repaired: there are often found men, who, without buying the right of sitting in judgment on their peers, love the public good full as much as it is unheeded by those who purchase this power of doing good or evil, just as one buys a farm.

One day in the first ages of the Roman republic, a citizen, whose predominant passion was the desire of rendering his country as flourishing as possible, asked leave to speak with the presiding consul: he was told that the magistrate was at table in company with the pretor, the edile, some senators, their mistresses, and buffoons; on which occasion he left in the hands of one of these saucy slaves that waited on them at table, a memorial nearly to the following purport: "Since you see tyrants have every where done all the mischief in their power, why do not ye do all the good you are able? Whence comes it that the poor beset your temples, and your streets, making a show of that misery of theirs, which is at once disgraceful to you, and disables them from serving their country, to which they might be serviceable were they employed in the public works? What are those legions doing, who had better been set about repairing the highways and fortifications. That morafs, were it drained, would no longer

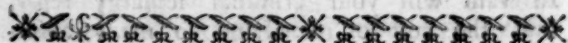
ferent denominations, should retain the original weight and purity of the old. Mr. Lowndes proposed, that the standard should be raised in value: he was opposed by Mr. Locke, at that time one of the commissioners of the board of trade, and his arguments were so convincing, that the committee resolved that the established standard should be preserved.

infest a whole province, and would become fertile fields. Those irregular streets fit only for a city of barbarians, might be turned into magnificent squares. Those heaps of marble, which cover all the banks of the river, might be cut into statues, and thus become the recompense of those great men who have served their country, as well as a public school of virtue, whereof they would be the monuments: your public markets ought not only to be commodious but magnificent, instead of filthy and loathsome places, as they now are: your houses are without water, and your public fountains are void of all taste or beauty: your chief temple is a piece of barbarous architecture: the entrance of your public theatres resemble those of brothels: those halls where the people assemble to hear what ought to be the wonder of the universe, have neither neatness, proportion, grandeur, nor convenience. The palace of your capitol threatens ruin; the front of it is hid by vile cabins, whilst the house of Moletus occupies its very center. In vain will your criminal lethargy reply, that the cost of remedying so many absurdities would be too extravagant: let me ask you, will you bestow those sums on the Cimbri and Massagetes? Would it not be bestowed on your architects, your sculptors, your painters, and so many other artists? These artists thus rewarded will restore this money to the state, by a new encrease in their necessary expences, which they will be enabled to make. The fine arts will be honoured, and will at once bestow glory and wealth on those who have protected them, for the richest is always the most industrious people. Listen then to so noble an

emu-

emulation; nor let the Greeks, who begin to esteem your wisdom and valour, any longer reproach you with your barbarity."

The memorial of the citizen was read at table; the consul said not a word on the subject, but called for a glass of wine; the edile observed, the memorial was not amiss, and so the affair ended. The conversation turned on the flavour of the Falernian wine, on the sparkling quality of that of Cecuba, the praises of a celebrated cook, the newly discovered sauce for sturgeon, healths went round, three or four insipid stories were told, after which the company fell asleep. In the mean time, the senator Appius, who had been secretly stung by the reading of this memorial, built some time after the Appian way; Flaminius constructed the way called the Flaminian; a third beautified the capitol; a fourth builds an amphitheatre; and a fifth several public markets. Thus the advice of our obscure citizen was a plant which took root by degrees in the minds of those great men.



On JOHN LAW, MELON, and DUTOT.

On COMMERCE and LUXURY.

COMMERCE has been better understood in France within these twenty years, than it had ever before been from the reign of Pharamond to that of Lewis XIV. Before this period it was a secret art, a kind of chymistry in the hands of three

three or four persons, who actually made gold, but without communicating the secret by which they had been enriched. The body of the nation were in such profound ignorance of this important secret, that we had neither minister nor magistrate that knew what the words *annuities*, *principal*, *exchange*, or *dividend* meant. It was desired, that a Scotchman called John Law should come into France, and overturn the whole œconomy of our government to instruct us. He had the courage, in the most horrible confusion of our finances, and in the time of a most dreadful famine, to establish a bank and an India company. This was giving a vomit to the sick; we took too much, and convulsions were the consequence: but at length, from the ruins of his system, we had left us an India company, with a capital amounting to the sum of fifty millions of livres. What had been the case had we taken a moderate dose of that salutary medicine? In my opinion, the state had certainly been the most vigorous and powerful in the whole world.

There prevailed still among us, at the time when the present India company was established, a prejudice so very strong, that the Sorbonne declared the sharing the dividends of actions usurious. In the very same manner the German printers, who came to establish their art in France, were in 1570 accused of witchcraft.

We Frenchmen, there is no denying it, have come very late into every thing. Our first steps in the arts have been to thwart the introduction of those truths which came to us from abroad: we defended theses against the circulation of the blood, after it had been demonstrated in England;

land; against the revolution of the earth, which had been made evident in Germany; not even the most salutary remedies have escaped being proscribed by an arret. To discover any new truths, to propose any thing of general use to mankind, is a sure step to persecution. John Law, that Scotchman to whom we owe our India company, and all we know of commerce, was driven out of France, and died in misery at Venice; and yet, notwithstanding we had scarce three hundred merchant ships of any burden when he proposed his system*, we have now upwards of eighteen hundred. Though we owe them all to him, we are yet exceedingly ungrateful to the memory of our benefactor.

The principles of commerce are known at present to all the world: we are beginning to have good books on that subject. The essay *Sur le Commerce* of Melon, is the work of a man of sense, a good citizen, and an excellent philosopher: it has a tincture of the spirit of that age; and I don't think that even in the time of M. Colbert, there were two persons in France capable to compose such a work. There are, notwithstanding, a number of errors in that excellent book; so great a progress as he has made in the road to truth was no easy matter: it is a piece of service done the public to point out the mistakes that happen in an useful book. It is indeed in such only we ought to look for them. It is shewing respect to a good work to contradict it; a bad piece does not deserve that honour.

* This was written in 1738.

The following observations, are such as seem contrary to truth.

I. He says those countries in which are the greatest number of beggars, are the most barbarous. I believe there is no city more civilized than Paris, and where at the same time there are more beggars. This is a vermin that attach themselves to riches; the drones run from the extremities of the kingdom to Paris, in order to lay opulence and good-nature under contribution. This is an abuse difficult to root out, but which proves only that there are wretches in such a country, who prefer begging to getting their livelihood by their honest industry. This may be a proof of wealth and negligence, but by no means of barbarity.

II. He repeats in several places that Spain would be more powerful without America. He grounds his observations on the depopulation of Spain, and on the weakness under which that state hath long languished. This notion of America weakening Spain is to be met with in a hundred different authors. But had they given themselves the trouble to reflect that the treasures of America were the cement of the power of Charles V. and that by their means Philip II. would have been master of Europe, if Henry the Great, Elizabeth, and the princes of Orange had not been heroes, those authors would have been of a different way of thinking. It has been imagined that the Spanish monarchy has been in a manner annihilated, because their kings Philip III. Philip IV. and Charles II. were either unfortunate or weak princes. But let us see how this monarchy has resumed new life under cardinal Alberoni; let us cast our eyes towards

wards Africa and Italy, those theatres of the conquests of the present Spanish government, and we shall be forced to own that nations are just what kings and ministers make them. Courage, fortitude, industry, every talent remains buried, till some great genius appears, who rouses and sets them in motion. The capitol is at present inhabited by Recollets, and chaplets are now distributed on the spot where vanquished kings followed the chariot of Paulus Emilius. Let but an emperor take up his residence in Rome, and let this emperor be a Julius Cæsar, every Roman will become a Cæsar with him.

As to the depopulation of Spain, it is not near so great as what it is given out to be : and even after all, this kingdom, and the states of America depending on it, are at this time so many provinces of the same empire, which is separated by no longer a space than what may be sailed over in two months. In a word, their treasures become ours, by a necessary and unavoidable circulation. Their cochineal, their quinquina, their mines of Mexico and Peru, are ours, and by the same means our manufactures are Spanish. Had America been a burden to them, is it to be thought they would have persisted so long in denying admittance into that country to strangers of every denomination ? Do people preferve with so much care the principle and source of one's ruin, after having had two hundred years to consider of it ?

III. He says, that the loss of their soldiers is not the most fatal consequence in their wars ; that an hundred thousand men are a very small number in comparison to twenty millions ; but that

that a new augmentation of taxes renders twenty millions of persons miserable. I will grant him twenty millions of souls in France; but I will not likewise grant him, that it is better to have an hundred thousand soldiers cut to pieces, than to put the rest of the nation to an additional expence in taxes. This is not all; here is a strange and fatal miscalculation. Lewis XIV. had, reckoning the whole body of the marine, four hundred and forty thousand men in pay during the war in 1701. The Roman empire never had such a numerous army on foot. It has been observed, that about one fifth part of an army is destroyed by the end of a campaign, by diseases, accidents, fire, and sword. Here then are eighty eight thousand men destroyed each year; therefore, at the expiration of ten years, the state has lost eight hundred and fourscore thousand men, and together with them all the children they would have procreated in that time. At present, if France contains about eighteen millions of souls, take away one half nearly for the women, together with all the old men, the children, the clergy, the monks, the magistrates, and those who are necessary to carry on manufactures, and to till the ground, what number remains for the defence of the nation? In eighteen millions you will hardly find eighteen hundred thousand men, and the war in ten years is supposed to have destroyed near nine hundred thousand. Thus the war destroys to a nation one half of all her men capable of bearing arms in her defence; and you say a new impost is more disastrous to a nation than the death of so many of her best people.

After correcting these inadvertencies, which the author would have corrected himself, suffer me to have the pleasure to consider what he has advanced on freedom of commerce, on manufactures, on exchange, and chiefly with regard to luxury. This wise apology for luxury is by so much the more estimable in this author, and has so much the more force from his mouth, as his life was that of a philosopher.

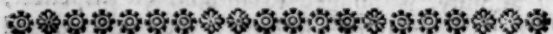
What then is luxury? 'Tis a word without any precise idea *, much such another expression as when we say the eastern and western hemisphere : in fact, there is no such thing as East and West ; there is no fixed point where the earth rises and sets ; or if you will, every point on it is at the same time East and West. It is the same with regard to luxury ; for either there is no such thing, or else it is in all places alike. Lead us back to those times when our grandfathers wore no shirts. Had any one told them, you must wear finer and lighter stuffs than the finest cloth, white as snow, and you shall shift them every day ; and even after they are a little dirty, you must, with a composition prepared with great art, restore them to their former lustre ; every body would cry out, What luxury ! What effeminacy ! Such a magnificence as this is hardly sufferable in a king. You want to corrupt our manners, and ruin the na-

* There is no occasion to define luxury, it is so well understood ; and notwithstanding all that has been said in defence of it, by different writers, it must be owned, that whatever tends to impair the health, and corrupt the morals of the people, is, on the whole, pernicious to the community. That luxury does both, no-body will deny.

tion. Do they understand by luxury, the expence of an opulent person? Must he then live like the poor, he whose profusion alone is sufficient to maintain the poor? Expensiveness should be the thermometer of a private person's fortune, as general luxury is the infallible mark of a powerful and flourishing empire. It was under Charlemagne, Francis I. and under the ministry of the great Colbert, and the present administration, that men lived at the greatest expence; that is to say, that the arts were encouraged and cultivated.

What would the tart, the satyrical la Bruyère be at? What means this affected misanthrope, by crying out, "Our ancestors knew not what it was to prefer taste to utility; they were never known to light themselves with waxen tapers; this was a commodity reserved for the altar, and the royal palace. They were never heard to say, Let my horses be put to my coach: good pewter shone on their tables and side-boards; their silver was laid up in their coffers, &c." Is not this a very pleasant elogium of our forefathers, to say they neither had taste, industry, neatness, nor plenty? Their silver was laid up in their coffers. Were this really true, it was certainly the greatest folly imaginable. Money is made for circulation, to bring the secrets of art to light, and to purchase the industry and labours of men: he who hoards it is a bad citizen, and even a bad œconomist. It is by dissipating it we render ourselves useful to our country and to ourselves. Will men never grow weary of commending the follies of antiquity, with a view to ridicule the advantages of our own times?

This work of Melon has produced another by Mr. Dutot, which has much the preference, both in point of depth and justness of reasoning. This piece of Mr. Dutot is likely to give birth to another, which will probably carry the palm from both the others, as it is the production of a statesman. Never was the study of the *Belles-lettres* so closely connected with that of the revenues, which is an additional merit in the age in which we live.



On M O N E Y and the R E V E N U E S of Kings.

IT is well known that every change in the money in the last reign was both burdensome to the people, and hurtful to the interest of the king. In these, therefore, is there no case in which an augmentation of the money may become necessary?

In a state, for instance, that has but a small share of commerce, and as small a share of money (which has long been the case with France) a lord shall possess an estate of an hundred marks a year: he is forced to borrow, in order to marry his daughters, or to carry on a war, a thousand marks, for which he is to pay fifty marks *per annum*. By this means his family is reduced to the annual expence of fifty marks, for all charges. In the mean time the nation becomes more industrious, carries on a trade, so that money becomes more plenty. Then, as it never fails to happen, labour becomes dearer, so that the expence of luxuries, agreeable to the

rank of this family, becomes double, treble, and even quadruple; whilst the corn, which is the sole resource of the country, does not increase in the same proportion, because people eat no greater quantity of bread than heretofore, though a great deal more is consumed in magnificence. What was formerly bought with fifty marks, shall now cost two hundred; so that the owner of land, who is now obliged to pay fifty marks of annuity, is obliged to dispose of his estate. What I now say of the lord, I say equally of the magistrate, the man of letters, &c. as of the labourer, who buys his pewter dishes, his silver cup, his bed, and his linen, so much the dearer. In a word, the highest personage in the land is in the same case, when his revenues are no more than certain fixed demesnes, together with certain imposts, which he is afraid to augment, for fear of exciting murmurs among his people. In this pressing situation, there is certainly no more than the choice of one expedient left, which is to ease the debtor. This may be done by abolishing his debts: this is the custom practised by the Egyptians, with several other oriental nations, at the expiration of every fifty, and sometimes every thirty years*. This custom was far from being so rigid as is imagined, the creditors having taken their measures accordingly, and a loss which was discernable so long beforehand, can hardly be called a loss. Although this law is not in force with us, it was however found necessary to have recourse to it in effect,

* At the end of every seven years the legislature of England interposes for the relief of insolvent debtors; a much better expedient than that of raising the value of the coin.

whatever round-about methods were used to avoid it. For what is it, when one falls on a method to pay only the fourth part of what he owes, but a kind of jubilee? This was very easily discovered, by giving coins an arbitrary value, and saying, this piece of gold, which was in value six livres, shall, from this day forward, be valued at four and twenty; and whoever should owe four such pieces of gold, under the title of six livres each, would pay his debt by paying only one single piece of gold, which would be called four and twenty livres. As these operations were performed by insensible degrees, no body was startled at the change. One, who was both debtor and creditor, gained on one hand what he lost on the other. Another carried on trade; and a third was sufferer, and was obliged to retrench.

In this manner have all the nations of Europe proceeded, before they had a regular and an extensive commerce. Let us examine the conduct of the Romans, we shall find that the *As*, the pound of copper of twelve ounces, was reduced to six liards of our present money. Amongst the English, the pound sterling of sixteen ounces of silver, is reduced to two and twenty livres of our money. The pound gross among the Dutch is worth about twelve livres in accompts. But our livre is what has undergone the greatest change of them all.

In the time of Charlemagne we called the current coin equal in value to the twentieth part of a livre, a *solide*, from the Roman name of *solidum*: this *solide* is what we now call a *sous*, in the same manner as we barbarously pronounce the month of August, *Août*, which we very politely

lately pronounce *Ou*; so that in our so exceeding polite language, *hodieque manent vestigia ruris*. In short, this *solide*, or *sous*, which was the twentieth part of a livre, and the tenth part of a mark of silver, is at this day no more than a penny piece of copper money, representing the nineteen hundred and twentieth part of a livre, silver being supposed at forty-nine livres the mark. This calculation is almost incredible; and it is found by this very calculation, that a family which formerly should have had an hundred *solidus* yearly rent, and who could have lived extremely well, would now have no more than five-sixths of a crown of six livres to spend yearly.

What does all this prove? Why this; that of all nations we have always been the most given to change, though by no means the happiest; that we have pushed the abuse of a law of nature, which requires the easing of debtors oppressed by the diminution of the value of money, to an enormous and most intolerable excess. Now, since Mr. Dutot has so well exposed the dangers of those sudden shocks which the change of the summary value of the coin occasions, it is to be hoped that, in an age so enlightened as ours, we run no risk of undergoing the like disasters.

What most surprised me in Mr. Dutot's work, was to find him asserting that Lewis XII. Francis I. Henry II. and Henry III. were richer than Lewis XV. Who could have thought that Henry III. at the present rate of computation, should have had one hundred and sixty-three millions more revenue than our present king? I confess

I have not yet been able to surmount my surprize. For how should Henry III. if he was actually possessed of such immense wealth, have found so much difficulty in opposing the Spaniards? How came he to be so oppressed by the Guises? How came France to lose her arts and manufactures? Whence is it, that no fine houses were built, no royal palace erected, no taste, nor the least symptom of magnificence were then to be seen, those never failing attendants of riches? Whereas at present three hundred fortresses always in thorough repair, which strengthen and adorn our frontiers, and which are garrisoned with at least two hundred thousand men, are a certain proof of the superiority of our wealth. The troops which compose the king's household, may well enough be compared to the ten thousand, covered with gold and silver, which attended on the chariot of Xerxes and Darius. Paris contains twice the number of people, and is an hundred times more opulent than under Henry III. Commerce, which, if we had then any at all, was in a most languishing and prostrate condition, now flourishes at a great rate, to the vast emolument of the nation.

Since the last melting down of the coin, it has been found that upwards of twelve hundred millions in gold and silver passed through the mint. It is found, by the sum of the stamp-duty on those metals, that there is in France about an equal quantity of bullion in wrought plate. It is true, those immense riches cannot be said to lessen the misery of the people in a year of dearth. But this is not the subject of our present enquiry: the question is, to know by what means,

means, though the nation has become incomparably richer than in the preceding ages, the king has yet become actually poorer.

Let us first of all compare the riches of Lewis XV. with those of Francis I. The public revenues then amounted to sixteen millions of nominal livres, which livre was to the present as one is to four and a half. Therefore sixteen millions of such livres were equal in value to seventy-two millions of our livres : whence it follows, that with seventy-two millions only we should be as rich as at that period. But the revenues of the state * are supposed to amount to two hundred millions : therefore Lewis XV. is richer by one hundred and twenty eight millions than Francis I. therefore too this prince is three times richer than Francis I. and by consequence draw three times the money from his people which Francis I. was able to do. This is very different from the calculation of M. Dutot.

He pretends, in order to prove his system, that commodities are fifteen times dearer than in the sixteenth century. Let us examine the price of commodities : we shall confine ourselves to the price of corn at the capital, one year with another. I find many years in the sixteenth century, in which corn was at fifty, five and twenty, twenty, and at eighteen sous, and even at four livres, from whence I estimate the mean value at thirty sous. Wheat is now worth twelve

* This is the supposition of M. Dutot. But in 1750, the king's revenues amounted to near three hundred millions †, at forty-nine livres ten sous the mark.

† Between fourteen and fifteen millions sterling. This calculation is higher than has been generally supposed, by five millions at least.

livres: therefore commodities have encreased in the proportion of eight times their ancient value, which is the same proportion with that of the encrease of their value in England and Germany. But those thirty sous, of the sixteenth century, were worth five livres fifteen sous of our present money. Now five livres fifteen sous make, excepting only five sous, one half of twelve livres: wherefore Lewis XV. actually is three times richer than Francis I. as he pays no more than twice the sum for commodities that was paid then †. Now a person who has nine hundred livres, and who buys a commodity for six hundred livres, will certainly remain richer by an hundred crowns, than he who, being possessed of three hundred livres, buys the same commodity for three hundred livres: therefore Lewis XV. remains richer by one third.

But this is not all: instead of buying every thing at double the price, he purchases soldiers, the most necessary commodity of kings, at a much cheaper rate than any of his predecessors. Under Francis I. and Henry II. the strength of our armies consisted in a national gendarmerie, and in foreign infantry, that cannot be compared in any respect to our present troops. But the infantry under Lewis XV. is paid nearly on the same footing, that is, at the same price of numerary livres, as under Henry IV. The soldier sells his life and liberty at the rate of six sous a day, including his cloathing: these six

† But we must take in every other species of provision, as well as corn, into the account, because many provinces formerly subsisted almost intirely without bread; upon milk, butter, cheese, eggs, fish, fowl, butcher's meat, and venison,

fous are equal to twelve in the time of Henry IV. so that with the same revenue with Henry the Great, we are able to maintain double the number of troops; and with double that sum, we can maintain four times that number. What I have said in this place suffices to shew, that, notwithstanding all the calculations of M. Dutot, our kings, as well as the state, are richer than formerly. I will not however deny, that both are much deeper in debt.

Lewis XIV. left at his death upwards of twice ten hundred millions of debt, at thirty livres the mark, because he would have, at the same time, five hundred thousand men in arms, two hundred ships of war, and build Versailles; and because, in the war on account of the Spanish succession, his arms were long unprosperous; but the resources of France by much exceed her debts. A state which is indebted only to itself can never be impoverished, and even debts are a new spur to industry.

ON PRINTED LIES.

WE may at present divide the inhabitants of Europe into authors and readers, as they were for seven or eight ages divided into a set of barbarous tyrants with hawks on their fists, and slaves who were destitute of every necessary of life.

It is now about two hundred and fifty years since men, by degrees, began to conceive some notion they had such a thing as a mind: now every person reads, either to cultivate or adorn his mind, or, at the least, that he may be able to boast of his reading. As soon as the Dutch perceived this new want of the species, they became the factors of the commodity called Thought, as they had formerly been for our wines and salt: so that a bookseller of Amsterdam, that could not read, gained a fortune of a million by the labours of a few Frenchmen, that took it into their heads to become authors. These merchants informed themselves, by their correspondents, of the most marketable commodities; and according to the wants of the public, set their workmen to the writing histories or romances; but chiefly the former, because, after all, we cannot help believing there may be some small matter of truth in every thing that wears the title of a New History, Historical Memoirs, and Anecdotes, more than could well be expected from what passes under the denomination of a Romance. In this manner did the journeymen and labourers of those dealers in paper and ink compose the *Memoires d'Artagnan, de Pontis, de Vor-*

Vordac, de Rochefort, with so many others, in which we find a very circumstantial account of all the secret thoughts of kings and prime ministers, together with a hundred thousand public transactions that were never heard of before. Your young German barons, your Polish palatines, your dames of Stockholm and Copenhagen, read those books, and believe they are thereby informed of the most hidden secrets of the court of France.

Varillas was infinitely superior to the noble authors I am speaking of, though he frequently takes very unwarrantable liberties. He said, one day, to one who saw him somewhat puzzled, "I have three sovereigns, whom I must engage in conversation together: now none of the three ever saw one another; and I cannot tell, for the soul of me, how to contrive to bring it to pass." "So then, says the other, I suppose you must be writing some tragedy?"

Every one has not been blessed with invention: therefore it is, that we find the fables of antiquity, which were formerly printed in *folio*, reprinted a second time in *duodecimo*. I fancy one might discover, in upwards of two hundred authors, the same prodigies, and the same predictions, that were made in the time when astrology passed for a science. We shall possibly be told again, how two Jews, whose only talents were selling of old cloaths, and clipping of old coins, promised the empire to Leo the Isaurian, and demanded of him, that he would throw down the images of the Christians as soon as he should be seated on the imperial throne; as if Jews cared much whether we had any images or no. I do not despair to see it printed a second

time how Mahomet II. surnamed the Great, the most enlightened prince of his time, and the most magnificent encourager of the arts, spread fire and sword through Constantinople (which, by the bye, he preserved from pillage), demolished all the churches (of which he actually preserved above one half), caused the patriarch to be impaled; he who paid more honour to the patriarch than had ever been shewn him by the Greek emperors; had the bellies of four pages ripped up, that he might discover which of them it was that had eaten a melon; and, lastly, cut off his mistress's head to please the Janisaries. These histories, worthy only of Jack the Giant-killer, and of Blue-beard, are sold every day with approbation and privilege.

Some wiser heads have bethought themselves of another art of lying. They have made themselves heirs to all the great ministers, and have got possession of all their testaments. We have seen the testaments of Colbert and de Louvois published as authentic pieces by refined politicians, who never once crossed the threshold of the offices of the secretary at war, or of the treasury, in their lives. The testament of cardinal Richelieu, written by a hand rather better than the rest of them, has had a better fate, and the imposture passed well enough for a considerable time. It is really pleasant to see, in collections of harangues, what elogiums have been lavished on the admirable testament of that incomparable cardinal. In this piece we find his great depth of genius; and a simpleton who had read it with a great deal of care, and had made a number of extracts from it, thought himself fit to govern the universe. The public has been as much im-

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posed upon by the Testament of Charles V. duke of Lorrain: in this they discovered the vast penetration and the very spirit of that prince; though they who were in the secret, very plainly discovered the spirit of M. de Chevreumont, who wrote it.

After these testament-writers came the authors of anecdotes. We have a small history, printed in 1700, written by one mademoiselle Durand, a person well acquainted with the facts she related, under the title of "The History of the Amours of Gregory VII. Cardinal Richlieu, the Princess of Condé, and the Marchioness d'Urfé." I have read, some years since, the Amours of the Rev. Father la Chaize, confessor to Lewis XIV.

A lady of great honour †, a refugee at the Hague, composed, in the beginning of the present century, six large volumes of Letters, between a lady of quality in the country, and a lady of quality in Paris, informing one another, very familiarly, of the news of the times. Now, in these news of the times, I will venture to say there is not one piece of true intelligence. All the pretended adventures of the Chevalier de Bouillon, since known under the name of the Prince of Auvergne, are here related with all their circumstances. I had one day the curiosity to ask the chevalier, whether there was any foundation for what Mrs. Du Noyer had placed to his account. He assured me, on his honour, the whole was nothing but a collection of falsehoods. This lady had gathered together all the silly sto-

† Mrs. Du Noyer.

ries current among the populace, which, in foreign parts, passed for the history of the court.

Sometimes the authors of such histories do more mischief than they think for. A few years ago a person of my acquaintance, not knowing how to employ his time, printed a little book, in which he gave out that a certain celebrated personage had lately perished by a most horrible assassination. I myself was an evidence of the contrary: I represented to the author how, by all laws divine and human, he was under an obligation to retract this falshood, which he accordingly promised he would: yet the effect of his piece still remains, and I have seen this calumny repeated in some of the pretended histories of the age.

There has lately appeared a political work at London, the city, of all the cities in the universe, where the falsest news are published, with the falsest reasonings upon those falsities. "Every body knows, says the author, (p. 17) that the emperor Charles VI. died of poison given him in *aqua tuffana*: we know his favourite page was a Spaniard, to whom he left a legacy by his will, and who gave him the poison. The magistrates of Milan, who took the deposition of this page a little before his death, and sent it to Vienna, might tell us, if they pleased, who his instigators and accomplices were; and I could be glad the court of Vienna would, as soon as possible, inform the public of the circumstances of this horrible crime." I fancy the court of Vienna will cause them to wait a long while for the information they want, in regard to this chimera.

These calumnies, which are perpetually renewing, often put me in mind of the following verses:

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*Les oisifs courtisans, que leurs chagrins dévorent,
S'efforcent d'obscurir les astres qu'ils adorent ;
Si l'on croit de leurs yeux le regard pénétrant,
Tout ministre est un traître, & tout prince un tyran ;
L'hymen n'est entouré que de faux adultères ;
Le frère à ses rivaux est vendu par ses frères ;
Et si-tôt qu'un grand roi panche vers son déclin,
Ou son fils ou sa femme ont bâti son destin. . .
Qui croit toujours le crime en paraît trop capable.*

The courtly fry, from disappointment sore,
With slander blacken what they should adore.
Trust their remarks, they'll prove it clear as day,
All kings oppress, all ministers betray.
Adult'rous fires surround the marriage-bed ;
The brother's blood the brother's hand hath shed ;
Should some great monarch touch the goal of life,
His fate is hasten'd by his son or wife.
Of guilt that man too capable appears,
Who credits thus each horrid tale he hears.

In this manner have the pretended histories of the age generally been written.

The war of 1702, and that of 1741, have produced as many lies in books, as they killed foldiers in their campaigns: they have told a hundred times over, and they tell it still, that the ministry of Versailles forged the testament of Charles II. king of Spain. Some anecdotes tell us, that the last marechal de la Feuillade failed in the attempt on Turin, and sacrificed his reputation, his fortune, and his army, purposely, and by a capital stroke of politics. Others of them assure us, that a certain minister was the cause of the loss of a battle, by a like stroke of politics. They have lately reprinted in
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the Transactions of Europe, that at the battle of Fontenoy we loaded our cannon with pieces of glass and poisoned shot; that general Campbell was killed by one of those poisoned bullets; upon which the duke of Cumberland sent the king of France a box, in which were contained the glass and metals extracted from his wound; that in this box was inclosed a letter, in which he tells the king, that the most barbarous nations had never made use of such weapons, and that the king was highly displeased on reading this letter. There is not the least shadow of truth or probability in this account. To these absurd lies they add, that we murdered the wounded English that remained on the field of battle in cold blood; though it stands proved, by the registers of our hospitals, that we took the same care of them as of our own soldiers.

How numerous are the secret memoirs, histories, of campaigns, and journals of all kinds! the prefaces to which promise the utmost impartiality, and the most exact information. If you visit one of these great politicians, you will find a poor scribe in a banian and night-cap, without fire or furniture, compiling or cobbling of news-papers. Sometimes these gentlemen will take a power under their protection. The story of one of these writers is well known, who had a reward of the emperor Leopold, at the close of the last war, for having kept him an army of fifty thousand men on the Lower Rhine for five years running. They will also sometimes declare war, and commit acts of hostility; though they run the risk of being treated as enemies. One of them, called Dubourg, who kept his office in Frankfort, was unluckily arrested there by an officer

officer of our army in 1748, and conducted to Mount St. Michael in a cage: and yet this example is far from cooling the courage of his magnanimous brethren.

One of the most noble and most common tricks of this kind, is that of those writers who transform themselves into ministers of state, and lords belonging to the court in the country they speak of. We have been favoured with a voluminous history of Lewis XIV. compiled from the memoirs of a minister of state. This minister was a Jesuit, who had been expelled his order, and had taken sanctuary in Holland, under the name of de la Stode, and who afterwards thought proper to create himself secretary of state for France in Holland for bread.

As it is always fitting to imitate good models, and as my lord chancellor Clarendon and the cardinal de Retz have drawn portraits of the principal personages they treat of, we ought by no means to wonder that the writers of our own times should, on hiring themselves to a book-feller, begin with very long and faithful portraits of the princes of Europe, and even the ministers and generals, though they have never so much as seen a lacquey who wore their livery. An English author, in the *Annals of Europe*, printed and reprinted, assures us, that Lewis XV. has nothing of that grandeur in his air and gait which speaks the king. This person must undoubtedly be very difficult and nice, with regard to physiognomies. But, to make amends, he tells us, that cardinal Fleury had an air of noble confidence. He is full as exact in regard to characters and facts as he is to persons: he informs Europe, that cardinal Fleury
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gave up his title of prime minister (which he never had) in favour of the count de Thoulouse. He acquaints us, the army of marechal Maillebois was sent into Bohemia, only because a young lady of the court had left a letter on the table, which letter gave information of the situation of affairs: he says the count d'Argenson succeeded as minister at war, in the room of M. Amelot. I fancy, if one were willing to make a collection of all the books written in this manner, in order to become a little acquainted with the anecdotes of Europe, one might make an immense library, without ten pages of truth in the whole collection.

Another considerable article in this trade of printed paper is in these books called polemical, by way of excellence; that is to say, those in which one slanders his neighbours to get money. I do not speak of the functions of advocates, who enjoy the noble privilege of bespattering the adverse party at pleasure, and defaming families according to statute. I speak of those who in England, for example, excited by an ardent love of their country, write Philippics, worthy of Demosthenes, against the minister, in their garrets. These pieces are sold for two pence a sheet: sometimes they will print you four thousand copies, which is enough to keep one of those eloquent citizens alive for a month or two. I have heard Sir Robert Walpole say, that one day one of these Demosthenes's, who sell their works at two pence a sheet, having as yet declared himself of no party in the parliamentary dissensions, came to make him an offer of his pen to knock down all his enemies. The minister very civilly thanked him for his kind offer, and excused him-
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self from accepting his service. "You will not be offended then, answered the writer, if I make your antagonist Mr. Pulteney a tender of my assistance?" So away he hies to him, and he met with much such another reception. He declared openly against both; so that on Monday he wrote against Mr. Walpole, and on the Wednesday against Mr. Pulteney. But after getting a very honourable subsistence by it for a matter of two months, he concluded with asking charity at their doors.

The celebrated Pope was in his time treated exactly like a minister: his reputation made many men of letters imagine something might be got by him. For the honour of learning, and in order to advance the progress of the human mind, they printed against him above an hundred libels, in which they proved him to be an atheist; and, what is yet worse in England, they reproached him with being a catholic. They affirmed, on his publishing his translation of Homer, that he did not understand Greek, because he was crooked and had an ill smell. It is true he was crooked; but this was no reason why he might not be a very good Greek scholar, and his translation of Homer a very noble one. They impeached his morals, his education, his birth; they attacked his father and mother. These libels had no end. Pope had sometimes the weakness to answer them, which thickened the cloud of libels. At length he determined to be at the trouble to print a small * compendium of all those excellent pieces.

* We suppose M. de Voltaire alludes to the *Dunciad*, which, instead of being *un petit abrégé*, is a most excellent poem.

This was a mortal blow to these writers, who till then had lived very decently on the slanders they vented against him: they were now no longer read, and were silenced by the abridgement. They never recovered this stroke after.

I was strongly tempted to grow vain, on finding that our great writers dealt with me in the same manner as those gentry had used Pope. I may safely say, I have been of some little service to more than one author. I had, I forget how, done some little service to the illustrious abbé de Fontaines. But as this service was not sufficient to maintain him, the first thing he thought of, in order to get rid of his difficulties, on coming out of the jail from whence I delivered him, was the publishing a dozen libels against me, which, in truth, he composed wholly out of his regard for the honour of letters, and from the overflowing of his zeal for good taste. He printed an edition of the *Henriade*, in which he had foisted some verses of his own composing, and then criticised those very verses he had made himself. I have carefully preserved a letter wrote me upon a time by an author of this stamp: "Sir, I have printed a libel against you: there are four hundred copies in the impression; now, if you will send me four hundred livres, I will send you every copy of the work, upon my honour." I wrote him in answer, that I should be very far from abusing his goodness; that this would by no means be an advantageous bargain for him; and that the sale of his work must certainly be of much more service to him. I had no cause to repent of my generosity.

It is a good-natured action to encourage men of letters who are unknown, and who know not what subject to begin with. One of the greatest pieces of charity that can be done them, is to give the public a tragedy. The moment you do this, all of a sudden come out "Letters to Ladies of Quality, an impartial Criticism of the new Play, a Letter from a Friend in Town to his Friend in the Country, a serious and mature Examination, the new Tragedy taken to pieces and examined scene by scene;" every one of which is greedily bought up, which is the point aimed at.

But the most curious secret of all, for an honest bookseller, is to take care to print, at the end of the book he publishes, all the abuse and ribaldry that has been written against the author. Nothing is better calculated to whet the curiosity of the reader, and to quicken the sale. I remember, among the execrable editions that have been printed in Holland of my pretended works, an artful editor of Amsterdam, who was desirous to sink the credit of an impression printed at the Hague, thought proper to add, by way of appendix, a collection of all the ribaldry he could scrape together that had been written against me. The first words of this collection called me a snarling cur. I found this book at Magdeburg, in the hands of the post-master, who never ceased telling me what an eloquent piece it was. Lately two worthy booksellers of Amsterdam, after having disfigured, as much as in them lay, the *Henriade*, and my other pieces, did me the honour to acquaint me by letter, that if I persisted in my intention of permitting a better edition of my works to be published at Dresden, than that
which

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which they were then engaged in, they should hold themselves bound in conscience to publish against me a volume of the most atrocious calumnies, on the finest writing paper, with a large margin, and the most beautiful letter they could procure. They have been as good as their word with me. It is pity such valuable collections should have been buried in oblivion. Formerly, when there were eight or nine hundred thousand volumes fewer in Europe than at present, those pieces of scandal had their effect. People read with extreme relish in Scaliger, that cardinal Bellarmin was an atheist, the reverend father Clavius a drunkard, and that the reverend father Cotton had sold himself to the devil. These were happy days; but, alas! every thing degenerates.



ON PRINTED LIES.

VERY little has been said on printed lies with which the world has been deluged: it would be no difficult matter to write a large volume on the subject; but we know we are not to do all that may be done. We shall here only give a few general rules, to caution mankind against that multitude of books, in which errors and falsities have been transmitted from age to age.

We are apt to start at the sight of a numerous library, and to exclaim, What a dismal thing is it to be condemned to remain ignorant of almost all

all it contains ! Do not be cast down : there is very little reason for sorrow in the case. Observe those four or five thousand volumes of the ancient metaphysical writers : they contain not a word of truth till the time of Galileo. Look into the histories of a multitude of nations ; their first ages are nothing but absurdities. After the fabulous times come those called heroical : the first are no better than the Persian Tales, where every thing is invention ; the second are of the same kind with our romances of knight-errantry, where nothing is true, except a few names, and two or three dates.

Here then are already many thousand years and volumes, in which there is nothing to be learned ; so that we rest perfectly satisfied as to that point. Next come the historical times, where the ground of the story is true, and most of the circumstances lies : but amongst all those lies, are there no truths ? Yes, much such a proportion as of gold dust in the sands of some rivers. Perhaps I shall here be asked, how this gold is to be found. In this manner. Whatever is neither consistent with physical nor rational truths, nor the temperament of the human mind, is nothing but sand : the rest, provided it has the concurrent testimony of the wise men of the age, is the gold dust you seek for.

Herodotus relates, to the whole body of the Greeks assembled, the history of the neighbouring nations : he is laughed at by all men of sense, when he talks of the predictions of Apollo, and the fables of Egypt and Assyria ; nor did he believe them himself. All that he relates on the credit of the Egyptian priests is false ; every thing which he speaks of, as an eye-witness, has been con-

confirmed since. We ought certainly to rely on what he says, when he tells his Grecian auditors, "There is among the treasures of the Corinthians a golden lion, weighing three hundred and sixty pounds weight, which is a present made them by Cræsus: in the same place likewise we are shewn two tuns, the one of silver, and the other of gold, which he presented to the temple of Delphos: that of gold weighs about five hundred pounds, and that of silver contains about two thousand four hundred pints." However extraordinary this magnificence may appear to us, and however superior it may seem to any thing we are acquainted with, it cannot be called in question. Herodotus speaks to a matter of fact, of which there were upwards of an hundred thousand witnesses. This fact is very important on another account, as it proves to us, that in the Lesser Asia, in the time of Cræsus, there was a greater magnificence than we see at present; and this magnificence, which can only be the fruit of a great number of ages, proves a very high antiquity, whereof there remain not at present the smallest traces. The prodigious monuments which Herodotus saw in Egypt, and at Babylon, are moreover incontrollable facts.

The case is not the same with regard to solemnities, instituted to celebrate an event: most false reasoners tell us, here is a ceremony instituted from time immemorial, therefore the event so celebrated must certainly be true; but yet philosophers will often reverse the argument, and say, therefore that event never had existence.

The Greeks celebrated the Pythean games, in memory of the serpent Python, which Apollo assuredly never slew: the Egyptians celebrated the

the admission of Hercules into the number of the twelve great gods; yet there is no likelihood that this Hercules of Egypt existed seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, as was asserted in the hymns sung to his honour. Greece assigned nine stars in the heavens to the dolphin which carried Aion on its back. The Romans celebrated this pretty adventure in February. The Salian priests carried in procession, on the first of March, the sacred bucklers that fell from heaven, when Numa, having bound Faunus and Picus, learned from them the secret of turning aside the force of thunderbolts. In short, there never was a people who have not solemnized, by ceremonies, the most absurd imaginations.

As for the manners of the barbarous nations, whatever a sensible and ocular witness shall relate concerning them, be it ever so ridiculous, so infamous, so superstitious or abominable, I shall be very inclinable to believe it of human nature. Herodotus affirms, before all Greece, that the inhabitants of those immense countries, lying beyond the Danube, prided themselves in drinking the blood of their enemies out of human skulls, and in cloathing themselves in their skins. The Greeks, who carried on a commerce with these barbarians, might have detected Herodotus, had he been guilty of exaggeration. It is certain, that upwards of three fourths of the inhabitants of the globe have lived for a long time like wild beasts: they are born such. They are so many baboons who are taught to dance, and so many bears chained up by the mere force of education. That which the czar Peter found necessary to do in part of his dominions is a proof

of what I advance, and renders all that Herodotus relates extremely credible.

After Herodotus, the substance of history becomes much more true, and the facts more circumstantial; but very often we meet with as many lies as there are circumstances. Can I believe the historian Josephus, when he tells me that the smallest town in Galilee contained fifteen thousand inhabitants? By no means. I cannot help declaring that he has exaggerated: he thought he should do his country honour by so bold an assertion, instead of which he has degraded it in the eyes of mankind. What a shame was it for the Jewish people, if they were really so numerous, to suffer themselves to be so easily subdued by a handful of Romans!

Most historians resemble Homer; they sing of battles: but, of all this dreadful number of combats, there are not any, if we except the retreat of the ten thousand in Xenophon, the battle fought between Scipio and Hannibal at Zama, described by Polybius, and that of Pharsalia, related by the conqueror, capable of affording the reader the smallest instruction: every where else, I can see nothing but mankind cutting one another's throats, and nothing further †.

We may believe all the horrors to which princes have been driven by their ambition, with every act of folly which mankind have committed through superstition. But how could historians descend so low as to admit for supernatural

† Let us add to this list, M. de Voltaire's description of the battle of Fontenoy, in which he has celebrated an English column, which existed no where but in his own imagination.

prodigies the tricks devised by conquerors, and adopted by the people?

The inhabitants of Algiers firmly believe their city to have been saved by a miracle, when Charles V. was coming to besiege it. They say that one of their saints struck the sea, and a storm arose which destroyed one half of the emperor's fleet.

How many of our historians have written as if they had been Algerines! How lavish have they been of their miracles against the Turks, and against heretics! They have often treated history as Homer has done the siege of Troy. They interest all the powers of heaven in the cause or defence of a city. But can men, who profess to tell truth, imagine that the Divine Being sides with one petty nation that is at war with another, full as inconsiderable, in some insignificant and remote corner of our hemisphere?

No one has a greater veneration for St. Francis Xavier than I have: he was a Spaniard, animated with the most intrepid zeal; he was the Ferdinando Cortez of religion. But I cannot help thinking the writers of his life should not have asserted so roundly, that this great man was in different places at the same time.

If any one has a right to pretend to the gift of working miracles, it is undoubtedly those who carry their charity and their doctrine to the extremities of the earth. I could have been glad, however, had their miracles been a little less frequent; that they had raised fewer of the dead; and that they had not so often baptized thousands of the Orientals in one day. It is glorious to preach the gospel in a foreign country the moment one sets foot in it. It is no small accom-

plishment instantly to speak with eloquence, and to move the passions, in a language that cannot be learned in many years, and which, after all, we are never able to pronounce, but in a ridiculous manner. These prodigies ought certainly to be husbanded; and the marvellous, when indiscreetly lavished, serves only to augment the number of unbelievers.

But it is in travellers, above all, we meet with the greatest number of printed lies. I pass over Paul Lucas, who saw the devil Asmodeus in the Upper Egypt. Neither shall I take notice of those who deceive us, even whilst they tell us the truth: they may have seen a very extraordinary thing in a country, and take it for a common custom; they may have met with some abuse, and imagine it to have been a law of the land. These authors are much like the German, who happening to have a small difference with his landlady at Blois, whose hair was somewhat inclinable to the sandy, put down in his pocket-book, "*Nota bene*, All the women in Blois are red-haired and scolds."

What is still worse is, that most of those who write on the subject of government, often draw false examples from mistaken travellers, with which they impose upon mankind. A Turkish emperor may perhaps have confiscated the treasure of certain bathaws, who were born slaves in his seraglio, and given such share as he thinks proper to the family of the deceased; therefore it must be a fundamental law in Turkey, that the Grand Turk is heir to all his subjects: he is a monarch, therefore he must be despotic, in the most horrible sense of the word, and in the manner most humiliating and disgraceful to humanity.

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The Turkish government, which does not allow the emperor to absent himself any length of time from his capital, to change the laws, to touch the public revenue, &c. shall be represented as an establishment in which the prince may lawfully kill and plunder, from morn till night, every one he pleases. The Alcoran says, it is lawful to be married to four wives at the same time; therefore every private tradesman at Constantinople has four wives, as if it were so easy a matter either to have or maintain such a number. Some persons of rank have seraglios: from hence it is taken for granted, that every Mussulman is a Sardanapalus; and in this manner do we generally judge of things. A Turk who should have chanced to be at a certain capital, during the celebration of an *Auto de Fe*, would surely be mistaken, should he assert, that there is a civilized country where they sometimes solemnly burn a score of men, women, and children, for the amusement of their gracious majesties. Most relations are written in the same taste. The case is still worse when they happen to be filled with prodigies. In short, we ought to be as much upon our guard against what books tell us, as a judge is against the pleadings of the lawyers.

There is yet another great source of public errors amongst us, and which is peculiar to our nation: this is the taste for lampoons and abusive songs. These are sometimes made on the most respectable personages; and we hear the living and the dead slandered every day on such noble foundations as these: "It is an undoubted fact, say they, there is a song about it, which proves it beyond question."

Let us not forget to mention, amongst the number of printed lies, the rage of making all-

legories. On finding the fragments of Petronius, to which Nodot has since boldly added his own, all the learned took the consul Petronius for the author of this book. They plainly discover Nero, and all his court, in a company of young roguish scholars, who are the heroes of that work. They were then, and still are, deceived by the name: and that obscure and creeping debauchee who wrote this satire, which is more infamous than ingenious, must absolutely be the consul Petronius; that absurd old fellow Turkaret; that financier below Trimalcion himself, must be the young Nero; and that silly insignificant wife of his, the beautiful Acte; that clownish pedant Agamemnon, the philosopher Seneca. This is like seeking Louis XIV. and his whole court, in Gil Blas. But, some one will tell me, what advantage do you reap by undeceiving mankind in regard to those trifles? That I shall gain nothing is past all doubt; but we ought to accustom ourselves to search for truth even in minute things; for want of which habit, we are egregiously deceived in those of consequence.



On PRINTED LIES.

Reasons why we ought to believe that the book entitled, The Political Testament of Cardinal Richlieu is a spurious work.

MY zeal for the discovery of truth, my function as historiographer of France, which requires my applying to historical researches, my sentiments, which are those of a citizen;

citizen ; the respect I bear for the memory of the founder of a body of which I am a member ; my personal attachment to the heirs of his name and his merit ; these, I say, are my motives for endeavouring to undeceive those persons who attribute to cardinal Richlieu a work which I have good grounds to think neither is, nor can be his.

I. Even the title of it is suspicious ; a person who addresses his master, would never have given him so respectful counsels the pompous title of a *Political Testament*. Scarce was Richlieu dead, when an hundred different manuscripts were published for and against his memory. I have two of them under the title of *Testamentum Christianum*, and two more under that of *Testamentum Politicum*. These are probably what have given rise to all the Political Testaments that have been forged since.

II. Had a work, in which one of the greatest statesmen that Europe ever bred, is supposed to give his master an account of his administration, and to offer him his advice with respect both to the present and the future, had this work been actually wrote by this minister, he would certainly have taken all possible measures that such a monument should not perish ; he would have given the most authentic proofs of its being genuine ; he would have mentioned it in his real testament, in which his last requests were contained ; he would have bequeathed it to the king as a present infinitely more valuable than the cardinal-palace ; he would have given it in charge to his executors to transmit this important work to Louis XIII. The king must have mentioned it to some one ; all the memoirs of those times would have taken notice of an

anecdote of this importance: not a tittle of all this has happened. Such a general silence in an affair of so much weight, cannot fail of raising the strongest suspicions in the mind of every sensible person. Why did neither the original manuscript, nor any copy of it, appear in the space of so many years? It was known at the death of Cæsar, that he had written Commentaries: it was known that Cicero had written on eloquence; a manuscript of Raphael on painting could never have remained a profound secret.

III. Moreover, this work is no half-formed design, it has actually had the last hand put to it. It concludes with a fine peroration full of morality: *I beseech your majesty to bethink yourself from this moment, of what Philip II. never thought, 'till he was ready to resign his breath; and to engage you to do so by example, as well as precept, I promise that not a day of my life shall pass, in which I will not endeavour to reflect on what ought to be my sentiments at the day of my death, with regard to public affairs. There is nothing wanting to render this work compleat; even the epistle dedicatory has been found, which they had the effrontery to sign in Holland, Armand du Pleffis, although the cardinal never subscribed his name in that manner; not so much as the table of contents but has been recovered, which the editor is so audacious as to ascribe to the cardinal. Lastly, in this epistle dedicatory they make the cardinal address the king in the following words: This piece will one day appear under the title of Political Testament, that it may be of use after my death, &c. As this piece was to see the light after he cardinal's death, it consequently*
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ought to have been presented to the king in the most solemn manner; the original, in like manner, ought to have been signed and witnessed; and lastly, the very date of the presentation of this important legacy, ought to have been recorded.

IV. Had this manuscript fallen into the hands of some minister of state on the death of Lewis XIII. and so had passed into those of the persons who from thence made it public, some circumstances of it ought certainly to have been known; the editor must have told by what means he had got possession of such a manuscript, which he would have declared with more boldness, as printing it in a free country, near forty years after the death of the cardinal, and when the remembrance of the hatred that had subsisted between the cardinal and certain great families, had entirely subsided. The editor, as I have already remarked in another place, was above all under the obligation to ascertain the authority of this manuscript, by neglecting of which he must acknowledge himself unworthy of all manner of credit. None of all these conditions, so indispensably necessary to establish the authenticity of a book of such a nature, have ever been fulfilled, and even for a space of four and twenty years complete, from the date of the pretended manuscript, neither the court nor city, nor any book, nor any journal, make the least mention of any such thing as the cardinal's having left the king a political testament.

V. How, indeed, was it possible, that Cardinal Richlieu, who as is well known, found greater difficulty in governing the king his master than in guiding the helm of state, should have ever had either leisure or inclination

to compose such a work for the use of Lewis XIII.? The author of the New Chronological Abridgement of the History of France, who is so excellent at painting times and persons, confesses in his useful performance, that cardinal de Richlieu, *has had much cause to be afraid of the king, for whom he risked his all, as he had to dread the resentment of those whom he compelled to obey him*: disappointments, suspicions, and reciprocal discontents were daily carried to such a length between king and minister, that Cinqmars, Lewis's master of horse, proposed to his master to assassinate the cardinal de Richlieu as he had done the marshal d'Ancre, for which he promised his personal service; this is asserted by Louis himself in a letter to chancellor Seguier, after the conspiracy of Cinqmars. The king therefore had given his favourite reason to think he might venture to make this strange proposal. In such a situation as this, it is impossible one should take the trouble to compose for a king, who was already arrived at years of maturity, in the midst of mutual apprehensions, a collection of precepts which an unoccupied father might possibly have bequeathed to a son still in his infancy? I can hardly think such a conduct consistent with human nature. This reason will have no effect with one of the learned, but I am sure it will not fail to persuade such as have a proper knowledge of mankind.

VI. Let us suppose however, a man, such as cardinal Richlieu, to have really had an intention to give the king his master proper rules for government after his death, as he had given him whilst he was living; what man is there, who, on opening this book, would not expect to see all the secrets of cardinal de Richlieu laid

open, and to find his Testament breathing the grandeur and boldness of his genius? who would not flatter himself with having the pleasure of discovering measures at once artful and daring, suitable to the then state of Europe, and of France, of the court, and above all, of the monarch? By the first chapter it is evident that the author pretends to write in 1640; for he make cardinal Richlieu in a barbarous jargon, speaking of the war with Spain, say, *It is in this war, which has lasted five years only, that you have met with any accident, &c.* for this was began in 1635, and the dauphin was born in 1638. How then comes it to pass, that in a political work, which enters into all the detail of privileged cases, of appeals in matters of abuse, of rights of indulto's, and of the venditions that prevail in the Mediterranean, the education of the presumptive heir of the crown should have been forgotten? This forger must surely be a very bungling fellow in his profession. The real cause of this omission is, that the author having in several other parts of his book forgotten he had made as if he had wrote in 1639 and 1640, afterwards takes it into his head to write as if he was then in 1635. He makes the reign of Lewis XIII. no more than five and twenty; whereas he should have made it thirty years, a palpable contradiction and an evident demonstration of an imposition which no art can palliate.

VII. Again, Lewis XIV. is engaged in a ruinous war with the house of Austria; his enemies are on the frontiers of Champagne and Picardy; and yet his first minister, who has promised him his counsels, does not mention a single word to him, neither of the manner which
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this dangerous war was to be carried on, nor of the terms of peace to be agreed upon, nor of the generals or plenipotentiaries proper to be employed? Not one word of the conduct to be observed with respect to counsellor Oxenstiern, with respect to the army of the duke of Weimar, with respect to Savoy, Portugal and Catalonia! Nothing is to be met with in regard to the revolutions which the cardinal himself fomented in England; nothing of the Huguenot party, which still breathed a spirit of faction and vengeance. In all this I think I see a physician who when called to prescribe for a sick-man, entertains his patient with talking about every thing but what relates to his disorders.

VIII. The person who has vended these notions under the name of cardinal de Richlieu, first of all avails himself of the success of that great man in his ministry, in order to make him aver that he had promised the king his master this good fortune. The cardinal had humbled the grandees of the kingdom whose power was dangerous, the Huguenots who had the upper hand, and the house of Austria which was still more to be dreaded: hence he infers, that the cardinal had promised the king he would accomplish those revolutions the moment he set foot in the cabinet. These are the words he puts in the mouth of the cardinal. *When your majesty had formed the resolution not only to admit me to your councils, but even to a great share in your confidence, I promised you I would employ all the authority you should be pleased to invest me with, in order to destroy the Huguenot party, humble the grandees, reduce all your subjects to their duty, and raise your fame amongst foreign nations, to that high rank it ought to hold, &c.* Now it is universally known, that
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when Louis XIII. gave his consent to the admission of cardinal de Richlieu into the council, he was far from being sensible of the good he had procured to France as well as to himself. It is an acknowledged truth, that the king, who then had a dislike to this great man, acted merely in compliance with the repeated intercessions of the queen-mother, who left no stone unturned to introduce her favourite, for whom she had lately procured a cardinal's hat, and whom she looked upon as her creature, and by whom she hoped to govern. She at length prevailed, and he was admitted into the council: nevertheless it was even found necessary to gain over the marquis de la Vieuville, superintendent of the finances, who consented with a good deal of difficulty to the cardinal's admission into the council in 1624: and he neither held the first place there, nor was in any great degree of credit. This whole year passed in jealousies, cabals, and secret factions; and the cardinal got the ascendant only by degrees, and as it were by stealth.

It will afford matter of satisfaction to some readers to learn in this place, that cardinal de Richlieu received his patent of first minister on the 21st of November 1629, and not before. Lewis XIII. signed it privately with his own hand. These letters patents are addressed by the king to the cardinal himself; and what is very remarkable is, that the appointments attached to that new dignity, are left blank in this instrument; the king leaving it to the magnificence and discretion of his minister, the care of taking out of the public treasury what was necessary to support the dignity of his station.

But to return, it is by no means probable the
cardinal

cardinal should have expressed himself in 1624, in the manner they have made him do. It was certainly much for his honour to have atchieved so many great things; but it would have been extremely rash to have promised them: and it would have been the most ridiculous and indecent thing in nature, to have told the king his master, on his admission into his councils, *I will raise your fame*. They make him relate, contrary to his oath of secrecy, and against all decorum, what he had done: yet he says not a word of what ought to be done. Why? because the one was very easy, and the other extremely difficult.

IX. By the little we have now said, it already appears, that the pretended work in question is wholly inconsistent with the character of the minister to whom it is ascribed, of the king to whom it is addressed, and the time in which it is supposed to have been written; and, I will also add, with the stile of the cardinal. We need only examine five or six of his letters, to be able to judge that it is impossible this work should have been done by the same hand; and this proof would be sufficient to convince any one who is possessed of the least degree of taste or discernment. Moreover, cardinal de Richlieu, though he was sometimes under the necessity of doing violent things, never let any harsh or indecent expressions escape him. If he was daring in his actions, he was extremely circumspect in what he wrote: he would certainly never have called, in a political work, the marchioness du Fargis, one of the queen's ladies of the bed-chamber, plain Fargis. This would have been the highest want of good-breeding and respect both to the king and posterity, to whom he was addressing himself. This
indecent

indecent expression is taken from a wretched book, printed in 1649, intituled, *The History of the Ministry of Cardinal de Richlieu*. The author of the Testament has copied this work of darkness, which has been more disgraced by the contempt of the public than by the arret by which it stands condemned.

Can any one be brought to believe, that a first minister, who supposes the peace with Spain already concluded, should speak of the Spaniards in such terms as these: "This covetous and insatiable nation, an enemy to the repose of Christendom?" He could not have spoken of Mahomet II. in worse terms. It is impossible to conceive, that a priest, a cardinal, a first minister, and a man of sense, writing to a wise king, and in a testament which ought to be exempt from passion, should have been so little master of himself (at the time of this supposed peace) as to let fall expressions he would not have used in a declaration of war.

X. Is it possible that a statesman, proposing to write a work which required so much solidity, should say, "That the king of Spain, by assisting the Huguenots, had laid the Indies under contribution to hell; that courtiers measure the diadem by its form, which, as it is round, has no end; that the elements have no weight, but when they are in their proper places; that neither fire, air, nor water, are capable of supporting a terrestrial body, because such a body gravitates even when out of its place;" with an hundred other absurdities of the same sort, worthy of a country professor of rhetoric of the sixteenth century, or of an Irish pedagogue disputing upon a stool.

XI. Is there again any great probability, that
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cardinal de Richlieu, so well known for his gallantries, not to say for the over-warmth of his desires, should recommend the virtue of chastity to Lewis XIII. a prince chaste from constitution, by conscience, and by infirmity.

XII. After such strong presumptions, what man of sense can resist that glaring proof of falshood to be found in the first chapter? I mean the supposition that the peace was already concluded. You are now come, says he, to the conclusion of a peace: your majesty entered into the war wholly,—&c.—and have extricated yourself out of it only, &c. . . . An impostor, in the hurry of his forgery, forgetting the times of which he speaks, might well fall into so gross an absurdity; but a first minister, when he is actually at war, would certainly not have said the war is concluded. The war against the house of Austria was carried on more briskly than ever, although all the princes of Europe were then in negotiation, and perhaps for that very reason. It is true, in 1641, there were some foundations laid of the treaties of Munster, which were not concluded till 1648; and the author of the Testament makes cardinal de Richlieu speak sometimes in 1640, and sometimes in 1635. The cardinal could neither have supposed the peace made in the middle of the war, nor fly out into the most atrocious invectives against the Spaniards at a time when he was desirous to enter into a treaty with them.

XIII. Can there be any necessity to add to this evident proof of a palpable imposture, a mistake not quite so absurd indeed, but which, notwithstanding, serves equally well to detect an ignorant liar? He makes a prime minister, as the cardinal

cardinal was, say, in the same chapter, "that the king refused the assistance of the Ottoman arms against the house of Austria." If he means the assistance which the Turks were desirous of giving to the French, the fact itself is false, and the very supposing of it ridiculous; if he means a diversion to be made by the Turks in Hungary, or elsewhere, any man who knows the world, or has the smallest idea of cardinal Richlieu, well knows that such offers are seldom refused.

XIV. As it appears, from the first chapter, that the impostor wrote after the peace of the Pyrenees, of which his imagination was full, it appears, by the second, that he wrote after the reformation which Lewis XIV. made in every part of the administration. "I remember to have seen in my youth, says he, gentlemen and other lay persons possessed, in trust, not only of the greatest part of the priories and abbeys, but also of curacies and bishoprics. At present these trusts are much rarer than the lawful possessions were in those days." Now it is certain, that in the latter part of the cardinal's administration, nothing was more common than to see laymen possessed of benefices. He himself was the cause of five abbeys being given to the count de Soissons, who was killed at La Marfée; M. de Guise was possessed of eleven; the duke de Verneuil had the bishopric of Metz; the prince de Conti had the abbey of St. Dennis in 1641; the duke de Nemours had the abbey of St. Remi of Reims; the marquis de Treville that of Moutier-Ender, under the name of his son; in a word, the keeper of the seals Chateaufort was in possession of several abbeys till his death, which happened in 1643; so that we may judge whether this example

example was followed. The number of laymen who enjoyed those revenues of the state is almost infinite. It is sufficient to look into the *Memoirs* of the Count de Grammont to have an idea of the manner in which benefices were then obtained. I do not enquire whether the practice of giving away the revenues of the church to secular persons was good or evil; but I say, that a dextrous impostor would never have made cardinal de Richlieu mention a thing which had no existence at the time he was writing.

XV. In the same second chapter, this projector, who is assuredly some churchman, overflowing with zeal for the pretended rights of the clergy, and altogether as regardless of those of the crown, declaims against the right of the Regale. He forgot, that in 1637, and in 1638, cardinal de Richelieu had caused several arrears of council to be passed, by which every bishop who should deem himself exempt from that right, was obliged to send into chancery the titles on which he grounded his pretensions. This writer knew not that a bishop who, was minister of state, interests himself more in favour of the rights of the crown, than of that of ecclesiastical pretensions. One should know the character of a first minister to be able to make him speak consistently. This is an ass who cloaths himself in the lion's hide, but who is easily found out by the enormous length of his ears.

XVI. This ignorant forger, in the chapter before us, where he entertains the king with a discourse about universities and colleges, instead of talking to him about his interests, expresses himself in his clownish stile (section X.) thus: "The history of Benedict XI. against whom the Cordeliers, who were piqued on account of the
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the perfection of poverty; to wit, of the revenues of St. Francis, were exasperated to such a degree, that not only they waged open war with him by their writings, but also by the arms of the emperor, under the shadow of whose wings arose an antelope, to the great prejudice of the church, is too strong an example to be under any necessity to alledge any more." Certainly cardinal Richlieu, who was very learned, was not ignorant that this adventure, of which this impostor speaks, happened to pope John XXII. and not to pope Benedict XI. There is not a fact in all the ecclesiastical history better known than this; the ridiculousness of it has rendered it famous; the cardinal could not possibly have been mistaken in it: besides, to inform a king of the great danger arising from religious quarrels, there were an hundred more striking examples to have been quoted.

XVII. In the same, section X. chapter II. speaking of the Jesuits: "This order, says he, which has submitted, by a blind vow of obedience, to a perpetual head, cannot, according to the laws of good policy, be much favoured in a state to which any powerful community might appear dangerous." I know well this stroke is somewhat softened a few lines after; but, to be plain, is it possible cardinal de Richelieu should have thought the Jesuits dangerous, a set of people whom he used only for his purpose, and punished at his will? he who feared neither the queen, nor the princes, nor the house of Austria, could he be supposed to stand in awe of a few monks? He had even banished several of the order, as likewise some fathers of the oratory, and other priests, that had been concerned in cabals; but neither he

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nor the state had any thing to fear from those communities. It had certainly been very extraordinary, that the conqueror of Rochelle should in his testament have been more distrustful of the Jesuits than of the Hugonots. This reflection is no convincing proof; but, joined to others, it serves to shew that the author, though he usurped the name of a first minister, was yet incapable of assuming his spirit.

XVIII. Were it necessary to confute all the mistakes with which this performance swarms, I should make a volume as large as the Political Testament, a work which knavery has compiled; which ignorance, prepossession, and respect for a great name, have caused to be admired; which the patience of the reader can scarce endure to read; and which had remained absolutely unknown, had it appeared under the name of its real author. I have already, in a small work, pointed out some of these proofs, which serve to demonstrate the imposture to any one possessed of the least judgment or taste. The following, among the rest, is unanswerable. The author, who is fond, however unseasonably, of making a parade, equally useless and false, of his knowledge in the history of the affairs of the church, of commerce, and of the marine, takes it into his head in chapter IX. section VI. to talk thus with regard to the settlements in the Indies: "As for the West-Indies, we know there is very little trade carried on there: Drake, Thomas Cavendish, Herberg, l'Hermite, Lemaire, and the late count Maurice, who sent twelve ships thither with design to carry on a trade either by force or friendship, not being able to find any place proper to make a settlement." Remark, I beseech you,

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at what time the impostor makes cardinal Richelieu speak in this manner. It is in 1640, at the very time when the late count Maurice, who was then actually living, governed the Brazils in the name of the United Provinces, and that the Dutch West-India company had been making a very considerable progress from the year 1662, without the smallest interruption: observe also how, in the beginning of the same section VI. the author confesses, "that the Dutch give no small trouble to the Spaniards in the West-Indies, where they are in possession of the greatest part of Brazil." And, indeed, is it possible to lay to the door of a statesman such a hodge-podge of errors and contradictions? England, of which he speaks, had already immense countries in America. As to Drake and Thomas Cavendish, their example is very unseasonably quoted: they were not sent to make settlements, but to ruin those of the Spaniards, to disturb their trade, and to make prizes, in all which they succeeded.

XIX. Any person inclined to take the trouble of reading the Political Testament with attention, would be greatly surprized to see that in fact this book is rather a criticism on the administration of the cardinal, than an exposition of his conduct, and a connected account of his principles; the whole of it turns on two points, the first of which is unworthy of him, and the second an insult on his memory.

The first object is a vague, puerile, commonplace, a catechism for a prince of ten years old, and most egregiously ill adapted to a prince in his fortieth year; such are the following chapters: "That the foundation of the happiness of a state is the reign of godliness; that reason

reason ought to be the rule of human conduct; that the interest of the public ought to be preferred to that of individuals; that foresight is a necessary quality; that every person in the state ought to be invested with that employ for which he is qualified; that it is very necessary to keep flatterers, informers, and plotters, at a distance;" with twenty other discoveries, equally profound, accompanied with a piece of advice which would have been an insult to so enlightened a prince as Lewis XIII. who might, with great justice, have answered his minister and servant, "Talk in this manner to my young son, but know better the respect due to your master."

The second point, which makes the principal part of his ninth chapter, turns on ministerial projects, which are all of the author's own invention; and every one of them the direct reverse of those followed in the cardinal's administration. The author takes it into his head to abolish the private money edicts, or, out of his great condescension, to fix them at a million of gold. These edicts are for issuing private sums for secret services, of which no account is given. This is the most valuable privilege attached to the place of prime minister. No one but an enemy would demand its abolition.

XX. The ninth chapter of the Political Testament bears in each page of it the most evident proofs of a forgery, the most wretchedly executed that can be imagined; here reflections, facts, computations, and every thing else, is equally false: in this place the author advances, that for every new tax imposed, the minister is obliged in justice to augment the pay of the soldiery;

diary ; which, however, has never happened either under Lewis XIII. or Lewis XIV. here, too, whilst he eases the shoulders of the people of seventeen millions of the taille, he carries the king's revenue all at once to fifty-seven millions, which he supposes commonly to amount to no more than thirty-five ; which is a further proof of his ignorance, for the taille alone commonly amounted to thirty-five millions, the farms to eleven, &c. In this likewise he proposes to reimburse the annuities created by the cardinal, whereof several were at the twentieth penny, which he rates at the fifth penny ; to take from the treasurers of France two thirds of their salaries ; to cause the parliaments, chambers of accounts, the grand council, all the courts which he calls sovereign, to pay their share of the taille, whilst he classes them at the same time with the peasants. Would it not have been extremely becoming in cardinal de Richelieu to propose so wild and extravagant a measure, in order to vilify a body of which he had the honour to be a member by his quality of peer of France, a dignity which he held in equal value with his rank as cardinal !

XXI. With respect to the war, it has been already observed, that he has not so much as mentioned that in which the kingdom was then engaged. But in his vague, general, and chimerical reflections, he recommends the taxing all the fees of gentlemen, to enrol the noblesse, and to keep them in pay ; he would have every gentleman compelled to serve at the age of five and twenty ; he would have none of the roturier, or lower class, admitted into the cavalry till five and twenty ; that the care of provisions should be committed only to persons of quality ;

quality; that, when there was a necessity to raise fifty soldiers, they should raise an hundred; and this for no other reason that can be discovered, but to double their cloathing and enlisting-money. What a project this for a minister! It is true, the notion of enrolling the nobles, and causing the parliament to pay the taillie, might have been the offspring of a better head than that of a projector, who, being out of employment, takes it into his head to govern Europe. In the same ninth chapter, he likewise treats of the affairs relating to the marine: he speaks very learnedly of the great dangers of the navigation between Spain and Italy, and between Italy and Spain, equally chimerical with that of Scylla and Charybdis: he pretends that the single province of Provence has a much greater number of sea-ports, better as well as safer, than those of Spain and Italy put together; an hyperbole capable to persuade one, that this book was the work of some Provençal, that had never seen any place but Toulon and Marseilles, rather than a statesman acquainted with the situation of all Europe.

These are part of those chimeras which this clandestine politician has published in the name of that great minister, with an hundred times less discernment than the Abbe de St. Pierre has shewn, in ascribing a part of his political ideas to the duke of Burgundy.

The project relating to the finances, which takes up almost the whole of the last chapter, is taken from a manuscript still in being. I have seen it: it was written in 1640. This piece makes the king's revenues amount to fifty-nine millions of those times, by the arrangement which it proposes. The author of the Testament

ment substracts two of these; in every thing else they perfectly agree. Nothing is so common as projects of this sort; sometimes the ministers receive such, but very seldom read any of them. The forger, whilst he copied those ideas, makes it very clearly appear, that he never was at the pains to acquaint himself properly with the state of the finances of Lewis XIII. He boldly advances, that each of the five years war had lost no more than sixty millions and nine hundred thousand livres. It is, likewise, false that this expence was paid without extraordinary means: there were a great many taxations, a great many augmentations of salaries, which were brought into the finances; the duties were augmented in the provinces; a tax of a crown *per* ton was laid on wine; the *taille*, which amounted to thirty-six millions and two hundred thousand livres, was carried to thirty-eight millions and nine hundred thousand livres. In a word, most of the things related in this book are as wide of the truth as the propositions in it are extraordinary.

XXII. It will, no doubt, be asked, how it was possible the public should have passed such an affront on the memory of cardinal de Richelieu, as to imagine this book worthy of him? I answer, men seldom reflect; read with very little attention; judge with precipitation, and receive opinions as they do money, because they are current.

XXIII. If it be objected to me, that father le Long and others have thought this book the work of the cardinal, I will acknowledge that father le Long has very accurately compiled about thirty thousand titles of books, and will add, that for that very reason he had no time to examine the books themselves: but above

all, I will answer, that had we as many authorities as father le Long has composed titles, they would not be able to counterballance one solid reason. If, however, the weakness of men must needs rest their belief on authorities, I will oppose to father le Long and others, Aubery, who has written the life of cardinal Mazarine, Ancillon, Richard, the writer who took the title of Vigneul de Morville, and lastly le Monnoie, one of the most enlightened critics of the last age; all of these pronounced the Political Testament spurious.

XXIV. But, say they, in 1664 the Abbe des Roches, formerly a domestic of the cardinal de Richelieu, gave his library to the Sorbonne, after the example of his master; and in this library there was found a manuscript of the Testament, which tallied exactly with the printed copy, together with the same epistle dedicatory, and the same table of contents. It is this very manuscript, so transmitted to the Sorbonne, which finishes the proof of this forgery. It is transmitted two and twenty years after the death of the cardinal, without any document or information from the Abbe des Roches. This work was thrown by for a time both by the servant of the cardinal, and even the Sorbonne itself, and it is within these two years it has been classed among the rest. Had this manuscript been copied from the original, it had been more respected, some marks of its authority would have been discovered, the signature of the cardinal de Richelieu would have been found at the end of the letter to the king. But no such signature is to be seen. They who composed it had not the effrontery; they did not dare to sign that name. Had the cardinal left ever so few memoirs, and had they had the smallest, and
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even the most distant relation to the Testament, some mention would have been made of them, and then some degree of credit might have been given to the boldness of him who imputed the whole of this work to the minister. This is by no means the case: there is not a single word, either at the beginning or end of this manuscript, from whence the smallest inference can be drawn. Therefore the Abbe des Roches must have looked upon this manuscript with the same indifference with which it has been regarded in the Sorbonne.

Let us imagine for a moment the Testament to be really the work of the cardinal; the single word testament supposes an indispensable duty in this domestic to ascertain the genuineness of the copy, and to declare its being juridically compared and collated with the original. If he has failed in this, he is certainly culpable; he gives the world a right to accuse him of forgery. But the Abbe des Roches had this manuscript in his possession just as any other person of curiosity might have had. This manuscript must certainly have been written before it was printed; and even, to favour the design of the imposture, several manuscript copies of it must have been made, which ought to have been handed about in a very private manner, as a monument of singular curiosity. Farther, the silence of this domestic proves the master not to have been the author of this testament, as all the other arguments are a solid proof he never could have been its author.

XXV. But it is said, that it has been affirmed about seventy years ago, that the duches d'Aiguillon should have said fourcore years since, she had once had a manuscript copy of this testament. An original note of M. Huet has been

found; which note says, that somebody had seen this manuscript in the possession of the duches d'Aiguillon, niece to the cardinal. Are not these very fine proofs? Most assuredly. I can easily believe, that all those who interest themselves in behalf of the cardinal's memory would have been glad to have had any manuscript that bore his name; and from this circumstance, I conclude that this manuscript was evidently supposititious, since among all the relations, all the domestics, all the friends of that minister, no one has ever given himself the smallest trouble in order to ascertain the authenticity of this performance.

XXVI. Let human curiosity weary itself in idle enquiries after the name of the forger; I, for my part, do not chuse to trifle away my time in such a manner. What imports it to know the name of the cheat now the imposture is discovered? what imports it to know that Courtils, or some other, forged the testaments of Mazarine, Colbert, and de Louvois? what imports it whether it were Stratman or Chevre-mont, that insolently usurped the name of Charles V. duke of Lorraine? does it entitle a man to fame, to have been the author of an execrable book? what advantage should one reap by knowing the authors of all the low calumnies and impertinent criticisms with which the public is overwhelmed? we ought to leave those authors who cover themselves under some great name in their native obscurity, in the same manner as we do those who every day attack what is most praise-worthy, and commend what is most execrable, thus making the profession of letters as base and contemptible as themselves.



Gwin del.

Hall sculp.

THE *14. A. H. i*
WORKS
OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

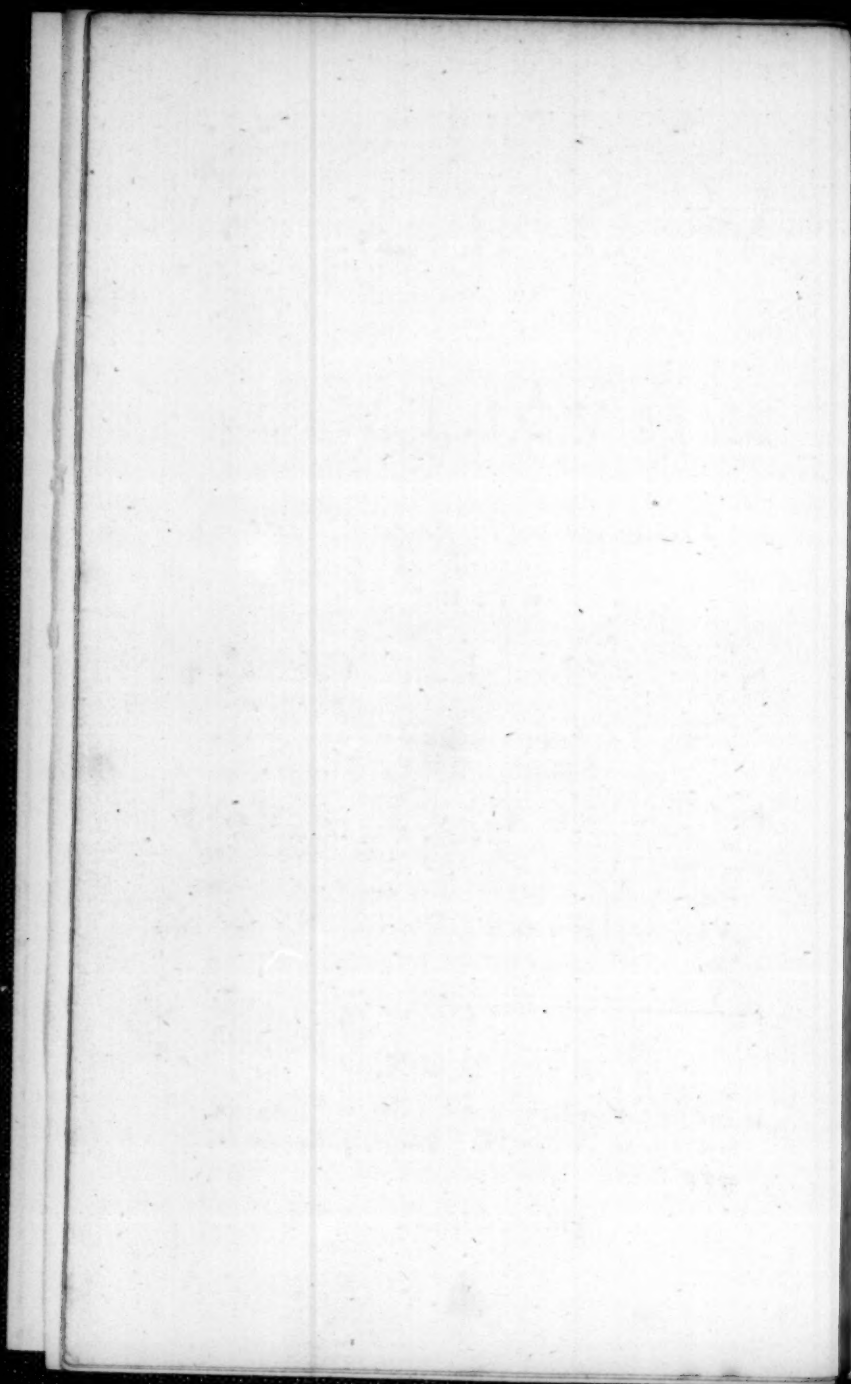
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury,

MDCCLXII.



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THE
HISTORY
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CHAP. I.

*Of the situation of the affairs of Europe, and a
brief review of matters anteceding the war of
1741.*

I HAVE always looked upon the Christian powers of Europe as one great republic, all whose parts correspond with each other, even when they aim at their mutual destruction. Certain customs, which we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations, have been established by general consent. The precedency of almost all princes has been settled; the Catholics have two cities in common; one of these is Malta, the center of a perpetual war waged against the enemies of the Christian name; the other is Rome, which is in more respects than one, as it were, the capital of all the Catholic nations, each of which has a right

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to

to name one of the sovereign's principal ministers; and their ecclesiastical, and even temporal causes are tried by the tribunal of the Rota, the judges composing which are taken from each nation. The sovereigns, in all the Catholic frontiers, have some territories that are under the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop. Nothing is more common than to see the prerogatives, honours, and orders of knighthood of one country conferred upon the natives of another. Most princes have even territories lying in the middle of other states; as for example, the pope is possessed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; the Venetians have dominions in the heart of the Milanese. There is scarcely a prince in Germany but has some dominions enclosed by the territory of another sovereign.

The old Roman law is in full force in all these countries: they have all one and the same learned language; and every court speaks the same living tongue*. These connections have still been strengthened by commerce. The merchants carry on so close a correspondence, even in time of war, that at the very time in which the English were arming to ruin the Spaniards, they were deeply interested in the trade of that nation; so that when their privateers seized upon an enemy's ship, they were absolutely plundering their own countrymen†. In effect, the wars waged against each other

* Namely, the French, which is spoken in every court of Europe but our own.

† This remark can allude only to our insuring the ships of the enemy; a practice which, though prejudicial to the insurer, has been proved beneficial to the community.

by Christian princes have in them so much of the nature of civil wars, that in the year 1701, Victor, duke of Savoy, was in arms against his two sons-in-law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded the Spaniards in the Milanese, and was near being made prisoner by his own son, who had followed the fortune of the house of Austria.

In the year 1718, when the duke of Orleans, regent of France, carried on a war against his cousin Philip V. of Spain, the duke of Liria served against his father the duke of Berwick. In the war, the history of which I now write, the kings of France, Spain, Poland, and the elector of Bavaria, were the nearest akin to the queen of Hungary, whom they attacked; and upon that very tie of relationship the last of these princes set up a claim to plunder her. We have seen, in the course of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuscany, and now emperor of Germany, keep an envoy at Paris, whose children served against him; and we have seen all the sons of the Tuscan prime minister in our service. We had a thousand examples of this kind before our eyes, and yet they did not surprize us.

All the sovereigns of the different states of this part of the world are allied either by blood or by treaty; and yet they scarcely conclude a marriage or a treaty that is not the cause of some future disagreement.

Commerce, whereby they are necessarily linked, is almost always the occasion of their dissenting. The two subjects whereon to ground a war are every where else unknown: a wife is known, no where but in Europe, to

bring to her husband a war for her dower, by setting up a right to some distant province. No act of confraternity is known among princes; nor a reversion from one family to another no way related to it; nor yet small fiefs paying homage at the same time to several great princes, who are disputing about the homage and fief itself among one another, as it happens so often in Germany and Italy. Hence it arises that Asia is almost always in a pacific state*, if we except the invasions of conquerors, who are in that part of the world yet more cruel than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels, more especially among the Turks and Persians, about frontiers.

Those who accurately and nicely examine into the capital events of this world, will easily remark, that since the year 1600, there have been forty considerable wars in Europe, and but one of any consequence in Great Tartary, China, and the Indies, countries of immense extent, better peopled, and much richer. In a word, there has been no war on account of trade in Asia, Africa, or America, but what has been kindled by the Europeans†.

The marriage of Maximilian I. afterwards emperor of Germany, with Mary of Burgundy, had been for three ages the occasion of a per-

* Witness the civil dissensions in Persia and India, by which the finest provinces in the world are reduced to ruin and desolation.

† Here the author is mistaken, as appears by the numberless wars carried on by the yncas of Peru, the emperors of Mexico, and the divers savage nations of America and Africa, long before Christian colonies were established in those countries.

petual difference between France and Austria. The American and Asiatic trade was afterwards fresh ground for discord in Europe. The system of the ballance of power in Europe, which is at present the cause and pretext of so many leagues and wars, first made its appearance during the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I.

Henry VIII. king of England, who seeing himself between two potent rivals, laboured to prevent each from acquiring a superiority, took for his device an archer, with his bow bent, and this motto, "Whom I defend shall be master;" but if Henry held the ballance, it was with an unsteady hand.

Henry IV. of France, oppressed by the house of Austria, was constantly aided by queen Elizabeth, and the states of Holland owed their liberty to the protection of these two princes. So long as these three powers dreaded the superiority of the house of Austria, England and Holland continued to be constant allies to France. If this union was now and then weakened, it was never totally destroyed, their real interests being so very apparent.

The protestant states of Germany were also the natural friends of France, because that ever since the time of Charles V. they had reason to fear the house of Austria might make a patrimony of the empire, and consequently oppress them. The Swedes were invited into Germany by them, by France, nay even by Rome itself, which stood in awe of the imperial authority, always disputed, and always prevailing in Italy. About the middle of the last century, England and Holland with plea-

sure beheld the imperial branch of the house of Austria obliged to give up Lusatia to the electors of Saxony, the prefecture of Alfatia to France*, and Roussillon taken by force of arms from the Spanish branch of that house by Lewis XIII.

Cromwell the Usurper did not oppose this alliance; for he remained firm to the French interest†, though he had murdered Lewis the Thirteenth's brother-in-law, and Lewis the Great's uncle. Every body almost wished France success against the Austrians, until Lewis XIV. became formidable from his conquests, which he owed to his having chosen the greatest generals and most able ministers of his time, as well as to the weakness of his enemies.

In 1667, he deprived the house of Austria of one half of Flanders, and of Franche-Comté the following year. It was now that the Dutch, becoming of some consequence from their courage in war, and their industry in trade, no longer dreaded their old masters the Austrians, and began to entertain some fears of their ancient protectors the French. They compelled Lewis XIV. by dint of their negotiations, to

* By the treaty of Munster.

† This union was the greatest political flaw in the conduct of Cromwell; for, at this period, the power of France was beginning to grow very formidable, and that of Austria to decline. Cromwell's preferring the French to the Spanish interest, is said to have been owing to the particular regard and veneration which he had conceived for the person and character of Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, who was the fast friend of France. Perhaps he was also influenced by the adulation of cardinal Mazarin, who cultivated his goodwill with the most prostrate servility.

accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and boasted of their success.

This was the first occasion of that monarch's sudden invasion of Holland in 1672, in which project he easily induced Charles II. king of England, to concur; who not only wanted money, but had also some grounds of complaint against Holland. He preferred the chastisement of the Dutch to the conquest of Flanders, which he might perhaps have kept, as he had some claims upon that territory; but England and Holland were soon after reunited, and ever since always opposed the French interest. The glory and power of Lewis XIV. increased, and so in proportion did the number of his enemies.

The same system of the balance of power so long opposed against the Austrians was now turned against the French. Ever since 1689, William III. king of England and stadtholder of Holland, had been the soul of a party which conjured up against France, Spain, Germany, England, Holland, and Savoy; nay even pope Innocent XI. Lewis the Great supported himself against all these enemies. He had, for a good while past, near 400,000 men in arms, and upwards of 100 ships of the line; of which, when he came to the throne, he had only six; and though his marine received such a violent shock in the affair of La Hogue *, and the India company, which had been established by the celebrated Colbert, was destroyed; yet he made a peace at Ryfwick, neither shameful nor unprofitable.

* Where the fleet under Tourville was totally defeated, in the year 1792, by admiral Ruffel, afterwards created earl of Orford.

The system of general equilibrium, composed of so many particular views, produced this peace, and engendered a scheme of politics unheard of before.

The last prince of the Austrian branch, who now sat on the Spanish throne, had no children, and was in a very bad state of health. The courts of London and the Hague entered into a compact with Lewis XIV. whom they did not love, whereby, in conjunction with him, they disposed of the Spanish dominions. These were shared among several powers, and a part given to Lewis, for fear he should have put himself in a condition to seize upon the whole. Charles II. king of Spain, resenting such an insult upon his weakness as that of dividing his estate even while he lived, named the son of the elector of Bavaria as his heir. This child was grandson to Philip III.

The choice appeared both just and prudent: the house of Austria might murmur, but had it not in its power to avenge itself. The dissensions which must have inevitably followed from the partition, was now no longer to be feared; and the equilibrium of Europe was preserved: but this young prince died three months after his being declared heir to the Spanish succession.

A second partition treaty was then set on foot, whereby the Milanese was given to the house of Lorrain, and the latter territory ceded to France, part of which project we have seen carried into execution.

The king of Spain finding himself draw near his end, though in the flower of his age, proposed to leave his crown to the archduke Charles, his wife's nephew, second son to the emperor

emperor Leopold. So strongly did the system of equilibrium predominate, that he did not dare to leave his dominions to the eldest son, being certain that the fear of seeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, united under one prince, would raise the rest of Europe in arms. He requested the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid, at the head of 10,000 men; but of this proceeding neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would have allowed, being all for the partition. It happened, in these affairs of the utmost importance to the interest of two great kings, as it often does on very slight occasions in private life; they had words, and came to an open rupture. The German pride could not digest the Spanish haughtiness; the countess of Pelitz, who governed the queen of Spain, alienated instead of securing the affections of the people, whom she should have attached to her side; and they were still more disgusted by the arrogance of the court of Vienna.

The young archduke commonly spoke of the Spaniards in a very disrespectful manner; and thence was taught, that princes should be very cautious how they expressed themselves. His speeches were transmitted to Madrid, not without rancor, by the bishop of Lerida, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, who was disgusted with the Germans. He wrote invectives much more bitter against the Austrian councils, than ever the archduke had thrown out against the Spaniards. "The disposition of Leopold's ministers," says he in one of his letters, "resembles the horns of the bulls in

my country; *they are little, hard, and crooked.*" This letter was made public; the bishop was recalled, and, on his return to Madrid, increased more than ever the aversion of the Spaniards against the Germans. Many trifling matters, for such will always intermingle themselves among the most important affairs, contributed to bring about the great change which happened in Europe, and made way for that revolution whereby Spain and the Indies was for ever lost to the house of Austria.

Cardinal Portocarero, and the rest of the Spanish grandees, who were most in favour at court, united to prevent the dismembering of the Spanish monarchy, and persuaded Charles II. to prefer a grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince very distant from, and incapable of defending them. This disposition was not annulling the solemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, which had been made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. because it had been only made to prevent the two kingdoms from being united under their eldest born, who was not now selected. Thus justice was done to the rights of blood, at the same time that the Spanish monarchy was preserved entire.

The king, who was a scrupulous man, consulted the best divines, and they agreed in opinion with his council. At length, infirm as he was, he wrote himself to pope Innocent XII. stating the case, and asking his advice. The Pope, who imagined he saw the liberty of Italy established in proportion as the house of Austria was weakened, advised him in his answer to give the preference to the house of France. The pope's letter was dated July 16th, 1700.

He

He wisely treated the king's case of conscience as a matter of state, while the king himself, who with good reason was desirous of having justice on his side, treated this very important matter of state as a case of conscience.

Lewis XIV. had notice of this step; the court of Versailles had no other share in this memorable event: there was not then even a French ambassador at Madrid; for marshal Harcourt had been recalled six months before, his longer continuance there being disagreeable, because of the partition treaty, which France seemed ready to support by force of arms. All Europe was mistaken in supposing this treaty dictated at the court of Versailles. The expiring monarch had consulted only the interest of his kingdom, and the desires of his subjects. This will, which caused such an alteration in the affairs of Europe, was kept so secret, that count Harrach, the imperial ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke was the declared successor, and waited a good while the issue of the council assembled immediately after the king's death, before he was undeceived.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms; the ambassador no longer doubted of the archduke's being a king, until he heard the duke d'Abrantes, as he embraced him, express himself thus: "I come from taking leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years spent in war and negotiations about some frontiers of the Spanish dominions, France saw herself, by a stroke of a pen, put into possession of the whole monarchy, without treaty or cabal, nay, without so much as having hoped for that succession.

It has been in some measure the custom thus to publish here the plain truth of a fact hitherto misrepresented by statesmen or historians, according as prejudices or appearances misled them. That which has in so many volumes been set forth of the sums of money lavished by the marshal d'Harcourt, and his bribing the Spanish ministers to come at the will, must be ranked amongst political lies and popular errors. The minister then at the head of foreign affairs in France has given an authentic attestation of this truth under his own hand-writing; but the king of Spain, in chusing for his successor the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had plainly employed his thoughts on the consequences which the idea of a general equilibrium must necessarily excite.

The duke of Anjou, grandson to Lewis XIV. had been called to the succession of Spain only because there seemed to be no hope of his ever rising to the throne of France; and the same will which, in case of the failure of princes of the blood of Lewis XIV. bequeathed the crown to the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor by the name of Charles VI. expressly stipulates that the empire and Spain should never be reunited under the same sovereign.

That branch of the house of Austria which sat on the imperial throne, seeing itself deprived of the Spanish succession, except as a substitute, raised almost all Europe in arms against the house of Bourbon. That very Leopold who neither would nor could send ten thousand men into Spain to secure the throne to his son the archduke, soon brought an hundred thousand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father

ther-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of Spain, entered shortly after into a confederacy against his sons-in-law. England and Holland, which had declared for the archduke, sustained the chief burthen of this long war, until at length that equilibrium which had been a pretext for so many disputes, became itself the basis of a peace. The very thing happened which had been foreseen by Charles II. The archduke, to whom the Spanish monarchy had been provisionally left, and for whom a bloody war had been kindled, became emperor in 1711, by the death of his elder brother Joseph. That faction which in England was called Tory, and which opposed the Whig administration, made use of this opportunity to dispose queen Anne to lavish no more the blood and treasure of the English in a cause whereby the emperor Charles VI. must acquire more power than ever had been vested in the hands of Charles VI. and by a continuance, in which she also acted in direct opposition to the views and real interest of England, as well as the rest of Europe, which had been apprehensive of seeing Spain and the empire united under the same crowned head. But an incident, from which such important consequences could never have been expected, contributed more than any thing else to bring about the great work of peace.

One of the chief causes of the will of Charles II. had been the haughtiness of a German lady. The peace of Europe was owing to the insolence with which an English lady treated queen Anne. The duchess of Marlborough put the queen

queen into a violent passion; so that she lost all patience, and the Tories turned the affair to their own advantage. The queen changed her ministers and her measures. England, after being so long the bitter enemy of France, was the first to conclude a peace with her*: and soon afterwards that very useful victory obtained by marshal Villars at Denain, in the neighbourhood of Landrecy, determined the states of Holland and the emperor Charles VI. to make a general peace.

Lewis XIV. after being persecuted for ten years by evil fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to such distress that he was forced to abandon the support of his grandson, and having had the mortification to find himself not attended to, unless he joined with the allies against his own blood, had yet at length the satisfaction to see his grandson firmly settled upon the throne of Spain.

But there was a necessity for dividing this monarchy, which had been given to Philip V. only in hope that it might not be dismembered. By the treaty of Rastadt and Baden, made in 1714, the emperor was to keep all the Austrian Netherlands, with the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, in spite of that antient law which provides that this kingdom shall never be held with the empire. Charles V. had submitted to this law in receiving the investiture of Naples from the pope, before he had assumed the imperial crown. But this very powerful vassal of

* At Utrecht—It is no easy task to determine whether this peace was most owing to party or to patriotism.

the pope's found not much difficulty in obtaining a release from his oath; and Charles VI. afterwards experienced as much civility from the court of Rome as Charles V. had done.

Sicily, another branch which had been lopped from the Spanish monarchy, was then bequeathed to the duke of Savoy, who had afterwards Sardinia in exchange for it. At length Minorca and Gibraltar having been taken by the English, remained to that nation. By this peace the king of Prussia was put in possession of the Upper Guelderland. The Dutch acquired for their barrier Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, Dendermonde, &c. The emperor, besides ceding to them the defence of these places, paid them annually two millions five hundred thousand livres; a convention scarcely to be paralleled in history, that a sovereign should give up his strong towns and his money to his allies, instead of garisoning the places with his troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father to him who was afterwards emperor under the name of Charles VII. and his brother, the elector of Cologn, were reinstated in their principalities and rights, which they had lost by siding with France, and being unfortunate. The emperor Joseph had, of his own authority, and independent of the consent of the three colleges, put them under the ban of the empire. Thus vast advantages were acquired by all the potentates. The principal, and yet it was not sufficiently respected, was the preservation of mankind. An hundred thousand men at least must have been annually sacrificed in the course of a
war

war wherein six hundred thousand men * were constantly in arms on both sides in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders. It is an undoubted truth that in ten years time the southern parts of Europe had lost above one million of men in the flower of their age.

The twenty years which followed the peace of Utrecht enabled each nation to repair its losses; a happy series of years, the felicity of which met with very slight interruption. England encreased her trade by the cession made to her by France of Newfoundland and Acadia, also by the Affiento contract, which put her in possession of the Negro trade in Spanish America, and, in fine, by the liberty which she extorted from Spain of sending annually a ship to Porto Bello, whereby she carried on an immense contraband trade.

France had above eighteen hundred merchant ships employed in 1740; whereas at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, she had not more than three hundred. Her trade and manufactures flourished. A new East-India company arose out of the ruins of a system of finances which in 1719 had impoverished one part of the nation, and enriched the other; and in 1725 it advanced to the government ten millions of livres, and was possessed of thirty-nine millions in ships, storehouses, and merchantable goods. This company rebuilt and enlarged the town of Pondicherry, which is at present inhabited

* The present war has armed a considerably greater number, and been attended with more misery to the human species.

by an hundred thousand people, regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon *. They caused the harbour of Port l'Orient in Brittany to be cleaned, and raised the place from a small village to a trading town. They were possessed of sixty ships, from four hundred to eight hundred tons. In fine, during the space of twenty-eight years they had been establishing a nursery for seamen, and a source of continual abundance; for while all the stock proprietors received a considerable interest from the farming of tobacco, all the profits of the company were expended in making new establishments. They could be charged with nothing but superfluous expences, which are strong proofs of wealth. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions †, and enriched the commonwealth by the commodities transported from one hemisphere to the other. Since the year 1712, some of these colonies have increased doubly.

Almost every town in France was anew embellished, and the whole kingdom was apparently more populous, having, during this long æra, received no disturbance from foreign wars. The falling out between the duke of Orleans, then regent, and Spain, in 1718, was but of

* The populousness and strength of Pondicherry are greatly magnified by Voltaire, as was manifest on its late reduction, under the auspices of colonel Coote. It was certainly the best fortified place in the East-Indies, but is now wholly dismantled.

† About four millions sterling—Hence the importance of Martinique and Guadalupe, their chief settlements, may be estimated.

short duration, nor was it attended with unfortunate consequences. It was not a quarrel between nation and nation, but between two princes; in Paris it was hardly minded; the people there attended to nothing but the great game of stocks, which made and undid so many great fortunes.

The views of Spain were to recover the provinces which had been rent from her formerly; and this was not a time for her to make the attempt. It was to no purpose that her troops made a descent upon the island of Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor, and afterwards upon Sicily, of which the duke of Savoy had been put in possession by the peace of Utrecht. All the fruit of these armaments was that the emperor Charles VI. assisted by an English squadron, and aided even by the regent of France, seized upon Sicily for himself, tho' by the peace of Utrecht it had been ceded to the house of Savoy, the princes of which, after having been four years kings of Sicily, became kings of Sardinia, which they still hold.

Never at any time were so many negotiations on foot as now; never so many treaties; nor so many jealousies. The interest of each nation seemed to change with that of individuals. The English government, which had been closely united with that ministry which during the reign of Lewis XIV. had done every thing to fix Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, now changed sides; matters went so far from rolling in their natural channel, that the court of Madrid flung herself into the arms of her rival and enemy the court of Vienna, who had so long contested with her for the sovereignty of Naples,

ples, and lately deprived her of the island of Sicily.

In short, this very emperor Charles VI. whose firm intention was always to prevent the new house of Spain from having any footing in Italy, was so far prevailed upon, though of a different inclination, as to consent that a son of Philip V. and of his second wife Elizabeth of Parma, should be introduced with six thousand Spaniards into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, though the succession was not as yet open; he also gave the eventual investiture of it, as well as that of the great dukedom of Tuscany, by a solemn treaty, which had been long upon the carpet, in 1725, to Don Carlos*; and he received two hundred thousand Spanish pistoles, by way of purchase for an engagement which was one day to cost him so dear. All the proceedings of this agreement were surprising: two rival houses were united without any confidence in each other. The English, after having done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and dispossessed him of Gibraltar and Minorca, which in spite of Spain they still keep, were the mediators of this peace. It was signed by Riperda, a Dutchman, who was then all-powerful in Spain, and who was disgraced after having signed it †.

While the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon thus encreased her dominions by a transient union with her enemy, she had a mis-

* The present king of Spain, who was conducted to Naples by an English fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager.

† He afterwards died in great indigence and obscurity at Tetuan, on the coast of Barbary.

understanding with the French branch, in spite of the ties of blood and interest whereby they ought sooner or later to be reunited. It was thus the two branches of the house of Austria had been formerly divided. France, having at that time joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 things began to fall into their natural channel. The French ministry strengthened the bonds of friendship subsisting between the two houses of France; and that ministry appearing altogether equitable and disinterested, became insensibly the mediators of Europe.

A war broke out between England and Spain, occasioned by a commercial dispute. The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, before which town they wasted both their time and their forces, for the English had rendered it impregnable. France was the mediatrix; she saved the honour of the Spaniards by prevailing on them to raise the siege, and reconciling the disputing parties by treaty.

The emperor would have eluded the promise he had made of ceding Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos. The French ministry engaged him to keep his word: they also artfully prevailed upon the English, though avowed enemies to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, to transport six thousand Spaniards into Italy, thereby to secure to Don Carlos his new territory; and, in fine, that prince was shortly after conveyed thither, together with his troops, by an English fleet. In 1731 he was acknowledged sovereign of Parma, and heir to the dukedom of Tuscany. The great duke of Florence, the last of the Medici family, accepted

cepted of an heir, which had been given him without his having been once consulted.

Some time before the French ministry had determined the emperor in his resolution of suppressing the East-India company, which had been established at Ostend. It was the interest of all trading nations, whereof France was not then the least considerable. She enjoyed the serene glory of making up all differences between her neighbours, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, gave a total change to the affairs of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, then near fourscore years of age, made it his whole study to preserve this happy peace to France, and to all Europe. His turn of mind, his character, his time of life, and his glory, which was founded in moderation, all rendered him averse to war. Walpole *, the prime minister of England, was exactly of the same way of thinking: Spain was possessed of all she had required. The North was in profound peace, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, replunged Europe into that series of misfortunes from which she is rarely exempt for ten years together.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. already nominated to the crown of Poland in 1704, had been chosen in the most legal and solemn manner; but the emperor Charles VI. obliged the states to proceed to another election,

* Sir Robert Walpole was averse to the war, from an apprehension that the demand of extraordinary supplies to carry it on, would introduce an inquiry into his conduct, particularly with respect to the national debt, which, notwithstanding his boasted sinking fund, had been so little diminished during a peace of near thirty years.

which

which was supported by the Imperial and Russian arms. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and Charles VI's nephew, carried it from his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had found itself unable to keep Spain and the West-Indies, was yet sufficiently strong to wrest Poland from Lewis the Fifteenth's father-in-law. France saw the same accident repeated, which had happened to Prince Armand de Conti, who tho' solemnly elected, yet being without money and troops, and little better recommended than supported, lost that kingdom, to which he had been called by the voice of the people. King Stanislaus went to Dantzick to support his election; but the majority by whom he had been chosen soon allowed themselves to be borne down by the minority that were against him. This country, where the people are enslaved; where the nobility sell their votes; where there is never money enough in the public treasury to maintain an army; where the laws are without vigour; where their liberty is only productive of divisions; this same country, I say, boasts in vain their warlike nobility, who can bring into the field 100,000 men.

Ten thousand men soon dispersed the partizans of Stanislaus. The kingdom of Poland, which in the preceding age looked upon the Russians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Russia had become formidable since it had been new modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand disciplined slaves of Russia made the Polish nobility disappear; and Stanislaus, having taken refuge in the city of Dantzick, was quickly besieged

sieged by 40,000 Russians: the emperor of Germany, united with Russia, thought himself certain of success. To preserve the balance of power, France should have sent thither a numerous army by sea; but England could not, without taking part, have tamely looked on amidst such immense preparations. Cardinal Fleury, willing to keep well with that crown, neither chose to have the shame of entirely abandoning the cause of Stanislaus, nor yet did he incline to hazard any large number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a squadron, on board of which were embarked 1500 men commanded by a brigadier. This officer did not look upon his commission in a serious light; so that judging, as he approached Dantzick, that he should only sacrifice his little army, without reaping any advantage, retired into Denmark.

Count de Plelo, ambassador from France to the king of Denmark, beheld with indignation a retreat which seemed so mortifying to the nation. He was a young man well versed in polite learning and philosophy, inspired with sentiments of a very heroic nature, and deserving of a better fate. He resolved to succour Dantzick with this small force against a powerful army, or to die in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to count de Maurepas, the minister of state, which concluded thus: "I am certain I shall never return; to you I recommend my wife and children." He arrived before Dantzick, landed his men, and attacked the Russian army. He fell in the field as he had predicted, covered with wounds; and those

of his followers that were not killed, were made prisoners of war. His letter, which was very affecting, and the account of his death, reached Paris together. It drew tears from the eyes of the whole council: he was unanimously admired and lamented. I remember, some time after, when his widow appeared with her children in the public walks, the multitude gathered round with acclamations of tenderness, fully expressive of the veneration in which they held his memory.

Dantzick was taken: the ambassador from France to Poland, who was then in the place, was made prisoner of war, without any respect being paid to the privileges of his character. King Stanislaus escaped, but not without infinite danger, and by means of more disguises than one; after having seen a price set by the Muscovite general upon his head, in a free country, of which he was a native, and in the heart of a nation to the rule of which he had been every way legally elected.

The French ministry had totally lost that reputation so necessary to the support of grandeur, had they not revenged such an insult; but that insult would have been ill-timed, if not advantageous. Their distance from each other prevented the Muscovites from feeling the indignation of France; and policy directed it should be turned against the emperor, which was effectually done in Germany and Italy.

France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia. These three powers had different interests, but all united in the one point of weakening the house of Austria. The dukes
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of Savoy had been a long time encreasing their dominions by slow degrees ; sometimes by hiring troops to the emperors, and sometimes by declaring against them. King Charles-Emanuel had his eye upon the Milanese, and it had been promised him by the ministry both of Versailles and Madrid. Philip V. of Spain, or, more properly speaking, his spouse Elizabeth of Parma, hoped for some better establishment for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no advantage in view but his own glory, the humbling of his enemies, and the triumph of his allies. No-body then foresaw that Lorrain would be the fruit of this war. We are almost always guided by events, whereof we have seldom the direction. Never was any negotiation brought to so quick a conclusion as that which united these three monarchs. England and Holland, which had been generally accustomed to side with Austria against France, forsook her upon this occasion. This was the effect of that character for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired. It was owing to the notion conceived by her natural enemies, that her views were purely pacific, and free from all ambitious views, that kept them quiet, even while she was at war. Nothing could have done more honour to cardinal Fleury, than his being able to persuade the different powers, that France might wage war against the emperor without endangering the liberties of Europe : therefore they looked quietly upon the rapid success of the French arms. They were masters of the Rhine, and conjunctively with Spain and Savoy ruled in Italy, where marshal Villars died at

the age of 84, after having taken Milan. His successor marshal Coigni obtained two victories, while the Spanish general, the duke de Montemart, gained a battle at Bitonto in the kingdom of Naples, whence he acquired a new surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuscany, was soon declared king of Naples. Thus did the emperor lose almost all Italy by having given a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain was in two campaigns secured in possession of the two Sicilies; kingdoms which had been so often taken and retaken, and which, for two centuries past, had been always claimed by the house of Austria.

This war in Italy is the only one which was terminated with any solid success to the French since the time of Charlemagne. There was this reason for it: the guardian of the Alps, now become the most powerful prince in these territories, was on their side: they were assisted by the best troops in the service of the crown of Spain, and their armies were always well supplied. The emperor was then glad to subscribe to such terms of peace as were offered him by victorious France. Cardinal Fleury, who had had wisdom enough to prevent England and Holland from taking part in the war, had also the satisfaction of seeing it brought to a happy issue without their interposition.

By this peace Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and the two Sicilies. Europe had been long accustomed to see kingdoms given away and exchanged. The inheritance of the house of Medicis, which had been formerly awarded to Don Carlos, was now made over
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to Francis duke of Lorraine, the emperor's intended son-in-law. The last grand duke of Tuscany asked, upon his death-bed, "If they did not intend him a third heir, and what child did it please the empire and France to make for him?" Not that the grand duchy of Tuscany looked upon itself as a fief of the empire; but the emperor regarded it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy see, to which the last duke of Parma had paid homage; so much do the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which were the birth-right of Don Carlos, son to Philip V. and a princess of Parma, were yielded as his property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had laid his account in having the Milanese, to which his family, which had gradually aggrandised itself, had some old pretensions, obtained only a small share of it, viz. the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langhes: he derived his claim to this dukedom from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, his ancestor. France had also some old pretensions descended to them from Lewis XII. the natural heir of the duchy. Philip V. had likewise his claims founded upon the infeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain his predecessors; but these pretensions yielded to conveniency and public advantage. The emperor kept possession of the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which enjoins that the emperor should always grant the investiture of them, as lord paramount; otherwise he might, in process of

time, swallow up all the feudal dependencies of his crown.

By this treaty king Stanislaus renounced the kingdom, to which he had been twice elected, and in the possession of which his friends could not preserve him. He retained the title of king; but he wanted a more solid indemnity; an indemnity more advantageous to France than to himself. Cardinal Fleury seemed at that time contented with the duchy of Bar*, which was yielded to Stanislaus by the duke of Lorraine, and the reversion to the crown of France: but the then reigning duke of Lorraine was not to yield up his duchy, till put in full possession of Tuscany. Thus the giving up Lorraine depended upon many casualties; and thus very little profit arose from the greatest success and most favourable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to make his own use of these advantages: he demanded Lorraine upon the same terms with the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it: it only cost him a little ready money, and a pension of four millions five hundred thousand livres granted to Francis until the duchy of Tuscany should devolve to him. Thus the reunion of Lorraine with France, which had before been so

* The duchy of Bar, though but a poor equivalent for the crown of Poland, yields, nevertheless, a considerable revenue. It is surrounded now entirely by the French dominions, but was formerly subject to the dukes of Lorraine, and generally included within the limits of that duchy, until duke Charles III. was despoiled of his territories in 1633, by an edict of the parliament of Paris, and his dominions united to France in 1659, by an article in the treaty of the Pyrenees.

often tried in vain, was irrecoverably completed. By this proceeding a Polish king was transplanted into Lorrain, the reigning dukes of Lorrain were removed into Tuscany, and a second son of Spain mounted the throne of Naples. The medal of Trajan thus inscribed, *Regna assignata*, "kingdoms disposed of," might have been renewed by France.

The emperor Charles VI. thought he had gained considerably by this treaty: he had been labouring ever since the year 1713 to engage all the states of the empire, and the princes his neighbours, to guaranty the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter Maria Theresa, who had been married to the duke of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany, in 1736. The emperor hoped to see his almost expiring race revived in the person of his eldest daughter's son, which son might preserve the patrimony of the house of Austria, and rejoin it to the empire. With this view he had contributed to raise the elector of Saxony, who had married one of his nieces, to the throne of Poland by force of arms; and procured the guaranty of that famous act of succession, entitled The Caroline Pragmatic Sanction. It was guarantied by England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and the states of the empire: he even flattered himself that he should obtain an equivalent to a formal acceptation from the elector of Bavaria, which elector was on that account to intermarry with his niece, daughter of the emperor Joseph. In short, he thought he had secured every thing, when he had obtained the guaranty of France; although prince Eugene, a little before his death, had told him he ought

to have an army of 200,000 soldiers, and no guaranty.

He pressed the French ministry, however, to assure, by treaty, the order established in the Austrian succession; and they consented. The elector of Bavaria, who imagined he had lawful claims upon the Austrian succession, in prejudice to Charles the Sixth's daughters, intreated also the protection of the court of France, who was at that time of sufficient weight to settle all their rights. That ministry, in 1737, gave the emperor to understand, that by this guaranty nothing was intended that could injure the pretensions of the house of Bavaria; and they reminded him, that in 1732, when he prevailed upon the states of the empire to accede to this Pragmatic Sanction, he had formally declared he would not prejudice the rights of any person whatever. They entreated him to do justice to the house of Bavaria, and their remonstrances were for that time made in secret. Those sparks, which were so soon to cause a most dreadful combustion, were now concealed beneath the embers.

All the princes of Christendom were at peace, if we except the disputes just kindling between Spain and England about their American commerce. The court of France was still looked upon as the general arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor, without consulting the empire, made war upon the Turks. It was unfortunate to him; but the mediation of France saved him on the very brink of the precipice to which he had been driven. Mons. Villeneuve, her ambassador to the Port, went into Hungary, and in 1739 concluded a peace with the
grand

grand vizier, of which his imperial majesty stood in much need.

France almost at the same time restored peace to the republic of Genoa, menaced with a civil war: she likewise subdued and tempered the Corsicans, who had thrown off the Genoese yoke. The island of Corsica, which had long since assumed the title of a kingdom, had submitted, about the end of the thirteenth century, to the Genoese; a richer people, but less numerous, and less warlike. The Corsicans, who were always untractable, were now in open rebellion, under pretence of their being oppressed: their last insurrection had continued ever since 1725. A German gentleman, a native of the county of Marck, called Theodore de Neuhoff, having travelled all over Europe in search of adventures, chanced to be at Leghorn in 1736: he held a correspondence with the malecontents, and offered them his service. Being employed by them for that purpose, he embarked for Tunis, and returned to Corsica with a reinforcement of arms, ammunition, and money; whereupon he was declared king: he was crowned with a laurel wreath, acknowledged by the whole island, and carried on the war. The Genoese senate set a price upon his head; but being neither able to procure his assassination, nor yet to reduce the Corsicans, implored the emperor's protection. As this appeared a dangerous step, because the emperor, looking upon himself as lord paramount of Italy, would have set himself up as supreme judge between Genoa and the rebels; the senate had then recourse to France, who sent into that island successively count de Boissieux, and

the marquis de Maillebois, afterwards a marshal of France. Theodore * was driven out of the island, the malecontents quieted, at least for a while, and all things were peaceably settled.

While France was interposing her good offices between the Genoese and Corsicans, she was doing the same for Spain and England, who were just embarking in a sea war, much more destructive than the claims about which they had quarrelled were valuable. In 1735, France had employed herself in settling the disputes between Spain and Portugal; none of her neighbours had any right to complain of her; all nations looked upon her as their mediatrix and common parent.

* Some years after, this unfortunate person died, a prisoner for debt, in one of the jails in London, leaving a just stigma on the ill-timed penury of the British ad—st—.

C H A P. II.

The emperor Charles the Sixth dies : four powers dispute for the succession. The queen of Hungary acknowledged in her hereditary dominions. Silesia seized upon by the king of Prussia.

I N the month of October 1740, the emperor Charles VI. died at the age of fifty-five. It is necessary for princes, as the peace of their dominions depends upon their respective lives, to know that this monarch's death was occasioned by over-eating himself at an entertainment. It was accident brought him to the grave, and reduced the empire to the brink of destruction. As the death of the king of Poland, Augustus II. had caused great disturbances, it is evident that of Charles VI. the last prince of the house of Austria, must have produced far other revolutions. In the first place, Italy expected to become independent, a state to which it had long aspired. Several principalities, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, disclaimed this subjection. Rome especially, plundered by Charles V. severely treated by his successors, oppressed and fleeced by Joseph, brother of Charles VI. now flattered herself with the hopes of being delivered from the pretensions of the German emperors, who, ever since Otho I. have imagined themselves successors to the rights of the antient Cæsars ; and indeed the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces severed from the empire. In their pro-

to col they give the title of Majesty to no king whatever.

The elector of Cologne stiles himself Chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Triers assumes the title of Chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they chuse at Frankfort, is declared King of the Romans, though he has not the smallest jurisdiction in Rome; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces sufficient to compel the payment. Such a number of equivocal rights had been the source of all the calamities and subductions Italy had sustained for the space of seven hundred years. It seemed, therefore, probable, that the confusion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would give to Italy that extensive liberty of which the people were so very ambitious. The new revolution, which every body foresaw would follow from the extinction of the house of Austria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided betwixt several princes, all so potent, as to find it difficult to acknowledge a supreme head, or at least to leave that head possessed of the same authority as his predecessors had enjoyed.

It seems, therefore, that the inheritance of the house of Austria could not possibly avoid being dismembered. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had long been elective, but were rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria Anterior; of the Upper and Lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century;

century ; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgaw, the Four Forest Towns, the Brisgaw, Friuli, Tirol, the Milanse, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, these two kingdoms were possessed by Don Carlos. Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the law of nature, which pointed out her being called to her paternal inheritance, and on the Pragmatic Sanction, by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of so many princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession by virtue of the will of Ferdinand, the first brother to Charles V. By this will, Ferdinand, in default of male issue, named his eldest daughter the archduchess Anne, wedded to a duke of Bavaria, heiress to his dominions. From her the elector Charles was descended ; and as there were no male heirs left of the house of Austria, he claimed to inherit in right of his fourth ancestor.

Rights of a more recent nature were alledged by Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony : these were the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Maria Theresa looked upon the Pragmatic Sanction as a sacred and inviolable law, the archduchess, queen of Poland, had another Pragmatic Sanction previously regulated in her favour by the father of Joseph and of Charles. It had been settled in 1703, that the daughter of Joseph should inherit preferably to the daughter of the younger brother Charles VI. in case her two brothers should die without male issue. After Charles

mounted the imperial throne, he abolished this sanction; therefore they might set that which he had made aside, after his death. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights: but a renunciation of such a nature must be considered as compulsive, and consequently illegal. On every side they pleaded rights of blood, testamentary dispositions, family compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to the whole succession of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. a princess from whom Philip V. was descended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to see the house of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. Lewis XV. might have pretended to this succession by as just a title as any other prince, since he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and likewise by the wife of Lewis XIV. but it was his business rather to act as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this succession, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he entered the lists as a pretender, he would have had all Europe against him. This cause of so many crowned heads was published by public memorials in every part of the Christian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private person, that did

did not interest himself in the dispute; and nothing less was apprehended than a general war: But how greatly was human policy confounded, when a storm arose from a quarter where nobody expected it!

In the beginning of this century, the emperor Leopold, availing himself of the right which the German emperors had constantly attributed to themselves of creating kings, erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom in 1701, in favour of Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Prussia was only a large desert; but Frederic William II. its second king, pursued a plan of politics different from most of the princes of his time: he spent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were incumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he sent for families from Suabia and Franconia: he brought above sixteen thousand men from Saltzburg, and furnished them with all necessary implements of labour. In this manner, by forming a new state, and by extraordinary œconomy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he laid up constantly about sixty thousand German crowns, which, in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immense treasure: what he did not put into his coffers, he spent in raising and maintaining of fourscore thousand men, whom he taught a new kind of discipline, tho' he did not employ them in the field: but his son, Frederic III. made a proper use of his father's preparatives: every body knew that this young prince, having been in disgrace in his father's reign, had devoted all his leisure hours

to the culture of his mind, and to improving those extraordinary talents with which he had been blessed by nature. Those talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private subject, the public saw and admired; but neither his political nor military abilities were yet perceived; so that the house of Austria entertained no more distrust of him, than of the late king of Prussia.

He came to the crown three months before the succession of the house of Austria and of the empire was open: he foresaw the general confusion; and, upon the emperor's decease, he did not lose a moment, but marched his army directly into Silesia, one of the richest provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. possessed in Germany. He laid claim to four duchies, which his ancestors had formerly held by purchases, or by family compacts. His predecessors had repeatedly and solemnly renounced all pretensions thereto, because they were not in a condition to make them good; but, as the present king had power in his hands, he was resolved to reclaim them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, were all now busy about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria solicited France to procure him at least a share of the Austrian succession. He pretended indeed a title to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he durst not demand the whole by his ministers. Maria Theresa, however, the great duke of Tuscany's spouse, took possession immediately of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homages of the states of Austria.

Austria at Vienna, on the seventh of November 1740. Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy, presented their testimonies of allegiance by their deputies. But she particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians by consenting to take the antient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in 1222, and couched in these terms: "If I or any of my successors shall, at any time whatever, violate your privileges, be it permitted, in virtue of this promise, both to you and your descendants, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The greater the aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess-queen had always shewn to the performance of such engagements, the more this prudent step endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had so often attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in seditions, quarrels, and civil wars, they suddenly began to adore their sovereign. The queen was not crowned till some months after, which ceremony was performed at Presburg on the 24th of June 1741; yet her authority was not the less complete: she had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her ancestors had seldom practised; and she had laid aside that ceremonious and fastidious air, which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them any greater respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, never admitted any body to eat at her table; the niece admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of distinction; the deputies

ties of the states were at liberty freely to address her; she never refused audience, nor suffered any body to depart from her discontented.

Her first care was to secure to the grand duke her husband a partnership of her crowns, under the name of co-regent, without diminishing her sovereignty, or violating the pragmatic sanction. She mentioned it to the states of Austria the very day she received their oath, and soon after she compassed her design. This princess flattered herself in these beginnings, that the dignities with which she adorned the prince her husband, would have smoothed his way to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished and dispersed in the different parts of her vast dominions.

The king of Prussia proposed to her, at first, that she should yield the Lower Silesia to him; and, in that case, he offered her his whole credit, his assistance, his arms, with five millions of French livres, and also to guaranty the remainder of her dominions, and to settle the imperial crown upon her husband. The most experienced statesmen foresaw, that if the queen of Hungary refused such offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion; but the blood of so many emperors which flowed thro' the veins of this princess, would not suffer her even to think of dismembering her patrimony: she was weak, but intrepid; numbers of Austrians, who saw only the outward grandeur, but not the imbecility, of the court of Vienna, haughtily pronounced, that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire.

empire in six months. Even the ministers of this prince were frightened at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the state in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Silesia in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his standards, *Pro Deo & Patria*; but he struck out *Pro Deo*, saying, "That it was improper thus to intermix the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was concerning a province, and not concerning religion." He ordered the Roman eagle in relieve to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and borne before his regiment of guards, a step which carried with it the appearance of his being necessarily invincible. He harangued his army, endeavouring in every respect to resemble the antient Romans. Entering Silesia, he made himself master of almost the whole province of which they had refused him a part; but nothing as yet was decided.

Marshal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty-four thousand Austrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under a necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz near the river Neiss. Then it was that the Prussian infantry shewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than the Austrian, was entirely broken; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be lost; all the king's baggage was pillaged, and this prince, in danger of being taken, was carried;

carried away by the croud that surrounded him : but his second line of infantry set every thing again to rights, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed ; by their incessant fire, which is at least five times repeated in a minute, and by fixing their bayonets to their muskets in a moment. They gained the victory ; and this event became the signal of an universal combustion.



CHAP.

C H A P. III.

The king of France unites with the kings of Prussia and Poland to advance Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the imperial throne: that prince is declared a lieutenant general in the service of France: his election, his success, and very rapid losses.

WHEN the king of Prussia seized upon Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France. It was a mistake, which is often the case when we argue only from probabilities. The king of Prussia hazarded a great deal; this was his own acknowledgment: but he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was the apparent interest of France to favour her old ally the elector of Bavaria, whose father had formerly lost all by befriending her against the house of Austria. After the battle of Hochstet, this very Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, then in his infancy, was made prisoner by the Austrians, who stripped him even of his name of Bavaria. France found her account in avenging him. It seemed easy to procure for him at one and the same time the empire and a part of the Austrian succession. This was a step by which the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe; it also abolished the old rivalry subsisting between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria; nay, it was

was doing more than ever Henry IV. or cardinal Richelieu had hoped to compass.

This revolution, the foundation of which was not yet laid, was foreseen in the very beginning by Frederick III. of Prussia, on his setting out for Silesia: it is so true, that he had not concerted any measures with cardinal Fleury, that the marquis de Beaveau, who was then at Berlin, whither he had been sent to compliment Frederick on his accession in the name of France, knew not, on the first motion of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, on the point of his setting out, "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will divide." This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance.

The French ministry hesitated for some time. Cardinal Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was fearful of staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic sanction, to which he had acceded, and authentically guaranteed, restrained him; yet he might have been encouraged to it by former treaties with Bavaria. It is certain, this war, at which they afterwards so warmly inveighed, was loudly demanded by Paris and Versailles. I heard a man of great distinction say, "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These words were carried to the minister's ears, and piqued him very sensibly; nor did he give up the grand point, until he found it impossible longer to oppose those who were for carrying it into execution.

cution. About the end of December, the cardinal gave instructions to the count de Belleisle to prepare a plan for negotiating in the empire the means of carrying on a war to fix the elector of Bavaria in the imperial throne, and secure to him part of the Austrian succession. The count demanded eight days to consider of it, and then produced his scheme, of which he caused three copies to be made out, one of which was for the cardinal, another for the deposit of foreign affairs, and the third for himself.

If there could be any dependence on the designs of men, never did the execution of any project appear more certain. The count, afterwards duke de Belleisle, demanded, that before the month of June fifty thousand French should have passed the Rhine, and march towards the Danube. He insisted that in this army there should be at least twenty thousand cavalry. He entered, as was always his custom, into a long detail about the means of marching and subsisting those troops; and repeated in every page, that he would rather do nothing than do things by halves. They had near six months to prepare for a revolution, which the king of Prussia had already began in the midst of winter. Saxony seemed disposed to join with France and Prussia; the king of England, elector of Hanover, was to have been compelled to a neutrality by an army of forty thousand men in readiness to enter his German dominions on the side of Westphalia; while Belleisle's army was to have seconded Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologne
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also attached himself to this interest, being that of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector palatine, who ought to have obtained for his heirs the king of Prussia's renunciation of his rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, and this under the protection of France, was, more than all the rest, desirous of seeing Bavaria mount the imperial throne. Every thing united to favour his election : he was to be assisted in seizing upon Austrian Suabia and Bohemia ; for the imperial dignity alone would have been worth but little. This alliance was to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, son of Philip V. and nearly related to Lewis XV. into possession of Parma and the Milanese. In a word, in 1741 they wanted in a part of Europe, as they had done in 1736, to make a partition of the empire. The same thing had been meditated by England and Holland, conjunctively with France, some time before the death of Charles II. king of Spain.

Marshal Belleisle was sent to the king of Prussia's camp at Frankfort, and to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which, from the concurrence of so many princes, seemed infallible. He in every thing agreed with that august monarch, who, writing of him, says, " He never saw an abler man, whether in council or the field." He went from him into Saxony, and gained there such an ascendancy over the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, that he marched his troops before the signing of the treaty. The marshal negotiated every where in Germany ; he was the life and soul of that body, which was concerting means of bestowing empire and hereditary honours upon a prince who

could do nothing of himself. France gave at one and the same time to the elector of Bavaria money, allies, votes, and armies. He had promised twenty-eight thousand of his own troops, yet could scarcely furnish twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent the army he had promised him; and by letters patent created him his general, whom he was about to give as head to the empire.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa was scarcely able to oppose the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city governed by its bishop. This place separates the Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Higher Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm spread, and threw that city into confusion; they prepared as quickly as possible against a siege; one whole suburb, and a palace bordering upon the fortifications, were entirely destroyed; the Danube was covered with vessels laden with valuable effects, which were removing to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that ballance to which they had so long pretended. The states general viewed in silence marshal Maillebois's army, which was then in Westphalia; as did also the king of England, who was in some fears for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succour Maria

Theresa;

Theresa; and at the head of this very army, enlisted purposely to assist, he was obliged to abandon her, and sign a treaty of neutrality. His domestics were furnished with passports for themselves and their equipages by the French general to carry them to London, whither the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland. Not one of the princes, whether within the empire or without, at this time supported that Pragmatic Sanction, which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, poorly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and the state of public affairs, looked upon the taking of Vienna as a certainty; whereby the assistance which Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians, would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe.

This princess seemed to grow more and more courageous in proportion as her ruin seemed to be inevitable. She had quitted Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, who was yet in his cradle, and addressing them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself perfectly well, spoke nearly in these words: "Forfaken by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no resource but in
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your fidelity, your courage, and my own constancy; to your trust I surrender the daughter and son of your kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened, yet animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out at the same instant, "Let us die for our king Maria Theresa." *Pro rege nostro Maria Theresa moriamur.* They always give the title of king to their queen; and never, in fact, did princess better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her; her eyes alone were dry: but when she withdrew with her maids of honour, those tears, which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed, burst from her in abundance. She was at that time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorrain, these words, "I as yet know not whether I shall have a single town left, wherein to be brought to-bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians; England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money: she corresponded all through the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England was warmed in her favour: the English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they form theirs. A free gift for that princess was proposed by some private persons. The duchess of Marlborough, relict of that duke who had fought for Charles VI. assembled the principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance for this cause an hundred

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thousand

thousand pounds sterling, forty thousand of which she laid down herself. The queen of Hungary had the firmness to decline accepting of the money thus generously offered, and to wait for such sums as might be granted to her by the nation in parliament assembled. It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have advanced to the siege of Vienna. It is the opinion of the king of Prussia, that what the enemy fears should always be carried into execution. This siege was, however, not undertaken, and the enemy turned off towards Bohemia; perhaps it was because the season appeared too far advanced, or because it was intended to preserve a balance of power between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, by leaving Vienna and Hungary to the one, and the remainder of the German possessions to the other.

The French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and strengthened with twenty thousand Saxons, marched towards Prague in the month of November 1741; and count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother to the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily strength, as well as all his valour and sweetness of temper, was moreover endued with the greatest talents for war. From his reputation only, he was, by the unanimous voice of the people, elected duke of Courland: but Russia, having deprived him of the benefit of an election, to which he was presented by a whole province, he consoled himself in the service of France, and the social pleasures of a nation,

nation, which was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit*.

To form a proper idea of count Saxe's character, whose name will be delivered down to latest posterity, it is sufficient to observe, that being accused to the king of Prussia at this time of engaging in those petty disputes, which almost always divide the generals of the allied armies, he answered the charge in these words, addressed to general Schmittau: "Those who are acquainted with me, know that it is more my talent to break a lance in the field, than spin intrigues in a closet."

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a few days, or the enterprize abandoned. They were in want of provisions; the season was far advanced; and the town, though but poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attacks. General Ogilvy, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place, where he had a garrison of three thousand men. The grand duke of Tuscany marched with an army of thirty thousand men to its relief, November 25. He was already within five leagues of it, when the same night the French and Saxons made an assault upon the town. They made two attacks on one side, under cover of a desperate fire from

* The letter written by Maurice on this occasion to the king his father, who insisted upon his relinquishing his claim to Courland, notwithstanding he had been formally elected by the people, reflects equal honour upon his filial duty, his spirit, and his magnanimity. At all events he refused to abdicate, unless his subjects would absolve him from the oath he had taken to protect them; and offered to stand the shocks of the whole Russian empire, rather than suffer the least blemish upon his honour.

their artillery, whereby the whole garrison was drawn thither. In the mean time, count Saxe silently applied a ladder to the ramparts of the New Town, in a part very distant from the general scene of action; and the ladder not being long enough, they were obliged to make up the deficiency with hand-barrows. The first man that mounted was Mons. Chevert, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce: he was followed by marshal Broglio's eldest son. They reached the ramparts, and found only one centinel at some distance; crowds soon followed their example, and they made themselves master of the place. The whole garrison laid down their arms; and Ogilvy, with his three thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged; and what was very extraordinary, is, that the conquerors and the conquered were mixed together pell-mell for three days: French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, walked the streets in common, without distinction, or the shedding a single drop of blood.

The elector of Bavaria, who was just come to the camp, wrote to the king an account of this success in such terms as a general would address to the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the grand duke, finding subsistence fail in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of his army to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain. While these things were

were in agitation, the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province lying between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria Theresa seemed every-where lost: her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Lintz: he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague; from whence he went to Frankfort, and there was raised to the imperial throne under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had put a negative upon the vote of Bohemia in chusing an emperor, while that province remained to the queen of Hungary, pretending it was not what a woman had a right to. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might have availed himself of it; but being under no necessity of so doing, suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belleisle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than the ambassador of France: he had managed all the votes, and directed every negotiation: he received all the honours due to the representative of a king, who had given away the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who presides at the election, gave him the right-hand in his own palace: the ambassador paid that compliment to electors only, taking place of all the other princes. His full instructions were sent to the German chancery in French, though it had heretofore required those pieces to be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire. Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on the 4th of January.

1742. One would have thought him covered with glory, and at the summit of happiness; but the scene changed soon, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes upon earth.

The fault that had been committed by not providing a sufficient number of cavalry, began now to be felt. Marshal Belleisle lay sick at Frankfort; and could not besides, at the same time, conduct negotiations, and command an army at a distance. A misunderstanding began to gain ground among the allies; the Saxons complained much of the Prussians; the latter complained of the French; and they preferred complaints in their turn.

Maria Theresa was principally supported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; but, above all, by the desperate ardour of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was destroyed by fatigue, sickness, and desertion: and was with difficulty recruited. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than ten thousand men; yet in a short time found his forces increased to thirty thousand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced*.

The French army, which, on its entering Bohemia, should have amounted to forty-five thousand men, consisted, on its leaving France,

* The Swedish army under Gustavus Adolphus amounted to 26,000 horse and foot when he first landed in Germany.

of not more than thirty-two thousand, and in this number there was but eight thousand cavalry, whereas there ought to have been twenty thousand. Every day then weakened the French and strengthened the Austrian forces. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia at the head of thirty-five thousand effectve men; and every where favoured by the inhabitants. He commenced a defensive war very successfully, keeping the enemy in a state of continual alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and harassing them perpetually on every hand with crouds of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Sclavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save: they wear a long garment, and in their girdles stick several pistols, a sabre, and a poignard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a fusée, two pistols, and a sabre. The Croats, called in France *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The hussars are Hungarian cavalry mounted upon small horses, which are very light and hardy: they cut off posts that are weak, and not properly supported by cavalry, which was every where the case of the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops enough to preserve a vast extent of country, which he did not suppose the empress queen in circumstances to retake. It is easy to condemn the operations of war when they are unfortunate; but these misfortunes are seldom foreseen: yet, for a long time past, Marshal Belleisle had foretold them in all his letters from Frankfort.

“ They have left troops, said he, in the Upper Austria, which will be infallibly cut off.” He wrote thus to Monsr. Breteuil, then secretary of state in the war-department, the 17th of December, 1741 : “ I cannot help dwelling on this important subject : I assure you that the misfortune which I have so long foreseen, will inevitably happen : the first source of our misfortunes must arise from the mixture of nations among our soldiery, and their being scattered.” The marshal falling sick at Frankfort about the end of November, took immediate care to write to court, that it was necessary to send another general to take upon him the command of the armies. On the 8th of December, marshal Broglio, an old officer, bred under marshal Villars, and celebrated for many brave actions, set out for Straßburgh. On his arrival in Bohemia, he found the conquerors embarrassed with their acquisitions, and the Austrians possessed of all the posts in the southern parts of Bohemia. Upper Austria was guarded only by fifteen thousand Bavarians and eight or nine thousand French. Count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna, appeared suddenly in those quarters with garrisons drawn from such towns as he left behind him, the troops recalled from Italy, and twenty thousand Hungarians. Lieutenant-general count de Segur was then at Lintz, an open town into which the elector of Bavaria had thrown about eight thousand men *. General

* Lintz is far from being an open town : it is the capital of Higher Austria, defended on the one side by the Danube, and on the other by a strong citadel, in which the emperors have sometimes sought refuge against the Turks. Geographers take it to be the antient *Gesodunum*.

Khevenhuller

Khevenhuller advanced with thirty thousand fighting men under command of the grand duke. Segur's only resource was then to retire; but the elector had commanded him to defend a post, which it was not possible for him to maintain. He baricadoed the place, and prepared to resist the most vigorous assaults, hoping, on the other hand, that some diversion would be made by the Bavarians; but the latter were defeated and dispersed; and, instead of succouring Lintz, they lost Scharding.

The grand duke now appeared in person before Lintz, and summoned the French to surrender prisoners of war: on their refusal, he caused his troops to enter the place sword in hand, and burned down a part of one of his own towns, to bury the French in its ruins. Mons. Duchatel, a lieutenant-general, who died lately with the highest character for valour, probity, and spirit, came to treat with him on the part of the besieged. The grand duke insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. "Well then," said Duchatel, "since this is your resolution, begin again to burn the town, and we will begin to fire." The prince was softened, and allowed them to retire with the honours of war, on condition they did not serve again for a year.

The Hungarians, after this first success, immediately advanced, and retook Passau. They spread themselves over Bavaria on the Austrian side; while the Austrians entered it on the side of Tirol, and laid all waste from one end to the other. A partizan named Mentzel, known only by his brutality and depredations,

appeared suddenly before Munich with his hussars, and the capital of Bavaria surrendered to his summons. All these events followed rapidly each other, while the French prepared at Frankfurt for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. In short, the very day he was elected emperor, he received the account of the loss of Lintz; and was soon convinced, that he was left without capital or dominion.



CHAP. IV.

The relation of the emperor Charles VIth's misfortunes continued. The battle of Sahay. The French are forsaken by the Prussians, and afterwards by the Saxons. Marshal Maillebois' army make a fruitless march into Bohemia. Marshal Belleisle preserves the army at Prague.

FORTUNE now declared herself as much an enemy to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia, as in Upper Austria and Bavaria: the aspect of things was the more melancholy in three months time, because his affairs in Bohemia looked well; and, from the superiority of his allies, there was great probability of their being able to restore him to his dominions; for on the one side count Saxe had taken Egra, and thus the two extreme boundaries of Bohemia were maintained; on the other, Prince Charles, having given battle to the king of Prussia near Czaflaw in the heart of Bohemia, into which he had penetrated with his army, was totally defeated.

The Saxons were also in a condition to second the king, and to assist in preserving the conquests which had been made for the common cause by the French armies conjunctly with them. In the midst of these apparent advantages, marshal Belleisle, being recovered from his indisposition, hastened to the French army at Frankfort, commanded by marshal Broglio, and encountered the Austrians at Sahay, near Frauemberg, on the road to Prague. These

two generals differed in opinion, but were reunited by their zeal for the service. They lay that night on a mattrafs, and on the succeeding day fought one of the most sharp and glorious battles that had been known during the whole war, if glory may be said to be annexed to small events, happily conducted, and boldly supported, as well as to more decisive actions. Six hundred carabineers and three hundred dragoons, led by the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuse, attacked and routed a body of two thousand five hundred cuirassiers, commanded by prince Lobkowitz, though they were advantageously posted, and made a gallant defence. The duke de Chevreuse was wounded in three places. The duke de Broglio and all the officers gave to the soldiery a noble example, particularly M. de Malesieux, major of the carabineers, who drew them up in a manner that contributed much to the success of the day. The count de Berenger, at the head of the brigade of Navarre, did very signal service. This was not a great battle, but rather a trial of skill between the French and the Austrian generals, in which each combatant shewed prodigies of valour; and if it could not give great superiority to the French arms, it might at least have enhanced their reputation; but it was to no purpose; and they should have foreseen, that, notwithstanding all their apparent success, the pit was dug into which they were ready to fall.

The king of Prussia, dissatisfied with marshal Broglio, wrote to him a very haughty letter after the battle of Czaflaw; and added, with his own hand, this postscript: "I am quit with MY allies; for my troops have just obtained
a complete

a complete victory: it is your duty to make the best use of it out of hand, otherwise you may be responsible for it to YOUR allies."

It is scarcely possible to comprehend what he means by those words: "I am quit with MY allies." Marshal Broglio, in writing home to the prime-minister, observes, that the king of Prussia might have expressed himself more obligingly; but that he did not understand French: he understood it well, and his meaning was clear.

This monarch remained inactive after his victory at Czaflaw, and they could not conceive what his conduct imported. No advantages were reaped from the little affair at Sahay, and at length subsistence began to fail. There are instances in which the too great distance of a magazine, or the scarcity of one article of provisions, may occasion the loss of a kingdom. The arrival of the recruits expected from France was too late. The troops under marshal Broglio were so much diminished, that only twelve thousand men could be mustered at a review of forty-six battalions, which ought to have amounted to thirty thousand men.

The rest of the army was scattered; while prince Charles of Lorraine, and prince Lobkowitz, reunited their forces. To add to the misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals, as well as between those of the allies. Had the Prussians acted conjunctly with the French and Saxons, it is certain, that being possessed of Prague, Egra, and all the Northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaflaw and Sahay, they might have remained masters of Bohemia. Marshal Belleisle, to whom

whom the king of Prussia wrote daily with the most entire confidence, and rather like a friend than a king, waited upon that monarch in his camp, on the 5th of June, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cause. The king spoke thus to him: "I give you warning that prince Charles is advancing towards marshal Broglie; and that if proper advantages are not drawn from the affair at Sahay, I shall make a separate peace for myself." In a word, a treaty between him and the queen of Hungary had been for near a year on the point of conclusion; the negotiations had been renewed at Breslau and the Hague; the articles were at length settled, and nothing was wanting but to sign them. The only and best method of preserving an ally, is to be always strong enough to do without him; but marshal Broglie's army was so far from being in this happy situation, that it daily decreased by sickness and desertion.

They were forced to abandon all their posts, one after another; they daily lost their provisions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by our own soldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldaw, in pursuit of a body of troops under monsieur d'Aubigné, who retreated in disorder; he followed the French to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and thence to Beraun: these retreats cost the French at least as many men as a battle, and besides contributed to dispirit the troops. They were perpetually harassed in their precipitate marches by the hussars, their baggage pillaged, and every Frenchman that chanced to stray from his corps

corps was massacred without mercy. During this disorder of so many detached bodies every where flying before the enemy, marshal Broglie saved his army by making a resolute stand against the army of prince Charles, with about ten thousand men, by putting a deep river between them, stealing a march, and, at length, having collected all his forces, retiring towards Prague. This manœuvre was admirable, but did not at all restore his affairs. During the time that he was making so many efforts to prevent his being cut off by the united armies of prince Charles of Lorraine and prince Lobkowitz, he was abandoned by the king of Prussia. The first disgraces of the French arms in Bavaria and Bohemia gave rise to the treaty, the latter occasioned its being signed on the 11th of June 1742. The king of Prussia had, at a very proper opportunity, taken up arms to make an easy conquest of Silesia; and he was now willing, at as proper a time, to lay them down, in order to keep the largest and richest part of that province as far as the river Neiss.

The queen of Hungary, who, fifteen months before, might have prevented the war, and put the imperial crown upon the head of her husband, besides being supplied with troops and money at the king of Prussia's expence, by only giving up a part of that province, now thought herself very happy in ceding to Prussia much more than he had then demanded, and got nothing in return. She also parted with the county of Glatz to him; and if she did not secure him as an ally, she was, however, for some time freed from a formidable opponent.

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The emperor was abandoned by this treaty, and not the slightest mention made of France. Saxony, by one of the articles of peace, was to be comprized therein, provided that their forces separated from the French within sixteen days, reckoning from the time of signing the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew long before the stipulated term. The French remained alone the protectors of the emperor, and were the only troops exposed to danger. His only asylum was Frankfort, where he had been crowned. In vain did marshal Belleisle, though in a bad state of health, post from the Prussian camp to the court of Dresden; in vain did marshal Broglio assemble his troops, considerably recruited: there was but little subordination in his army; they saw themselves in a strange country, without allies or assistance; they had prince Charles to contend with, who commanded a superior army, and was beloved by his people. The advantage of speaking the language of the country in which a war is carried on is also very great; they receive quicker intelligence, and oftener. The national troops are favoured always, and foreigners betrayed. There was also another inconvenience, which is alone sufficient to destroy an army, and even a state. Marshal Belleisle, who arrived about the end of June from Dresden at Prague, had a commission as general in Bohemia; and marshal Broglio, who, at Prague, had under him part of the battalions destined for Bavaria, insisted on keeping the chief command, as his right, being the oldest marshal. Thus here were two generals, and the principal officers did

did not know which they were to obey. Cardinal Fleury continued marshal Belleisle in the command. The king's service did not, however, suffer from things remaining in this dangerous and doubtful situation, which is yet more rare than this division of authority.

The French, deserted as they were, saw themselves still possessed of the most important place of all their conquests. But while Bohemia was the theatre of these revolutions, the Hungarians lived in the capital of Bavaria, of which they were masters, with all the licentiousness and cruelty of an unbridled soldiery. The town was ransomed; yet the neighbouring villages were ravaged, and the people reduced to a state of desperation. The king of France did not abandon the emperor; he maintained him in possession of Prague and Egra; the duke of Harcourt, with fifteen thousand men, advanced to succour Bohemia; this diversion proved, for a very short while, the deliverance of Munich.

The Austrian general Khevenhuller having drawn together his forces, marched out of Munich, even so soon as the month of April. The inhabitants, who were highly incensed against them, rose upon and slew several of them at the very instant of their quitting the place; then shut the gates, though it was almost an open town, and entrenched themselves. But, in a few days afterwards, they were obliged to surrender for the second time, and to give up their arms. This cost several of the citizens their lives, who were slain by the Pandours; others saved themselves by sacrificing part of their private property. The Bavarian troops
were

were always beaten; the duke of Harcourt, with great difficulty, maintained himself on the banks of the Danube, against a superior enemy. The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon Prague; the two French marshals being reinforced, had got together in the town, or under the walls, after so many disasters, twenty-eight thousand men. June 27, 1742, prince Charles of Lorrain appeared before the place, with forty-five thousand men, besides eighteen thousand Hungarians under general Festitz, who advanced to him from Silesia, where they had been before employed, and whom the peace with the king of Prussia left at liberty to march wherever their sovereign's service required.

An army of sixty thousand fighting men had never before been seen laying siege to one of twenty-eight thousand; but the more numerous the garrison, and the more populous the town, the greater reason was there to expect that provisions and ammunition should fail. The queen left nothing undone which she thought might contribute to the retaking of her capital. She gave all the horses in her stable to draw the artillery and stores: her example was followed by her nobles, and they paid the waggoners for theirs in ready money. The hope of this court seemed to rise in proportion as she was exhausted.

The queen had made up an Amazonian dress, in which she proposed to enter Prague on horse-back, at the head of her victorious army; nay, so sure were they through all her dominions, that Prague must in a short time be taken, that an Austrian general in the Low Countries sent a servant from Brussels to Prague,

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on purpose that he might bring him the earliest account of the surrender of the place.

The French minister ordered marshal Belleisle to offer to evacuate the place to the Austrians, provided that all the French troops in Bohemia were permitted to withdraw; and that, on the other hand, all the Austrian troops should retire out of Bavaria. This proposition seemed the preliminary of a general peace: but it was far from being agreed to by the besiegers; for at their second conference, marshal Konigsegg declared to marshal Belleisle, that the queen his mistress absolutely hoped to make the whole French army prisoners of war. In Prague every thing began to fail but courage: about the end of July meat sold there for four livres a pound; horse-flesh was eaten at the very best tables; and, thro' scarcity of forage, they were forced to kill or abandon upwards of fourteen thousand horses to the enemy. The dukes of Biron, Chevreuse, Luxemburgh, Boufflers, Fleury, count Clermont de Tonnerre, brigadier general of horse, M. de Sechelles, intendant of the army, sent their plate to the mint of Prague to be coined for the subsistence of the officers and foldiers.

It was the unhappy fate of the French at Prague to find themselves far distant from their own country, among a people to whose language they were strangers, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to every kind of necessity, without any certainty of assistance, and to have no other subject of conversation than past mistakes and present dangers. One hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty-six mortars, were fired upon their entrenchments; but the

the Austrians, not having one good engineer among them, their works were but indifferently conducted; the trenches were too long and too large, and the French reaped some advantages from their errors; they made daily sallies, but the most memorable was that of the 22d of August: it was in reality a battle. Twelve thousand of the besieged attacked the besiegers, carried a battery of cannon, made two hundred prisoners, filled up the works, took general Monty, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded two thousand. In this engagement, the duke of Biron, the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, and the prince de Beauveau, were wounded. The marquis de Tessé, first equerry to the queen, and his lieutenant colonel, were killed near each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, the marquis de Molac, colonel of Berry, lost their lives at the same time.

This memorable action was dearly purchased, but threw the Austrians into such astonishment that they dared not afterwards carry on any of their feeble works, which scarcely deserved to be stiled fortifications: they contented themselves with firing ineffectually from their batteries, but made no breach. The place might rather be said to be invested than besieged; yet it was apparent that in the end the entire loss of the French both in Prague and Egra must be inevitable: there was but one way to relieve them, which was to send to their succour that army of about forty thousand men, which, under the command of marshal Maillebois, had obliged the king of England to sign an apparent neutrality.

neutrality, and at the same time awed both Holland and Hanover: but this army was about two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was proposed by the marquis de Fene-
lon, ambassador in Holland. It had its incon-
veniences, but was not yet without its advan-
tages. France can easily raise and subsist three
hundred thousand men for ten years, without
being drained, yet now there were scarce twenty
thousand men in the heart of that kingdom; so
that they were in the most perplexed situation.
They had, at different intervals, sent into
Germany the better part of two hundred and
twelve squadrons, and one hundred and seven-
teen battalions, and these had been from time
to time recruited: these troops, divided in
Prague, Egra, Bavaria, and the Upper Palati-
nate, were above half wasted away. Count
Saxe, who at that time commanded in Ger-
many, wrote word to court, that he had not an
hundred and fifty men left to a battalion.

In order to succour and disengage these dis-
persed, weakened, and almost annihilated armies,
it was debated to march towards the complete
and flourishing army of marshal Maillebois,
composed of forty-one battalions and sixty-five
squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thou-
sand Hessians, and three independent compa-
nies of foot and two of dragoons. It was ob-
vious, that if all these forces united had acted
with unanimity, and been assisted by Prussia and
Saxony, they must have in every thing suc-
ceeded. If marshal Maillebois had advanced
with his army along the banks of the Rhine to
penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France un-
guarded; so that even the Dutch might have
become

become formidable, and harrassed the frontiers with forty thousand men. The oldest and ablest generals were consulted upon this head. Marshal de Puisegur represented the difficulties and dangers of the proceeding, all which M. Noailles admitted; but yet insisted on the necessity of it. Marshal d'Asfeldt was also of the same opinion; and the king determined upon it, however hazardous, because necessary, convinced that great undertakings cannot be executed without risking great losses. But the route and manner in which this army was to be conducted still embarrassed them extremely.

The emperor Charles would have been glad that they were employed in his electoral dominions, where he himself had commanded them. He represented in writing, that, by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be set free; the siege of which the Austrians must infallibly raise, as soon as this army should reach the banks of the Danube: but the French ministry could never think of putting their only resource into the hands of an emperor, who had been so little able to defend himself. Cardinal Fleury wrote to dissuade him from it, in his letter dated August the 19th. The only reason which he alleges, is couched in these terms: "Would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage suited to his dignity?" This was a strange reason, and was far from corresponding with the king of France's allowing six millions yearly to his imperial majesty. Marshal Maillebois's inclination was to march his army to the succour of Bohemia, because he there expected to find greater plenty of provisions than on the barren desiles of Bohemia.

Marshal de Puisegur, seeing it was absolutely necessary that this army should march, thought their direction at least ought to be suited to the opinion of marshal Maillebois : but the favourite object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The intention of the cardinal was, that this auxiliary army should inspire with spirit the rest of the king's troops, while, in the mean time, he might try every method of making peace.

He felt the pulse of George II. whom he had, the preceding year, compelled to remain neuter in a cause which the English had much at heart. He had some hopes from this negotiation; but the time for it was elapsed. The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, who, in England, had guided the helm under the kings George I. and II. had been obliged, by the clamours of the people, to resign his employments, because he was of a pacific disposition. His greatest enemies agree, that never minister had better supported those great trading companies, which are the basis of the English credit; and none knew the art of managing the parliament better: but his best friends cannot deny, that he had applied the treasure of the nation to securing a constant majority in parliament, which no minister had ever done before him: he made no secret of this himself; and the author of these memoirs has heard him say, "I am master of a drug that will effectually correct all evil humours: it is sold only at my shop." These words, which convey no idea either of wit or elevated style, are expressive of his character. War had never been his taste: he always thought it would be the period of his power. "I can answer for it, said he, that I can govern

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the parliament in time of peace: I cannot undertake to do so in time of war." Cardinal Fleury had often taken advantage of his timidity, and thereby preserved the superiority in negotiating. This was laid to Walpole's charge by his enemies: incessant were the complaints still made against him for having so long delayed to declare war against Spain. To endeavour preserving peace to a trading nation is surely a strange sort of crime.

His enemies were not only the Tories, who always were directly opposite to the Whigs, but a conjunction of both, equally discontented, because they chose to be so*. This faction was denominated *the country party*; a kind of division not unlike that which has almost always subsisted in Poland, and been lately set on foot in Sweden; for in all countries jealousies and complaints are raised against the ministry; and if, in absolute monarchies, they evaporate into empty murmurs, yet, in mixed governments, they become real factions. The country party complained highly, that George II. had, by his treaty of neutrality, sacrificed the glory of Great Britain to the preservation of Hanover †, and laid the whole blame upon Walpole the then minister, who had no share in this necessary,

* Had M. de Voltaire understood the nature of this opposition as well as he pretends to understand it, he would have assigned a more substantial reason; which, indeed, was no other than a sense of national grievances, that had arisen from a corrupt ad——st——.

* They complained that ever since the accession of George I. the interests of England had been sacrificed to those of H——. But their loudest complaints were founded on the minister's passive behaviour, with respect to the Spanish depredations.

unpremeditated treaty, which was entered into only to be broke. Long before this treaty they had attacked him in parliament. Mr. Sandys, then a member of the house of commons, told him openly, on the 23d of February 1741, "Get yourself ready, for I shall impeach you in three days." "I accept the challenge, answered he, provided we fight honourably;" and, at the same time, repeated this line from Horace:

Nil conscire sibi, nulla palefcere culpa?

On the very day fixed, his accuser moved the house of commons to petition the king to remove Sir Robert Walpole for ever from his council and presence: at the same time, a motion of a similar nature was made by Lord Carteret in the house of peers. The question was put, and debated in each house till midnight. Never was there a piece of more manifest injustice than this of endeavouring to bring a man to punishment, before there were proofs that he had deserved it. Yet that which does not always happen, was at this time the case: the justest party carried it in both houses, and Walpole as yet kept his ground*. But the seven years, during which the English house of commons subsisted, being now at an end, and new representatives chosen, whereby the country party was considerably strengthened, the minister, who had for twenty years supported himself against so many enemies, found it time for him to retire. The king created him a

* For how long time? the motion was made in the latter end of February, and Sir Robert made his retreat by the middle of the next month.

peer of Great Britain, under the title of Earl of Orford; and three days afterwards he resigned all his employments. His enemies still proceeded against him legally: they insisted upon his accounting for thirty millions of French livres, said to have been expended in secret services during the term of ten years; and in this sum were included one million two hundred thousand livres, said to have been given to the political writers, and other persons who had employed their pens in favour of the ministry. The king, provoked at this accusation, evaded it by adjourning the parliament*; that is, suspended its sitting for some time by virtue of his royal prerogative.

That very lord Carteret who had accused Walpole in the house of peers, was now in the highest credit: he was employed by the king to convince the people he was in reality as much inclined to war as they were: thus he favoured their passions to strengthen his government.

Lord Carteret had been formerly secretary of state, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland: he was one of the most learned men in England, spoke several of the living languages fluently, but more particularly French and Spanish: he was bold and artful, active, indefatigable, and occasionally prodigal of public money: he was as much disposed, through taste and inclination, to war, as Walpole had been to peace: he did not succeed this minister in his post, which was that of high-treasurer under a different deno-

* The progress of the inquiry was stopped by the apostacy of those who had been most clamorous in the opposition to Sir R——t's administration.

mination; but resumed his former employment of secretary of state for the northern department; and was in higher estimation than the now earl of Orford had ever been*.

The cardinal made him some overtures for an accommodation, and even went so far as to propose that he should be the mediator; but lord Carteret only answered by engaging the parliament to raise supplies, to enable the king to levy troops; to take into his pay those of Hanover; to hire forces from Denmark and Hesse, who are always ready to sell their men to either side; to augment the queen of Hungary's subsidies; to purchase the alliance of Sardinia; to conduct a conspiracy at Naples; and to send fleets into the Mediterranean and America: he also proposed to procure for the king of England in Germany the cession in full property of the bishoprics of Osnabrug and Hildesheim; and, in fine, to make his master arbitrator in both hemispheres.

While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addressed the British court, whose tone was very imperious, he applied, on the other, to the general who besieged Prague: he wrote a letter, dated July 11, to field-marshal Konigseck, and it was delivered to him by Marshal Belleisle, in which he excuses himself from having consented to the present war; and says he had been hurried out of his own measures. "Many people," such are his own words, "know how firmly I

* This surely was not the case. No minister since the revolution had equalled Sir Robert in power and influence. As to lord C——t, his authority was so ill established, that in a few years after this period he was compelled to resign by his subordinates in the ad——n.

opposed the resolutions we have taken ; and that I was as it were compelled to acquiesce with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed, not to guess at the man who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league very contrary to my liking, and my principles." The queen of Hungary only answered by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to see the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place, he threw evidently the whole blame of the war upon the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with count Konigseck ; and to render his person odious, was not the way to make his negotiation successful : secondly, it plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry ; and he must have a very slender knowledge of mankind, who could not foresee advantage would be taken of this weakness ; that it would inspire the allies of France with indifference, and give her enemies more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains of this publication to the Austrian general ; and says, " He shall not hereafter be so forward in writing to him." This second letter did him more hurt than the first : he disavowed them both in the public papers ; and this disavowal, whereby no-body was deceived, crowned all those imprudent proceedings, which less severe judges will be apt to excuse in an old man, aged 87, and perplexed with a series of ill success. At length the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly referred to secularising the two bishoprics above-mentioned in favour of Hanover. The English minister

minister did not look upon the emperor's interposition in the least necessary towards obtaining these bishoprics. His proposals were insulted by being made public. The emperor was under a necessity of disavowing his offers of a peace, as Fleury had been compelled to disown the war.

The dispute now grew warmer than ever: France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, tho' principals in fact, strove to hold the balance of Europe sword in hand. In spring, 1742, the court of England marched into Flanders sixteen thousand English troops, as many Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians, which, united to about fifteen thousand Austrians, made up a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stair, an officer who had been formerly bred under the great duke of Marlborough, and who in 1715 had been ambassador to France.

England endeavoured, before she should strike a blow, to engage Holland to take part in the dispute; but the states general rigidly adhered to their treaty, which obliged them only to supply the queen of Hungary with money: nothing could induce them, at this time, to furnish troops. Holland was divided into two parties; one was for preserving peace, the other breathed nothing but war. There was, however, a third, as yet but little known, who wished for a change in the government by advancing a stadtholder; but this party, though acquiring strength daily, did not dare openly to declare itself before the other two. The love of liberty still prevailed over the obligations they had to the blood of the Nassaus, and over the intrigues of

the prince of Orange. These principles, this division of people's minds, that dilatoriness common to all republics when their danger is not very pressing; all these reasons united to prevent the Dutch from joining their forces to those of the queen of Hungary and king of Great Britain.

The parties which divided the republic seemed rather to arise from difference in opinion, than influence in faction. That turbulent spirit, which, in circumstances not very dissimilar, had excited the people to massacre the De Witts, seemed no longer to subsist: the grandson of the pensionary De Witt, as averse to war as he was, went quietly on foot to council. They never had one tumultuous debate; but then they had no one fixed project; and when the states had taken the resolution to augment their forces at all hazards with twenty thousand men, not one of the regency as yet knew whether or no they were determined for war.

Lord Carteret arrived at the Hague to forward this measure: lord Stair, who commanded the English army at Brussels, also set out for that place, to influence the Dutch in the same cause: the duke d'Arenberg, not less eager than these, added his vague solicitations. Lord Stair was strong enough to penetrate, without their assistance, into France: his army, including the Austrians, amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, with which his intention was to have seized upon Dunkirk; the fortifications of which were very weak on the land side, owing to the sandy nature of the soil. It is certain that France was in pain for this town; for the fortifications of its harbour, according to the
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loud and incessant representations of the English at the Hague, had been restored; and they cried out for vengeance on account of this pretended infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Marshal de Puisegur advised cardinal Fleury to sequester the place into the hands of the Dutch, until a peace was concluded: a proposal so frank, at the same time that it was very artful, ought to have engaged the Dutch to act as mediators, and never to have declared themselves enemies to France.

This proposal was made to them by the marquis de Fenelon; but the English party, tho' it had not sufficient authority to force Holland into a war, had yet weight enough to hinder them from accepting of an honour, whereby they must have been necessarily obliged to remain neuter. In the mean time, these things could not have hindered the allied army at Brussels from entering France: but the king of England wanted to temporise, and to wait the absolute determination of Holland; which was one of the greatest mistakes that had been made during the war. I was myself a witness of the astonishment and grief of lord Stair, who said the king his master had missed an opportunity which would never offer itself again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or on the Rhine. The general attention was fixed upon Bohemia. The marshals Broglie and Belleisle were still masters of Prague, and still besieged. Marshal de Maillebois's army marched through Westphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, to their assistance. Prince Charles, on receiving the news of this march,

turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, and hastened to the defence of Bohemia.

It was about this time that a partizan named Trenk, at the head of a number of Pandours, Talpashes, and Croats, seized upon Chamb, a little town on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, which still held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the sword; and after having abandoned the place to be pillaged, and appropriated to himself three hundred thousand florins, which had been therein deposited, he reduced the town to ashes. This same banditti meeting with a convoy of sick French, guarded by a few soldiers, massacred both soldiers and sick, without distinction. During the whole war, the Hungarian irregulars behaved every-where with the same sort of savage ferocity.

All France dreaded the same fate for both Prague and Egra; but they had great hopes from the army of marshal Maillebois. The news of the siege of the former being raised, and turned into a blockade, gave new spirits to the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a transitory satisfaction from being presented, by the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, with some standards taken from the Austrians in the different sallies made from the place, which were indeed rather so many real battles, and in which that prince had particularly signalized himself. At length this auxiliary army arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia about the beginning of September: every thing hitherto had been happily conducted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body
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he commanded in Bavaria, which did not really amount to more than twenty-seven thin battalions and thirty squadrons; but these were a considerable addition to the new army. Count Saxe, who had already the character of an officer who let no opportunity that offered slip him, had just escaped from Bavaria, where count Khevenhuller had held him, as it were, shut up; and, by a dexterous march, was advancing towards the frontiers of Bohemia on the one hand, while Broglio approached them on the other.

The duke de Harcourt, with a detachment from count de Saxe's troops, had already taken the little town of Plan, on the western extremity of Bohemia, and made therein four hundred prisoners of war. Count de Saxe, after having evacuated Plan, and taken another post called Elnbogen, joined the grand army. They were soon after in sight of the Austrians, and might have given them battle; but it was a hazardous step; for, had they been beaten, they had neither retreat nor certainty of subsistence. The minister had written twice in these terms to M. Maillebois: "Avoid hazarding the honour of the king's army; and come to no engagement, the success of which can be in the least doubtful."

There was not only an impossibility of coming to an action with absolute certainty of success; but also, the enemy having plundered a magazine, the difficulty of obtaining subsistence daily increased. There was an intention of opening a road towards Prague, by the way of Caden, on the river Eger, and leaving Egra and Elnbogen behind them: were they once posted at Caden,

the road to Prague seemed free, and provisions might have been easily received from Saxony. Moreover, marshal Broglio had posted the marquis d'Armentieres with some troops at Leutmeritz. Leutmeritz is a small town, lying half way between Caden and Prague; and here the Eger falls into the Elbe. Every thing depended upon the post of Caden; and at Paris this important military operation exhausted all their conjectures and remarks. Never was the conduct of generals censured with more precipitation and severity; and it has ever since been questioned, whether or no the troops were ever at Caden.

I here present you with a detail of the fact, as it has been incontestibly declared by the general himself. It may, perhaps, be of little consequence to posterity: at present, however, it is interesting. October the 22d count Saxe detached some troops towards Caden, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the enemy might have passed. One independent company had already entered the place, and broke down the bridge: the Austrians came up, almost in the same instant, repaired the bridge, and made themselves masters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of marshal Broglio and M. Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Caden led through a defile, which it seemed impossible to penetrate. Bohemia is surrounded by a chain of craggy mountains, through which there are only some narrow passes or defiles, in which an hundred men may put a whole army to a stand. They had only bread enough left to last till the

24th of October; so that M. Maillebois was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat a-piece. They attempted to pass the defile of Caden; but found it impracticable to bring up the artillery. The waggoners deserted: their places were supplied by soldiers; but their progress was not in the least quickened. Discontent, want of discipline, misunderstanding, desertion, every thing conspired against their march.

A council of war was held on the 17th of October, and all the general officers declared for retreating: count d'Etrées, who was in Egra, sent his opinion in writing. "For my part, said he, we must either assemble all our forces and fight, or else proceed no farther: we have no alternative." The rest advised, what had often been proposed before their march into Bohemia, to turn off towards the Danube, and thereby alarm Austria. Thus the army could hardly set foot in Bohemia; but fatigued and diminished by a long and painful march, they returned towards Bavaria. It was, however, better for that electorate to have these new troops, which, joined to those of count Saxe, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand fighting men. The court sent M. Broglio to command them.

This general passed through Saxony, with five hundred horse, November 12: he arrived at Nuremberg, and at Dengelsing in Bavaria, on the 22d, where he took upon him the command of the army. Marshal Belleisle remained at Prague, where he engaged the close attention of the Austrians. The auxiliary army,

now of consequence, was superior in Bavaria. Munich was a second time relieved, and the emperor entered it again. That prince had still between ten and twelve thousand men. They were masters of the Danube for upwards of thirty leagues; that is to say, from Ulm almost to Passau. In Bohemia they still kept Egra and Prague; and the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony, was still in their hands. The affairs of the emperor might have been re-established; but Leutmeritz was soon after taken, and marshal Belleisle found himself shut up in Prague, together with his whole army, now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without money, subsistence, or hope of succour: he had nothing to hope, but from himself, and the good disposition of his officers, who none of them fell short of what he expected. In a letter, dated October 28, he says; "I cannot, on this occasion, sufficiently praise the zeal of the dukes de Chevreuse and Fleury, and the marquis de Surgeres, who sold every thing they had left to remount the dragoons."

Marshal Belleisle, seconded by his brother, brought provisions into Prague, opened the passes, beat the enemy's parties, and kept them at least six leagues distance all round him: he established an exact police in the town; and, what was not the smallest of his labours, caused an exact discipline to be observed among his troops.

When we examine the memoirs of this siege, and see the extremities to which they were reduced, the loud and incessant complaints among the troops, the series of dis-
appointments,

appointments, their want, and the accumulated miseries whereby they were discouraged, it is astonishing to think whence this general could draw his resources. M. de Sechelless wanted money, and yet he never let the hospitals want. In this place the most immediate assistance was necessary: above twenty soldiers died daily, one after another, during the whole month of June. These and many other losses presented themselves continually to the minds of the soldiers, terrified with their present evils, and a prospect of what were to come, which imagination never fails to heighten considerably.

They were thus cruelly situated in the month of November, when the ministry ordered marshal Belleisle to attempt the evacuation of Prague, even in sight of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote word, that he had taken such measures as enabled him to obey any orders that might be given him, and he would undertake to hold out four months longer, in case he were commanded to do so; but if the ministry thought it more expedient that he should withdraw with his troops out of Prague, he would conduct them in safety to Egra, in spite of the enemy's army, and the extreme rigour of the season. The court preferred the latter proceeding, and it was accordingly carried into execution: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry; his dragoons were formed out of the artillery horses; he had covered waggons to carry provisions; he wanted for no manner of conveniency; but the danger was extreme.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz had distributed his army in such a manner that they surrounded the town; the inhabitants of which were so many spies on the motions of the French. In the mean time, the weather grew daily more cold, and became almost intolerable. There were upwards of two thousand soldiers sick in the place, and the marshal himself had been a long while in so bad a state of health, that he could not mount on horseback; yet, in the midst of all these conspiring obstacles, he fixed on the night of the 16th or 17th of December, 1742, to make his retreat. In order to secure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive prince Lobkowitz, but also the inhabitants of the place, and his own people: to this end, he was continually sending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered waggons; so that the surprize should be less when he chose to evacuate the place, which must be done with such an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his intended departure, the gates of the town were kept shut; and having caused a report to be spread, that he was to sally out and make an expedition on such a quarter, he made his retreat by another road; whereby he gained upon prince Lobkowitz a march of twenty-four hours, keeping his people all the while in order of battle, and followed sometimes by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy chanced to present themselves. He forced their quarters, repulsed their cuirassiers, and opened for himself, with a body of eleven thousand

thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred horse, a passage through the country, that had been entirely unknown. The retreat was continued for ten days through ice and snow. The enemy's cavalry harrassed them perpetually on their march, appearing always somewhere either in front, rear, or flank, and were continually repulsed: could they have possessed themselves of the provisions, Belleisle's whole army had been destroyed.

To prevent this misfortune, his corps marched in five divisions, each of which had under its care its respective share of provision and ammunition. On the third day prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of cavalry, on the other side of a plain where they might have come to an engagement. He held a council of war, in which it was resolved not to attack an army, who, if forced to it, must certainly fight with that sort of despair that renders courage invincible: he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French by breaking down the bridges on the Eger, over which they must necessarily pass.

Marshal Belleisle chose, however, a road which would have been, in any other season, impassable: he marched his army across some frozen morasses. The cold was his greatest enemy, for he lost by that alone above eight hundred soldiers. One of the hostages which he brought with him from Prague expired in his coach. At length he arrived at Egra, on the twenty-sixth of December, having performed a journey of thirty-eight leagues. That very day the troops that remained behind in Prague made a glorious capitulation. The same monsieur de Chevert,

Chevert, who had been the first in mounting the walls of the place, had been left to command therein with a garrison of about three thousand men, one third of whom were sick. He took hostages from the town, shut them up in his own house, and lodged several tons of gunpowder in his cellars, fully resolved to blow himself and them together into the air, in case the citizens should offer him the least violence. This intrepid conduct contributed not a little to those honourable conditions which he obtained of prince Lobkowitz. He was allowed to march his garrison to Egra, with all the honours of war, the sick excepted, who, not being able to follow him, were obliged to submit to the hard fate of becoming prisoners of war, though their behaviour merited a much better fate. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in half-an-hour, was now happily evacuated after a siege and blockade of five months. The French being now left alone, without allies, could not preserve Bohemia to the emperor ; but they restored him to the possession of Bavaria.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

The state of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs between England and Spain. Commercial interests. What share Italy took in the troubles which arose after the death of Charles VI. The share taken therein by Holland. Death of cardinal Fleury.

IN the space of two years, reckoning from the death of the last Austrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have seen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, taken and retaken; Prussia and Saxony united with France, until the treaty of Breslau, made in June the same year, and becoming afterwards neuter; while the other princes of the empire remained silent. In the same year also, George II. king of England, elector of Hanover, began openly to break the neutrality to which he had been forced to accede; and his troops in Flanders, to the amount of forty-eight thousand men, tho' as yet in a state of inaction, were, however, in readiness to act. The Austrian army was in possession of all Bohemia, Egra excepted. There were still fifty thousand French in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, under marshal Broglio, against a like number of the enemy; so that it was yet doubtful whether the Bavarian emperor, assisted by France, should conquer, or whether he should preserve his patrimony, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be remarked, that since the month of August 1741, France had sent to the emperor's assistance,

assistance, at different times, one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight troops of light horse, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians; to all which may be added the Bavarians themselves, who were paid by France, who likewise raised, about the year 1742, thirty thousand militia, deducted from the people of different departments, in proportion to their number. And here it is not amiss to observe, that the department of Paris furnishes only fourteen hundred and ten men; while Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety; a proof that this province is to be considered as the more populous.

France had also at the same time other resources; for besides what she paid to the Hessians and Palatines; besides six millions yearly given to the emperor; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark, to prevent that crown from furnishing troops to the king of England; she also still retained Sweden in her pay, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia; and had it not been for this war, the court of Petersburg might have assisted the Austrians, as she afterwards did, with thirty thousand men.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make both at home and abroad: she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland was far from cordially supporting the interests of her king, the elector of Saxony; and that elector, since his peace with the queen, concerned himself no farther in the quarrel of the empire. The grand signior, standing in awe of Schah-Nadir, who had usurped the throne of Persia, and conquered
part

part of Asia, no longer disturbed the kingdom of Hungary. Such was the state of affairs in the Northern and Eastern parts of Europe, and in the Southern and Western parts, in which latter I include France and Italy.

Spain exhibited another scene, wherein England was a principal actor, as well with regard to that balance of power which she had always affected to hold, as her commerce, in which was her more real and sensible interest. We have already observed, that after the happy conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, the English, who were left in possession of Minorca, as well as of Gibraltar in Spain, had obtained privileges from the court of Madrid which had been denied to the French, her defenders. The English merchants were permitted to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, whom they purchased in Africa to make slaves of in the new world. This trade of one species of mankind selling those of another species, at the duty of thirty-three piastres a-head, paid by way of duty to the Spanish government, was attended with considerable profit; for the English company had obtained this advantage, that in the sale of four thousand eight hundred negroes, the eight hundred were vended duty-free. But the greatest advantage which was granted to the English, exclusive of all other nations, was a permission given them in the year 1716, to send a vessel annually to Porto Bello.

This vessel, which was by the first agreement to be only five hundred tons burthen, was by convention in 1717, encreased to eight hundred, which by abuse and connivance was
in

in reality swelled to a thousand; so that it was fit to contain two millions weight of merchandize; these thousand tons were yet the smallest part of the commerce which this company carried on. The vessel was followed by a pinnace, which went to and from her continually, under pretence of supplying her with provisions. This pinnace took in constant loadings at the British colonies, which she unburthened at the ship; which being thus constantly replenished was as good as a whole fleet. She was, besides, supplied by other vessels, who landed on the American coasts such kind of commodities as the people were in want of *. This was doing great injury to the Spanish government, as well as to all the nations concerned in the commerce carried on between the ports of Spain and the gulph of Mexico.

The Spanish government in return treated the English traders with severity; and severity is always carried to too great a length. The innocent were sometimes confounded with the guilty: the debts lawfully due to some people were detained, because others had made unjust gains. There were violent complaints on both sides. Many of the English carried on a piratical trade with impunity: they encountered some Spaniards on the coast of Florida, who were fishing for the treasure of the wrecked galleons, of which they had already recovered four hundred thousand piastres. Part of these people they killed, and carried off the

* Certain it is, many abuses were committed, though perhaps not so flagrant as our author has represented them.

money.

money *. The Spaniards demanded satisfaction for this and other acts of violence of the English governors in America. These buccaneers used often, when they had seized upon a Spanish ship, after having plundered it, to sink it with the crew, that no testimony of their crime might survive. At other times they were wont to dispose of the Spaniards as slaves in their colonies; and when these unhappy people solicited the English government to do them justice, those who had sold them were acquitted from punishment, because they affirmed, that, misled by their swarthy complexions, they mistook the Spaniards for negroes. The judges understood, and winked at the aggressors, in whose plunder they shared, and who were then said to have been tried by their peers.

The Spanish guarda-costas often avenged themselves of these cruel hostilities: they took several English vessels, the crews of which they treated very ill. A negotiation was carried on, both at Madrid and London, for putting an end to those quarrels in America. By the convention of Pardo, made January 14, 1739, Spain having settled her account with the English South-Sea company, promised to pay thereto, in four months, ninety thousand pounds; first deducting therefrom what the company was in other respects indebted to Spain. This deduction furnished fresh matter

* These are particulars which we never heard of before; but granting them to be true, the English government was not accountable for the actions and outrages of pirates, who are under the protection of no laws, and declared enemies to all nations.

for a broil; and the settling of the accounts of a commercial company was productive of a war which cost on each side a thousand times more than what either demanded.

In 1739, the captain of a ship, named Jenkins, presented himself to the house of commons in England: he was a plain open man, and had not, as it was said, carried on any illicit commerce, but was met by a Spanish guarda-costa within a certain boundary in America, where the Spaniards would not permit the English to navigate. The Spanish commandant, having seized upon Jenkins's ship, put the crew in irons, slit the captain's nose, and cut off his ears. In this condition he appeared before the parliament, and related his story with that simplicity which is natural to his profession and character. "Gentlemen, said he, when they had mangled me thus, they threatened me with death: it was what I expected: I recommended my soul to God, and the avenging my cause to my country." These words, pronounced with a natural emphasis, excited sentiments of pity and indignation in the whole assembly; and the common people wrote upon the door of the parliament-house, "A free sea, or a war."

It has been already observed, that the minister Walpole wanted to reconcile these differences: his enemies endeavoured to augment them: never was any subject handled with more real eloquence than this was in the house of commons of England; nay, I doubt whether the studied orations formerly delivered in Athens and Rome upon occasions almost similar, excelled the speeches now spoken extempore by Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole,

Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, since created earl of Bath. These discourses, which naturally arise from the English government and spirit, often amaze strangers, just as some commodities are capitally prized abroad, which in the country that produces them are but little valued : but these productions must be cautiously perused, as the spirit of party dictates the whole, and the true state of the nation is almost always veiled. The ministerial party paint the government as being in a very flourishing condition ; the opposite faction represent the nation to be in a ruined state. Exaggeration triumphs in both. A member of parliament at that time wrote thus : " Where are those days in which a secretary of war declared, that no power in Europe should dare to fire a single cannon, without permission being first obtained from Great Britain ? "

At length the voice of the nation determined the resolution of the king and parliament. Letters of reprisal were granted to the merchants and privateers. War was declared against Spain in form about the latter end of the year 1739. The ocean now became the theatre of a war in which the privateers of each nation were authorised, by letters patent, to attack the merchant-ships both in Europe and America ; thereby reciprocally ruining that commerce, for the preservation of which they were supposed to fight. They soon proceeded to greater hostilities.

In 1740 admiral Vernon entered the gulph of Mexico, where he attacked, took, and razed to the ground, Porto-Bello, the staple of the treasures of the new world ; and thus did he
open

open a channel by which the English, sword in hand, carried on that commerce, which had heretofore been pronounced clandestine, and was the occasion of the rupture. The English looked upon this expedition as one of the greatest services that could be done to the nation. The admiral was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament. They wrote to him in the same terms which had been addressed to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hochstet*. South Sea stock arose after that action, notwithstanding the immense expence of the nation. The English now hoped for nothing less than the conquest of all Spanish America: they supposed that nothing could resist the arms of Vernon; and shortly after, when that admiral went to lay siege to Carthagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking of the place; insomuch that, at the very time in which he was forced to raise the siege, a medal was struck in London, on which were to be seen the harbour and environs of Carthagena, with this inscription: "He has taken Carthagena." The reverse exhibited admiral Vernon and this motto: "To the avenger of his country." There have been many instances of these premature medals, whereby posterity might be deceived, if the errors were not removed by the more faithful and more exact reports of history.

Although the French navy was very weak, it was, however, sufficient to stop the progress

* The reduction of Porto Bello, which did not cost the lives of ten men, was magnified into a great exploit by the spirit of party; but the admiral who took it had not talents to maintain the reputation which he had so easily acquired.

of the English, and squadrons were sent by France to protect the vessels and coasts of Spain. It was contrary to the law of nations, should the English, as they had not broken with France, have attacked her flag; but they eluded this artifice with a new kind of policy: they twice pretended to mistake the French for Spanish ships. Six of their ships of war attacked the chevalier d'Epinay off St. Domingo, who had but four, each of which carried less metal than any of the English; but, finding themselves very roughly handled, they drew off, pretending to have found their mistake, and asking pardon *. Fighting by mistake was an action that had never been known before. They behaved in the same manner to the chevalier de Caylus in the Straits of Gibraltar: he gave them as warm a reception, though he had but three ships against five. Thus did they try each other's strength, without being declared enemies. Now the new political system began

* M. de Voltaire is very much mistaken if he thinks the English commanders had orders to prosecute hostilities in this manner. The two incidents he mentions arose from a scrupulous adherence to punctilio. The English captains expected and demanded a compliment which they thought due to the British flag; and this being refused, hostilities ensued. He is also mistaken in two other particulars. In the affair off St. Domingo, the number and strength of the ships on both sides were equal, if we may believe our own eyes, which were witnesses of this transaction; and, according to the best accounts we could receive, the French were much more roughly handled than the English. This was also the case in the affair between captain Barnet and the count de Caylus; Barnet had but two ships, and Caylus had three. It is a mortifying reflection to think how historical truth is weakened through the medium of national vanity.

to be set on foot, of making war in the time of profound peace; of committing hostilities in one part of the world, and of manifesting mutual friendship in another; also of keeping ambassadors in an enemy's court. These sort of proceedings were in some measure consoling to the people, and carried at least marks of moderation, which gave them room to hope for public unity and concord.

This was the state of affairs between France, Spain, and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. involved Europe in fresh troubles. We have already seen the effects in Germany of the dispute between Austria and Bavaria. Italy was soon ravaged on account of this Austrian succession; the Milanese was reclaimed by the Spaniards; Parma and Placentia were, by right of birth, to devolve upon one of the sons of the queen of Spain, she being born princess of Parma.

King Philip V. wanted therefore to secure the duchy of Milan to his third son †. It would have alarmed Italy too much if Parma and Placentia had been disposed of in favour of Don Carlos, who was already master of Naples and Sicily. Too much dominion in the hands of the same sovereign would have given a general uneasiness. For this reason Milan and Parma were designed for the infant Don Philip.

The queen of Hungary, who was in possession of the Milanese, used her utmost efforts to keep it. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, also revived his claim upon that province: he

† It was the wife of this prince, whose restless ambition embroiled Italy in order to obtain a settlement for her son Philip

feared seeing it in the hands of the house of Lorraine, engrafted on the house of Austria, who possessing, at the same time, the Milanese and Tuscany, might be strong enough to deprive him of the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he was still in greater dread of seeing himself hemmed in by France and a prince of the house of Bourbon, while another prince of that family sat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily. January 1, 1742, he caused to be printed and published a manifesto, in which he stated his claims; but, in the month of February, he resolved to act conjunctively with the queen of Hungary, without being upon good terms with her in the main: they only united against the present danger. This was the only advantage they proposed. The king of Sardinia reserved to himself the choice of adopting other measures, whenever he should think proper: this was a treaty between two enemies, intended only to defend themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who neither chose to have him as a friend nor a neighbour. Cardinal Fleury allowed the infant and part of his army to pass through France, but refused to furnish him with troops: he thought it was enough to have sent fleets to America.

This minister seemed to be now afraid to grant twelve thousand men to a prince of the house of Bourbon and Lewis XV's son-in-law; and yet, about a year before, he had marched two armies of forty thousand each into two different parts of Germany for the service and assistance of the elector of Bavaria. Sometimes

we do too much, and at others are fearful of doing ever so little. The reason of his acting thus was, that he flattered himself the duke of Savoy might be regained, who was politic enough to leave him room to hope for it; besides, he did not at this time chuse to fall out with the English, who would have infallibly declared war; for in the month of February, 1742, the parliament of Great Britain granted forty thousand sailors to the king, at four pounds sterling for each man monthly: they also allowed him considerable subsidies, always expressly recommending to him the care of the balance of power in Europe. There was a considerable English fleet in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and one still stronger off Brest. Cardinal Fleury, who had hitherto always maintained the ascendancy over the English in negotiating, and relied much upon his superiority in the cabinet, had neglected the marine. The continental revolutions, which commenced in Germany, were of such a nature, as not to leave him at liberty every-where to brave the maritime powers.

The English openly opposed the establishment of Don Philip in Italy, under pretence of preserving the balance of power. In 1702, indeed, they had viewed the balance of power in a different light: it was then they entered into a war for giving to the archduke Charles the crown of Spain, the new world, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders; while his brother Joseph was possessed of Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and many other dominions, as well as being seated on the imperial throne.

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In a word, this same balance of power, whether well or ill understood, was become the favourite passion of the English: but the minister had his eye upon a much more secret interest. One of his views was to force Spain to divide with England the trade of the new world: at this price they would have assisted Don Philip to enter Italy, as they had succoured Don Carlos in 1731: but the court of Spain did not chuse to enrich her enemies at such vast expences; and, moreover, depended upon its power to establish Don Philip in spite of them. In the months of November and December 1741; the court of Spain transported by sea several bodies of troops to Italy, under the conduct of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterwards remarkable by his disgrace. They had been successively debarked in Tuscany, and in those ports called the state *Degli Presidii*, belonging to the crown of Sicily. Their route lying necessarily through Tuscany, the grand duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, gave them a free passage, having declared himself neuter in the cause of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princess of the blood of France, also declared himself neuter. Pope Benedict XIV. thro' whose territories both the Spanish and Austrian armies were to pass, promised the same neutrality, and for a better reason than any other, as being the common father both of princes and people.

Fresh forces also arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa: that republic had also declared itself neuter, and permitted them to proceed. About this time, the king of Naples too adopted the neutral system, though his father

and brother were principally concerned; yet after all not one of these potentates, apparently neutral, were so in reality. Don Carlos sent two Neapolitan regiments in Spanish pay to the duke de Montemar: he was compelled to promise that he would take no part in the dispute. Neither the coasts, nor yet the city of Naples, were secure from being bombarded by the English fleet. He had not reigned long enough to make his kingdom that powerful state which it had been formerly under the princes of Normandy and those of the house of Anjou. It was now near three hundred years since Naples had had a sovereign residing in the capital; the country was always before governed by viceroys; and, often changing its masters, had not been able to acquire that strength which a state derives from the settled rule of a prince who resides in person in his dominions. The king had begun with establishing regularity and commerce; but it requires time to raise a marine, and form a body of disciplined and warlike troops. This prince's remaining neuter did not prevent the duke de Montemar's army from being increased by several Neapolitan regiments, as has been before remarked. By this expedient Don Carlos trained his soldiers, and preserved to his people peace and commerce.

The duke of Modena was already the secret friend of Spain; Genoa had much the same inclination; and the Pope, having acknowledged the emperor immediately after his election, did not appear entirely neutral towards the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, assembling all his forces, joined them.

them to those which were sent him from Tirol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. About the beginning of March 1740, the king of Sardinia, seconding warmly the Austrians, advanced towards the territories of Parma. Charles Emanuel III. king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, appeared every way deserving of a much more extensive dominion than that which he possessed, and which it was his chief study to augment: he now exerted as much courage and activity in the cause of the house of Austria, as he had displayed against it in the war of 1733. In these two conjunctures he shewed how valuable his alliance was, and that nothing ought to be neglected either to secure him or deprive him of power: he had excellent ministers and good generals, and was himself both a minister and a general; an oeconomist in his expences, skilful in his conduct, indefatigable in hardship, and courageous in danger.

He appeared even so early as the month of May with eighteen thousand men on the side of Parma, while the Austrians advanced towards the Bolognese with about twelve thousand. The duke of Montemar, not near so strong, lost ground every-where. The king of Sardinia penetrated even to Modena, with intention to make that duke renounce the neutrality and join him: he proposed, conjunctively with the Austrians, that he should give up his citadel to them; but that prince and his spouse had too much courage to be compelled to take part in an affair in which they were no way concerned: they rather chose the misfortune of losing their territories for a while, than the shame of being dependent upon those, who, under the name of

allies, proposed to hold them really in servitude: they quitted their principality, and returned to Ferrara; while the Austrians and Piedmontese, possessing themselves of the duchy of Modena, wasted the whole country. Such was the end of their neutrality!

As to the Pope, if the queen of Hungary did not oblige him to renounce the system he had adopted, she forced him, however, to furnish the means of carrying on the war even on the papal territory; for, as soon as her arms had gained the upper hand, she obtained a bull for levying the tenth penny on all ecclesiastical livings throughout her Italian dominions: her troops, which pursued the duke de Montemar in the marquisate of Ancona, lived at the expence of the subjects of the holy see. Rome had it not in her power to cause her neutrality to be respected. It was no longer the time in which the popes were able, sword in hand, to defend or encrease their territories: they are more rich, but less powerful than formerly: they have neither generals nor armies: taken up with a pacific system for more than two hundred years, they receive law generally from the army that is nearest to their dominions. Cardinal Alberoni, some years since, proposed a scheme for remedying this weakness, by establishing an Italic body with the pope at their head, as we see in Germany the emperor at the head of the Germanic body: but this project was too great to defend them from the calamities to which war always subjects a neutral and defenceless state.

With respect to the king of Naples's neutrality, this was the consequence: August 18,
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they were surpris'd with the appearance, off the port of Naples, of an English squadron, consisting of six sixty gun ships of war, six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Captain, afterwards admiral Martin, who commanded this squadron, sent an officer ashore with a letter to the chief minister; the purport of which was, that his Neapolitan majesty should recal his troops from the Spanish army; or otherwise, that his capital should be immediately bombard'd. Some conferences were held: the English commodore, at length, gave him only one hour to determine. The port was but poorly furnished with artillery: they had not taken precautions necessary to secure them from insult, because they had not expected it. They now saw that the old maxim is often verified, which says, "Whoever rules at sea, will be master at land." They were obliged to sign every thing the English commodore propos'd, and even to observe the treaty, until they had provided for the defence of the port and the kingdom*.

The English themselves were very well convinced that the king of Naples could no more observe this neutrality which he had been oblig'd to embrace, than the king of England had observ'd his in Germany. The duke de Montemar, who had enter'd Italy to reduce Lombardy, retir'd towards the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, always closely press'd by

* It would not be amiss to repeat the same expedient at this juncture: for, howsoever the Neapolitans may have fortified their city against the cannon of the English fleet, they will find it impossible to secure it against the horrors of a bombardment.

the Austrians. The king of Sardinia returned at the same time to Piedmont and his duchy of Savoy, where his presence was required by the vicissitudes of war. The infant Don Philip had vainly strove to debark some fresh troops at Genoa, which he had been hindered from doing by the English squadron; but by land he entered the duchy of Savoy, of which he became master. The syndics of Chamberry paid him homage: he forbade the inhabitants of the duchy to correspond in the least with their master, under pain of death. King Charles Emanuel passed the Alps with twenty thousand men; and the infant, who had scarcely more than two thousand, abandoning his conquests, retired towards Dauphiny, to wait for reinforcements. As soon as these had reached him, the Spaniards possessed themselves a second time of Savoy. This country is almost entirely open on the side of Dauphiny; but it is poor and barren; so that the sovereign hardly draws from it a million of livres yearly. Charles Emanuel abandoned it to hasten to the defence of places more important.

It is evident from this sketch that the alarm was general, and all the provinces from the heart of Silesia to the extremity of Italy experienced different reverses of fortune. Austria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria and Spain. Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome, were neuter. The people of the Milanese, of Mantua, of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, long accustomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or against him, looked upon these irruptions and frequent shocks with an impotent melancholy.

choly concern. The court of Spain demanded of the states of Switzerland a passage through their territories for some troops they were going to send into Italy, and were refused. The Swiss hire their soldiers to different princes, but forbid them from entering their territories; the government is pacific, and the people warriors; a neutrality of such a nature could not but be respected. To give a proper weight to hers, Venice levied twenty thousand men.

All Germany seemed indifferent in the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Even the elector of Cologne did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor: he feared the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country subject to England, and her soldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themselves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neuter. The imperial territories, in which the forces of the belligerent powers at different times appeared, were seldom pillaged. The French paid for every thing in ready money; the Austrians in paper: England and Holland still kept up at least the appearance of peace with France. There was a consul from England at Naples, a minister from France at Turin, nay even at Vienna; and those states again had their representatives at Paris. But at bottom, the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin, were using their utmost endeavours to shake the French monarchy.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France laboured hard to prevent it. This little republic might have

enjoyed the glory of being mediatrix between France and Austria; it would have been for her interest, as well as her grandeur: but the English faction *, which was uppermost at the Hague, prevailed. Holland, however, missed this opportunity of playing the noblest part she ever could have done in Europe. It often happens that one man judges better in times of faction and prejudice than a whole senate, or even a nation. M. Van Hoy, ambassador from the States General to the court of France, incessantly remonstrated to them, that nothing could so much contribute to their interest and glory as being the mediators; that if they pursued a contrary plan, they would have nothing left but a fruitless repentance. But the prevailing faction at the Hague grew incensed at his counsel, and forbid him (behaviour before unheard-of!) to use any more reflections in his letters. The party that contended for a war caused his letters to be published in Holland to expose him to ridicule, because they seemed rather the exhortations of a philosopher, than the letters of an ambassador; but they only published their own condemnation.

There were indeed some members of the States General who both thought and spoke like M. Van Hoy; but they engrossed very lit-

* Rather the Orange faction, which has always comprehended the army, and the bulk of the common people, who find their account in war, and are easily influenced by the emissaries of corruption. The other party, known by the appellation of Louvenstein, consists of a few patriots, who are averse to a perpetual dictator; some malecontents, and a good number attached, from views of self-interest, to the court of Versailles.

the attention. They were warmed with the single word *liberty*, the remembrance of their having been over-run by Lewis XIV. and the hopes of humbling his successor. One would think it scarcely probable, that in the present times some out lines of the customs and manners of old Greece should be revived; yet it was now seen in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friseland to the States General, composed some allegorical poems to animate the nation against the king of France. These pieces were full of beautiful strokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his tongue, and to give it a turn of harmony which indeed it greatly wanted. His verses, though sublime and allegorical, were understood by the people, because they were natural, and the allegory clear: they were read after divine service, in the public squares, and even in the villages; and those who read them were munificently paid by the auditors, as had been formerly the case with those who pronounced Homer's pieces in public. Nothing contributed more to enflame the Dutch. It had been proposed to augment the republic's troops with twenty thousand men; to furnish the queen of Hungary with efficacious assistance; but the deputies of Amsterdam were still wavering. While they were thus undetermined, they received a letter in the name of a part of the town, called Le Jourdain, which had always been a turbulent quarter; and it was couched in these terms: "Messieurs du Jourdain give this notice to Messieurs the deputies, that perhaps they may have their
throats

throats cut, unless they consent to the raising twenty thousand men." This levy was agreed to, and set on foot some months after; and then the states had an army of eighty thousand men.

It did not as yet appear evident that the United Provinces were to have a stadtholder; his party, however, privately gained strength. It was easily foreseen that the same people who so loudly called out for a war, and forced their governors to augment their troops, might one day oblige them to give them a master. But the magistrates who were most devoted to the English faction, though determined on a war, were yet more intent on preserving their authority: they stood in more dread of a stadtholder than the arms of France. This was evident in the military promotions made in September 1742; when, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the provinces of Groningen and Friseland, who desired that the prince of Orange should be appointed general of infantry, the states made him but a lieutenant-general, a title which the prince rejected with indignation.

In this violent situation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when cardinal Fleury, after having been forced, in a very old age, notwithstanding his character for peace, to involve Europe in trouble, departed this life: he left the naval and political affairs of France in such a crisis, that it had caused some change in the before-uninterrupted happiness of his life, but it had no effect upon the tranquility of his soul. He was at the time of his death eighty-nine

nine years and seven months old. The cardinal may be considered as having been a happy man, if we only reflect, that from the truest enumeration, and most exact calculations, it is proved, according to the course of nature, not above one man in an hundred and forty contemporaries, arrive to eighty years of age. But we must allow, that no man ever run through a more singular or fortunate career, since it is well known, that among those who arrive at that age, seldom one in a thousand preserves his health, and has a head fit for business; and if it be remembered, that the cardinal was seventy-three when he assumed the function of prime minister, at which time of life the greatest part of mankind chuse to retire from public business.

If his good fortune was singular, so was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes had the riches of a sovereign, and levied armies at his own expence, yet always continued to wear the cordelier's habit. Cardinal d'Amboise aspired at the papal crown. Wolfey, in his disgrace, deplored his condition, because upon the road he had only an hundred and eighty domestics to attend him. Every one knows the vanity and arrogance of cardinal Richelieu, and the immense wealth which Mazarin left behind him. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left him whereby to be distinguished, but his modesty; born to no fortune, and subsisting merely upon the allowance of one of his uncles, he expended in beneficent actions what he received from generosity. His whole income, when prime minister, was sixty thousand livres, arising from two benefices; twenty thousand, and no more,

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was the produce of his seat in council; and he had fifteen thousand from the post-office: half of the sum-total he laid out in private offices of charity, and the other half was consigned to the maintenance of a moderate house, and a frugal table. His whole furniture was not worth two thousand crowns.

This simplicity, which contributed so much to his reputation and fortune, was no constraint upon him. Men are never apt to constrain themselves so very long. He had always lived thus entirely employed in pleasing, and advancing his fortune, by those amiable qualifications which marked his character and disposition. When he was at court in the office of almoner to the dauphiness, he gained every body's friendship: his conversation was mild and graceful, mixed with pleasing and lively anecdotes, and sometimes seasoned by a dash of raillery, which, far from being offensive, had something in it very engaging. He wrote just as he spoke. There are some notes of his still extant, written about fifteen days before his death, which prove that he preserved to the last that power of endearment. He was praised by all the ladies about court, without provoking the jealousy or envy of the men. Lewis XIV. had refused him a bishopric a good while. I have heard him say, that having at length been promoted to the diocese of Frejus, when he had no longer any hope of being advanced, the king addressed him thus: "I have made you wait longer than I intended, because you had too many friends, who solicited for you; and I was resolved to have the satisfaction of your being obliged to no-body but me."

Although

Although he had a great number of that sort of acquaintance commonly called Friends, it was neither his rule nor his taste to lavish his friendship: he only exhibited the outward appearances of it, and even that within a certain bound which had in it nothing either false or imposing; being master of the art of preserving the good-will of all mankind, without entrusting his secrets with any one: he resigned his bishopric as soon as he was able, after having by his œconomy paid off several debts with which it had been encumbered, and done a vast deal of good by his spirit of reconciliation.

These were the predominant parts of his character. The reason which he gave to his people for resigning his bishopric, was, that his bad state of health prevented him from paying a proper attention to the welfare of his flock: he assigned the same reason to the duke of Orleans, in his regency, for refusing the archbishopric of Rheims, which his highness offered to him. When marshal Villars pressed him to accept of it, his answer was, it would be very unbecoming him, who had not the ability to govern the diocese of Frejus, should he find ability to guide the archbishopric of Rheims. This bishopric of Frejus was far from the court in an unpleasant country; therefore it was never agreeable to him. He used to say, that he was disgusted at his marriage the moment he saw his wife. He subscribed himself thus humourously enough in one of his letters to Quirini: "Fleury, by the divine wrath, bishop of Frejus."

He vacated that bishopric about the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which
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is always well informed of the ecclesiastical affairs of other kingdoms, was convinced that this voluntary and absolute renunciation of a bishopric was founded in reality on a notion which Fleury entertained of being appointed preceptor to the Dauphin. Pope Clement II. who had no doubt of this, spoke of it openly; and indeed marshal de Villeroi, after much solicitation, obtained that trust for him of Lewis XIV. who named for it the bishop of Frejus in his codicil. Nevertheless, the new preceptor explains himself on this matter, in a letter to cardinal Quirini, thus: "I have regretted more than once the loss of the solitude of Frejus: I was informed, on my arrival, that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honour of appointing me preceptor to his great grandson: had he been able to have heard me, I would have entreated him to have excused me from a burthen, the consideration of which makes me tremble; but, after his death, they would not listen to me: I have been therefore extremely ill, and have no consolation for the loss of my liberty."

He comforted himself with insensibly forming his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity; and amidst all the revolutions of the court, during the minority, preserved the good-will of the regent, and the esteem of the public. Never endeavouring to make himself of consequence, nor complaining of any one; exposing himself to no refusal, nor engaging in any intrigue; but he applied himself secretly to the knowledge of the internal administration of the kingdom, and the policy of other nations. All France wished to see him at the head of affairs, and

and this wish arose from a consideration of the circumspection of his conduct, and the sweetness of his manners. Accident at length placed him there against his will; and, thus elevated, he made it evident, that men of a mild and pacific turn of mind are fittest to govern. His administration was less opposed, as well as less envied, than that of either Richlieu or Mazarine had been in their happiest days: his advancement had no influence on his manners: they were still the same. It was matter of general astonishment to see a first minister who was unexceptionably the most amiable and disinterested man of the whole court. This moderation happily corresponded with the welfare of the state: it stood in need of that peace of which he was so fond; and all the foreign ministers were persuaded, that, during his life, it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared, in 1725, at the congress of Soissons, all the foreign ministers regarded him as their father; and many princes, besides the emperor Charles VI. often in their letters distinguished him by that title: but in 1733 they presumed too much on his character as a peaceable man. The grand chancellor of Vienna haughtily said, they might proceed as they pleased against king Stanislaus of Poland; for the cardinal would bear it all tamely: but, when forced into a war, he conducted it with prudence and success, and brought it to a happy conclusion. The treaty was not indeed satisfactory either to Spain or Savoy; but France got Lorraine by it; and surely there is no need for hesitation, when we are to chuse whether we shall serve our allies or our country.

Without

Without having any mighty views, he did some great things, by letting them work their own events. His tranquil disposition made him fear, and even under-value, men of a penetrating, active capacities; for such, he pretended, were never at rest. But as this turn of mind is always accompanied by strong talents, he kept those who were possessed of it at too great a distance. His distrust of mankind was much greater than his desire of knowing them: his age and character inclined him to believe that there was no sort of genius in France, in any branch whatever; and even if there were, he thought he might do without those who possessed it, believing it a matter of great indifference what kind of people he employed. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to introduce into the public administration that œconomy which reigned in his own house. By an adherence to this maxim, he neglected to keep on foot a strong naval armament: he never imagined that the state might one day stand in need of it to oppose the English, whom he had long amused with negotiations; but negotiations may vary and fail of their influence, when a good fleet will not.

The chief principle of his administration was to preserve regularity in the finances of the kingdom, and to give her time to recover herself; "like a robust body, which, having felt some shock, stands in need only of a certain regimen to restore it." This was the answer he made when a grand project was laid before him, which was an innovation of the finances; and indeed the state of commerce, left almost to itself, under his administration, was very flourishing.

flourishing during the peace; but not being supported by maritime forces equal to those of England, it drooped considerably while the war of 1741 lasted.

His administration was not remarkable for any new establishment in the kingdom, any public monument, nor for even one of those magnificent undertakings or institutions which impose on the public, and strike the eyes of strangers; but it will be always distinguished by his moderation, simplicity, uniformity, and prudence.

At length the most peaceable of ministers was dragged into the most violent quarrel; and he who was the best husband of the public treasures of France, was at last obliged to lavish them on a war, which, while he lived, proved unfortunate. The king was present at his last moments; he wept over him; the dauphin was brought into the chamber, and as they kept him at some distance from the bed of the dying man, the cardinal desired they would permit him to be brought nearer: "It is proper, says he, that he should be accustomed to such sights as this is." At length he expired in his ninetyeth year, undaunted and resigned.

CHAP. VI.

Unhappy situation of the emperor Charles VII. Loss of the battle of Dettingen. The army of France, which was sent to assist the emperor in Bavaria, abandons his cause.

NO sooner were the eyes of cardinal Fleury closed, than the king took the reins of government into his own hands: there was no part, not even the minutest of the administration, of which he was not master. He was firmly resolved to accept of an honourable peace, or to prosecute with vigor a necessary war; and to adhere inviolably to his word.

He made no change in the measures already taken; the same generals commanded.

It is pretended by some, that the same mistakes were committed in 1743, which the preceding year had occasioned the loss of Bohemia and Bavaria; that the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many separate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. It often happens that more soldiers perish through inaction than fatigue, and great care should be taken to hinder any sickness that chances to find its way into a camp, from spreading. The French soldiers spent the latter end of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded upon each other in German stoves, which alone destroyed them in great numbers; but that which was their greatest detriment was

was a misunderstanding between marshal Broglie and count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who acted under prince Charles, would have had the former weaken himself to send him reinforcements; but the marshal refused him as often as they were asked, having enough to do in opposing prince Lobkowitz. The emperor, who was then in Munich, could not reconcile them. Broglie was said in the public papers to have forty thousand men, but he had not more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, with his united forces, obtained at this time a complete victory over the Bavarians, in the neighbourhood of the river Inn, not far from Branaw. He cut off eight thousand men, and took prisoners general Minuzzi, and three other general officers. The remains of the defeated army retired to Branaw, and all Bavaria was soon opened to the incursions of the Austrians. Maria Theresa received this news at Prague the very day on which she was crowned; a ceremony with which her rival had been shortly before honoured in the same place. There was nothing now to oppose the progress of prince Charles: he took Dingelsing, Deckendorff, and Landau, upon the Isser; and made a number of prisoners every where.

On the other side, prince Lobkowitz possessed himself of the Upper Palatinate, and marshal Broglie retired towards Ingoldstat. The emperor once more fled from his capital, and sheltered himself in Augsbourg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long. As
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he quitted it, he had the mortification to see colonel Mentzel enter at the head of his Pandours; and these savages had the brutality to insult him in the public streets: he retired to Frankfort. This rapid course of events fell out in May and June.

The emperor's misfortunes daily encreasing, he was reduced to the necessity of supplicating the queen of Hungary, whom he had been once so near dethroning: he offered to renounce all his claims to the inheritance of the house of Austria. The hereditary prince of Hesse undertook the management of this negotiation, and waited on the king of England, then at Hanover, with the emperor's propositions. King George's answer was, that he would consult his parliament. Even this negotiation of the prince of Hesse served only to convince the emperor more clearly, that his enemies meditated his expulsion from the imperial throne. The resource which he expected by addressing the queen of Hungary being denied to him, his next step was to declare his intention of remaining neuter, though in his own cause; and he therefore requested of her to let the shattered remains of his army quarter in Suabia, and to be regarded as the troops of the empire. He at the same time offered to send marshal Broglio's army back to France. The queen answered, "that she was not at war with the head of the empire, and since, according to the directions of the golden bull, which had been violated by his election, she had never acknowledged him as such, she should cause his troops to be attacked wherever they were

were found; yet as to himself, she would not oppose his taking refuge in any part of the imperial territories, Bavaria excepted."

At the same time Lord Stair directed his march towards Frankfort with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, consisting of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived at the army with his second son the duke of Cumberland, having in his way passed by Frankfort, the asylum of the emperor, whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign in the empire, and yet against whom he waged war in hopes to dethrone him.

The Dutch at length consented to join the allied army with twenty thousand men, believing that now they could take such a step without any hazard; and that, without declaring war against France, they might help to crush her. They sent six thousand men into Flanders to replace the Austrian garrisons, and prepared to send fourteen thousand men into Germany; but they proceeded in the true spirit of the republic very slowly: they either believed, or at least pretended to believe, at the Hague, Vienna, and London, that France was now drained both of men and money. One of the principal members of the states of Holland affirmed, that France could not raise more than one hundred thousand men, and that her whole current specie did not exceed two hundred millions of livres. This was abusing the people strangely; but it is necessary often to deceive them, to keep them in proper spirits.

The king of France, in the mean time, sent marshal Noailles with sixty-six battalions, and one hundred and thirty-eight squadrons, to at-

tack the English wherever he could find them; and he resolved to send assistance to Don Philip in Italy, in case the court of Sardinia should refuse to come to an accommodation. He maintained, besides, upon the Danube, a complete army of sixty-six squadrons and one hundred and fifteen battalions; and this force was strong enough to succour Egra on one side, and Bavaria on the other. Although but an auxiliary, he appeared every-where as a principal; and the emperor, having retreated from Augs-burgh to Frankfort, expected the decision of his fate from the fortune of his allies or of his enemies.

The quarrels of this prince, and other disputes to which it gave rise, now employed not less than ten armies at once; five in Germany, and as many in Italy. There was, first, M. Broglio's army in Germany, which defended Bavaria: it was made up, in the main, of all those regiments which had taken the route of Bohemia, and of half of M. Belleisle's troops, which, joined to the Bavarians, made a very formidable body: the second was that of prince Charles, which pressed hard upon Broglio, and ravaged Bavaria: the third was that of M. de Noailles upon the Rhine, augmented with troops and recruits from M. Belleisle. To oppose Noailles the Hanoverians, Austrians, and English, were assembled, to the amount of fifty thousand men, under the command of king George II. This was the fourth army. The fifth was fourteen thousand Dutch, advancing slowly, on the banks of the Maine, to join the last; but they came too late.

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The five armies in Italy were, first, that of the infant Don Philip, which had subdued Savoy: secondly, that of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the Alps, and part was joined with the Austrians; which latter may be reckoned a third army, as they spread themselves from the Milanese to the neighbourhood of Bologna: these were opposed by count Gages, a Fleming by birth, whose merit had raised him to the command of the Spanish army, in the place of the duke de Montemar: the fifth was that of Naples, tied up from acting by a treaty just then expiring. To these ten armies may be added an eleventh, that of Venice, kept on foot purely to secure that republic from the insults of the others.

These vast appearances kept all Europe in suspense. It was a game played from one end to the other of this quarter of the globe by all her princes; in the course of which they hazarded nearly upon equal terms the blood and treasure of their subjects, and held fortune long in the balance by a variety of great achievements, vast mistakes, and considerable losses. Very little land is to be gained in Italy, even with great difficulty; for, on the side of Piedmont, a single rock may cost a whole army; and about Lombardy the country is entirely intersected with rivers and canals.

Count Gages had passed the Panaro, and attacked count Traun: they fought a battle at Campo Santo in the month of February, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Madrid and Vienna: it cost the lives of many brave soldiers on both sides, but gave superiority to neither: in Germany they expected more decisive actions.

Marſhal de Noailles, who commanded againſt the king of England, had borne arms ever ſince he was fifteen years of age : he had been at the head of the army in Catalonia, and, beſides, paſſed through all the offices of civil government : he had directed the finances in the beginning of the regency : he had been general of an army, and miniſter of ſtate ; and in all his employments was remarkable for the cultivation of letters ; a conduct formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but rarely to be found in modern times in Europe. This general had, by a ſuperior manœuvre, made himſelf maſter of the country : he flanked the army of the king of England, and kept the Maine between them : at the ſame time, by ſecuring all the avenues to their camp, both above and below, he cut off all their ſubſiſtence.

The king of England took poſt at Aſchaffenburg, a town on the Maine, belonging to the elector of Mentz : he took this ſtep againſt the opinion of the earl of Stair, and ſoon repented he had done ſo ; for he now ſaw his army blocked up and ſtarved by M. Noailles * : the ſoldiers were reduced to half their daily allowance, and the king ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of retreating, to look for proviſions at Hannau, on the road to Frankfort ; but in this caſe he found he muſt be expoſed to the fire of the batteries which the enemy had raiſed upon the Maine : he was therefore obliged to make a

* They were in ſuch want of forage and proviſions, that they were reduced to the neceſſity of propoſing to hamstring their horſes, which they muſt have done, had they remained two days longer in this poſition.

precipitate

precipitate retreat with an army weakened by desertion, and whose rear was in danger of being cut off by the French; for M. Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, on the road to Hanau; and this, to complete their error, the allies had not prevented. June 26, the king of England caused his army to decamp at midnight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a most precipitate and dangerous march, which indeed he could by no means avoid.

Count de Noailles, who encamped upon the side of that river, was the first who perceived this motion, of which he instantly apprised his father: the marshal rose, and saw the English marching, as it were, to their destruction in a narrow road, with a mountain on one side, and a river on the other: he immediately caused thirty squadrons, consisting of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English must necessarily have passed. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on one side of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by the English, of all whose motions the marshal had a clear view. M. de Valiere, a lieutenant-general, who had made the artillery as serviceable as could be possible, held the enemy in a defile, between two batteries, which played upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass through a hollow way, which lies between Dettingen and a small rivulet. The French were not to fall on them

but at a certain advantage, as the very situation of the ground was a snare from which they could not escape. The king of England was in danger of being taken. In short, it was now one of those critical moments that might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended it to the duke de Grammont, his nephew, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in that position till the enemy should fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the mean time, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and more clearly to examine the posture of the enemy. Most of the officers say he had better have staid at the head of his army, to enforce obedience; but, had the day been successful, this error would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to secure the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were surrounded on all sides.

All these measures were disconcerted by a moment's impatience. The duke de Grammont, imagining that the first column of the enemy had already passed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withstand him, caused his troops to advance from the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage; the count de Noailles intreated that he would only wait a moment for the return of his father; the duke de Grammont, whose motions were already perceived by the English, thought he ought not to retire; therefore, quitting the very advantageous post, which he ought by all means to have kept, he advanced with a regiment of guards,

guards, and Noailles's infantry, into a small field, called the Cock-pit. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed: their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men, and they were opposed by thirty squadrons and five brigades of infantry. Thus the French themselves fell into the very snare they had laid for the enemy, whom they attacked in disorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which M. de Valiere had planted upon the Maine, raked the enemy's flank, and that of the Hanoverians in particular; but they had batteries on the other hand, which took the French army in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was soon over-balanced; the artillery on the banks of the Maine being rendered useless, as in the confusion it must have annoyed the French themselves, in case of its being properly served. Marshal Noailles returned the moment the fault had been committed, and all he could do was to endeavour to repair it by the courage of his troops. The king's household and the carabineers at the first onset broke thro' two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry*; but they formed again instantly, and the French were surrounded. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a small body of infantry: twenty-one of these were killed upon the spot, as many more wounded dangerously, and the regiment of guards was intirely routed.

* The household troops of France made a rash and impetuous attack upon part of the English first line of infantry, and some few of them penetrated; but they were all killed or taken to a man.

The duke de Chartres, the prince de Clermont, the count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthièvre, though so very young, exerted their utmost endeavours to put a stop to the disorder. The count de Noailles had two horses killed under him, and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown from the saddle.

The marquis de Puisegur, son of the marshal of that name, harrangued the soldiers of his regiment to encourage them; followed and rallied, as much as in his power, those that fled; nay some of them, who would not stand, but cried out "for each man to save himself," he killed with his own hand. The princes and dukes de Biron, Luxemburgh, Boufflers, Chevreuse, and Peguiny, advanced at the head of the brigades they met with, and, leading them on, penetrated into the enemy's lines. On the other hand, nothing could abate the courage of the king's household troops and the carabineers. Here one might see a company of guards and two hundred musketeers; there a few troops of cavalry advancing with some light horse, with others following the carabineers, or horse-grenadiers, running upon the English sword in hand, with more bravery than discipline; nay, so little was discipline observed among them, that about fifty musketeers heroically forced their way through a regiment of horse, called the Scotch Greys; a regiment highly esteemed by the English, made up of picked men, choicely mounted. We may well imagine what must be the fate of fifty young fellows poorly mounted, against a body by whom they were so considerably out-numbered.

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They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The son of the marquis de Fenelon was taken prisoner in the last rank of the regiment of Scotch Greys; twenty-seven officers of the king's household troops perished in this fight, and sixty-six were dangerously wounded: among the latter were count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Beavron, and duke de Boufflers: count de la Motte Houdancourt, gentleman-usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him; and, after being trampled almost to death by the cavalry, was carried off the field almost dead; the arm of the marquis de Gontaud was broken; the duke de Rochechouart, first lord of the bed-chamber, having been twice wounded, and continuing still to fight, was at length killed on the spot; as was also the marquisses de Sabran, Fleury, the count d'Estrades, and the count de Rostaing. The death of a count de Boufflers, of the branch of Ramien court, should not be overlooked among the singularities of this unfortunate day: he was only ten years and a half old: his leg being broken by a cannon-ball, he sustained the stroke, the cutting off his leg, and even met death itself with amazing intrepidity. So much youth, tempered with such valour, melted into tears all who were witnesses of his misfortune!

Nor was the loss among the English officers much less considerable. The king of England himself fought both on foot and on horseback, both at the head of the cavalry and infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded by his side, and the duke d'Aremberg received a musket-ball in his breast: the English lost several

veral general officers*. The battle lasted three hours with great inequality. Courage alone was opposed to valour, number, and discipline. At length marshal Noailles ordered a retreat; nor was it done without some confusion†. The king of England dined upon the field of battle, and then retired, without giving himself time to carry off the wounded, of whom he left about six hundred behind him, who were recommended by Lord Stair to M. Noailles's generosity. The French treated them like their countrymen: they behaved to each other with civility and respect; while, on the other hand, during this whole war, the Hungarians, less civilized indeed, shewed nothing but a spirit of rapine and barbarity.

The two generals wrote letters to each other, that plainly shew to what height politeness and humanity may be carried amidst all the horrors of a war. There are these words in a letter written by Lord Stair to marshal Noailles from Hanau, and dated June 30. "I have sent back all the French prisoners of whom I had any knowlege; and I have given orders for the releasement of all such as may have fallen into the hands of the Hanoverians.

* The generals Clayton and Murray were the only officers of distinction killed in the allied army. Among the wounded were the earl of Albemarle and general Huske.

† Had not the troops which the earl of Stair had detached in pursuit of the French, been countermanded, this battle would, in all probability, have been decisive; but the enemy were allowed to repass the Mayne without molestation, though a considerable number of them perished in that river, through the precipitation of their fear.

You will, I hope, permit me to thank you for the very generous behaviour you have shewn, which is, indeed, entirely conformable to the high opinion I always professed to entertain for monsieur the duke de Noailles. I am, Sir, particularly obliged to you for the care you have so benevolently taken of our wounded."

Nor was this greatness of soul peculiar to the earl of Stair and the duke de Noailles. There was an act of generosity of the duke of Cumberland's, that above all others ought to be handed down to posterity. A musketeer, named Girardeau, being dangerously wounded, was brought near his highness's tent; surgeons were much wanting; those they had were taken up elsewhere: they were now going to dress the duke's leg, which had been wounded in the calf by a musket-ball*: "Begin, said he nobly, with the wound of that French officer; he is more dangerously hurt than I am, and stands in need of more assistance; I shall as yet want none." The loss of both armies was nearly the same: there were 2231 men of the allies killed and wounded. This computation was taken from the account of the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, and never augment that of the enemy.

This battle was not unlike that of Czaßau in Bohemia, or that of Campo Santo in Italy. Great exploits were performed, much blood spilled, and neither side reaped any advantage. The loss of the French was considerable, in

* It was a grape-shot, which penetrated through the fleshy part of the leg.

blasting, by a precipitate and disorderly warmth, the fruits that might have been otherwise gathered from the finest disposition imaginable: the battles of Creci and Poitiers had been lost by conduct of a similar nature. The king of England, who here acquired great honour, reaped no other benefit from the victory, than that of hastily retiring from the field of battle to seek subsistence at Hanau. The author of this history meeting with Lord Stair some weeks after the battle, took the liberty to ask him his opinion of it: "It is my opinion, said that general, that you have committed one fault, and we two: yours was passing the hollow way, not having patience to wait: our two were, exposing ourselves first to the danger of being all destroyed; and secondly, not having pursued our victory, by making a proper use of it."

Never had man greater reason to complain than M. de Noailles, who saw himself by one precipitate moment cut off from all the glories of a battle that might have finished the war: yet he did not complain; he recriminated upon nobody; his regard for his nephew outdid the care of his own justification. He satisfied himself with barely representing to the king his master, in a letter as wise and eloquent as it was instructive, the great necessity there was for re-establishing a proper discipline.

Many French and English officers went, after this action, to Frankfort, a town that always remains neuter, where the emperor had then retired; who saw one after another Lord Stair and marshal de Noailles, without manifesting

selling to them any other sentiments than those of patience in his days of evil fortune.

Marshal Broglio's precipitate retreat from the frontiers of Bavaria, which was made about the same time, was attended with consequences still more dreadful to the emperor than those of the battle of Dettingen. Marshal Broglio, who had long been dissatisfied with marshal Seckendorff, the Bavarian general, had always declared both by letter and word of mouth, even before the campaign, that he could not keep Bavaria. He departed from thence about the end of June, at the same time nearly that the emperor, believing himself no longer safe at Augsburgh, took shelter at Frankfort, where he arrived the 27th at night, being the very day on which the battle was fought.

Marshal Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined on account of marshal Broglio's retreat; and, to augment his misfortunes, he was without subsistence for himself and his family, in an imperial town, where nobody would advance him any thing, though the head of the empire. Marshal Noailles gave him forty thousand crowns upon a letter of credit, being certain that the king his master would not disapprove such an action.

Marshal Broglio had, on his retreating, left the emperor still possessed of Straubing, Ingoldstadt on the Danube, and Egra on the Eger, upon the confines of the Upper Palatinate, and they were all blockaded. There were, moreover, some Bavarian troops still in Branaw, which place the Austrians had a long time neglected to besiege in form; but being masters of
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all the country round, it soon capitulated. Straubing, in which were twelve hundred French, immediately followed its example. These twelve hundred men were conducted to the main body of the army, which was then quitting Bavaria, and directing its march towards the Neckar. When at length they arrived there, their number was dwindled away at least twenty-five thousand, more of whom were lost by desertion and sickness, than the sword of the enemy.

The putting the emperor Charles VII. in possession of Vienna or Prague was now no longer meditated. They were obliged to turn their views to the defence of the French frontiers, threatened by two victorious armies, that of prince Charles and the king of England. France had, in three campaigns, sent to the emperor's assistance in Bavaria and Bohemia upwards of an hundred and twenty-five thousand fighting men; out of all which marshal Broglie brought back about thirty thousand. The emperor, plunged in the deepest despair, demanded of the king, that marshal Broglie should be sent into exile: his majesty thought himself under a necessity of giving his griefs that satisfaction; of giving that weak and ineffectual consolation to his misfortunes.

One would be apt to think, that there must have been some radical defect in the conduct of this grand enterprize, in which such repeated efforts had proved futile and abortive. Perhaps the failure arose from hence: the Bavarian emperor had neither strong towns, nor good troops in his dominions; his authority over the French
army

army was foreign and confined; and his bad state of health rendered him incapable of pushing the war vigorously against an enemy which was daily acquiring power; all these points considered, they were certainly much to his disadvantage. A prince should be able to act upon his own foundation who attempts to set on foot such vast enterprizes; for never did any prince make a very important conquest barely by the help of another person.



CHAP. VII.

The emperor Charles VII. undergoes fresh disgraces. A new treaty among his enemies. Lewis XV. supports, at one and the same time, the emperor, the Infant Don Philip of Spain, and prince Charles Edward, who attempts to ascend the throne of his ancestors in England. The battle of Toulon.

THE emperor remained at Frankfort, to all appearance without either allies or enemies, nay indeed without subjects. The queen of Hungary had caused all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate to take an oath of allegiance to her, against which exacted oath the Bavarian emperor in Frankfort protested. A printer in the town of Stadamahof was condemned to be hanged in the market-place for having printed this protest made by his sovereign. Nor did they stop at these insults; for shortly after the council of Austria presented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, memorials, wherein the election of Charles VII. was treated as null, and absolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced against the emperor's will, registered these pieces in the Protocol of the empire. Charles could only complain, which he did by written remonstrances, while, to finish his disgrace, the king of England, as elector of Hanover, wrote him word, that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were

were in the right. In fine, they talked of forcing him to abdicate the imperial throne, and to resign it in favour of the duke of Tuscany.

In the mean while, the emperor having declared himself neuter, the allies were stripping him of his dominions; so that the king of France, who had on his account engaged in the war, had more reason than ever to proclaim he would no longer meddle with the affairs of the empire; and this was pronounced as his resolution solemnly by his minister at Ratisbon, July the 6th. Such a disposition might, at any other time, have produced a separate peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their advantage. These powers aimed at compelling the emperor to request, that his enemy the grand duke of Tuscany, should be advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans; and they also flattered themselves with hopes of being able to penetrate into Alsace and Lorraine. Thus do we see an offensive war began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine.

August 4th, prince Charles made a lodgement upon an island in that river near old Brisac: on the other side, some Hungarian parties had advanced beyond the Sarre, and committed some outrages on the frontiers of Lorraine. The same Mentzel, who had been the first that took Munich, had the insolence to disperse a writing, under the name of a declaration or manifesto, dated August the 20th, and addressed to the inhabitants of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the three bishoprics, inviting them to return, as he called it, to the obedience of the house of Austria: he also threatened

ened to hang up all such of them as should take up arms against him, but that he should first compel them, with their own hands, to cut off their noses and ears. Such brutal ferocity produced only contempt: the frontiers were well guarded, and a detachment from prince Charles's army having passed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, August the 4th, by count de Berenger.

About the end of July, the army under marshal Noailles encamped in the neighbourhood of Spire. Count Maurice of Saxony was in the Upper Alsace, at the head of a corps drawn from the remains of Broglie's army, and some troops draughted from the frontier towns. The duke d'Harcourt commanded on the Moselle. The marquis de Montal defended Lorraine. Nor was it sufficient to guard the frontiers only; an open war with England was foreseen, and also with the king of Sardinia, who had not as yet indeed concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, but was not therefore the less closely attached to its interest.

The king of France, now deserted by Prussia, was in much the same situation as his great grandfather had been formerly, united with Spain, against the forces of a new house of Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy. He therefore caused several ships of war to be built and fitted out forthwith at Brest; he augmented his land-forces, and reinforced Don Philip with twelve thousand men: how small an assistance when compared to the numbers he had lavished in the service of the Bavarian emperor! but in effect more useful, because they seconded the enterprizes

enterprizes of a young prince who depended upon the power of Spain to secure him an establishment. The king, not content with succouring his allies, and securing his frontiers, resolved also in person to head his army in Alsace; and to that end had caused his field-equipage to be got in readiness. He acquainted marshal Noailles with his design, who answered him in these words: "Your majesty's affairs are neither so prosperous nor so declining as to require your taking such a step at present." He advanced other reasons, and the king admitted them, being determined to make the next campaign afterwards.

Out of the various conquests the French arms had made for the emperor, there now remained to him only Egra in Bohemia, and Ingolstadt in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube.

The extremities to which the French in Egra were reduced, by far exceeded what they had so cruelly suffered in Prague. For eight months they had scarcely tasted any bread, and if any of the soldiers ventured but ever so little into the country to gather pulse, they were killed by the Pandours. They had neither provisions, money, nor hope of being assisted. The marquis de Herouville, who commanded in the town with six battalions, caused some temporary money to be coined, as had been formerly done at the siege of Pavia in the reign of Francis I. This of Egra was a bit of pewter, valued at half a sous. It stood, indeed, in the place of silver, but could not remedy the want of provisions. The marquis Désauleurs sent them a convoy, but it was taken by the

the besiegers. The garrison was at length obliged to surrender prisoners of war: the officers and soldiers were dispersed through Bohemia and Austria, where they found many of their countrymen. There had been more than nine thousand French taken in the course of three years, who found themselves very rigorously treated; the spirit of revenge being united to the severity of war, and sharpened by national animosity.

The defenders of Ingolstadt were more fortunate. M. de Grandeville, who commanded a garrison of about three thousand men, obtained not only liberty to retreat in safety, but even compelled general Bernklau, who besieged him, to grant a free passage to the French who were scattered in different towns in Bavaria under his command. This is the first instance of a garrison's capitulating for other troops besides themselves. In the mean time, neither the king of England nor prince Charles could make any impression on the Rhine against the French; and the remainder of the campaign justified what marshal Noailles had said to the king, that his affairs were neither flourishing nor desperate. All the belligerent powers were by turns agitated by fear and hope; each had its losses and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the scourge of pestilence, and prepared for that of war; not without standing at the same time in fear of some conspiracies in favour of the house of Austria.

The king of Naples, having augmented his army to twenty-six thousand men, employed twelve thousand of them in securing the frontiers

tiers of Calabria against the progress of the pestilence, which was done by forming a chain of vast extent: the rest of his army remained on the borders of Abbruzzo, waiting a favourable opportunity to act in conjunction with the Spanish army, then commanded by the duke of Modena, and count de Gages. The city of Naples, now put into a proper state of defence, no longer feared the insults or orders of the English captains of men of war. Don Philip, in Savoy, waited either to come to an accommodation with the king of Sardinia, or to subdue him with the assistance of France. The king of Sardinia, after having long cautiously weighed both the danger and advantage, imagined it now more his interest than ever to join with Austria and England against France. Although he had assisted the cause of the queen of Hungary for more than a year, he had not as yet become her ally; he at length declared himself such, however, in a formal and efficacious manner, at Worms, on the 13th of September, 1743; a treaty of alliance which was founded entirely on the bad success of the French arms in Germany.

This monarch gained possession of the Tortonese, the Vallais, part of the Novarese, and the territorial superiority of the fiefs of Langhes, by taking arms against the queen of Hungary's father; and, by declaring on the side of the daughter, he acquired the Vigevanasco, the remainder of the Novarese, Parma, and Placentia. The English, who had heretofore allowed him a subsidy, gave him by this treaty two hundred thousand pistoles a year, which is upwards of four hundred thousand of livres: he

was then at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and the English fleet under admiral Matthews was stationed upon the coast, and always at hand to second his undertakings; but he missed of the fruits he might have gathered from this advantage, and verified the old maxim, "A half is sometimes better than a whole."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary ceded to him the marquisate of Final, which belonged to neither of them: it was the property of the Genoese, who had purchased it of the late emperor for one million two hundred thousand crowns, of which no care was taken to reimburse them; for, though the king of Sardinia offered them that sum, it was only on condition that they should rebuild the castle which they had demolished, whereby they would have been at a much more considerable expence. This liberal disposal of other people's property gained France one ally more. Genoa had long been secretly attached to her service, and she now linked herself to it more closely than ever. The harbour of Genoa might be of great utility, and the English fleet could not block it up always. Thus the king of Sardinia reduced the Genoese to the necessity of becoming his declared enemies, and opened the way to a dangerous diversion against himself; for Don Philip, having now a second time made himself master of Savoy, September 18, 1742, proposed to pass the Alps; and that the Spanish and Neapolitan armies should join in the Bolognese, or even in Lombardy.

The chance of war was therefore to decide, whether the two brothers, Don Carlos king of Naples, and the Infant Don Philip, should penetrate

penetrate into the midst of Italy; or whether, on the other hand, the king of Sardinia should, on one side, guard the passage of the Alps, while, on another, the queen of Hungary should seize upon the kingdom of Naples, although a manifest violation of the neutrality subsisting between her and Don Carlos.

In the mean while, England and Austria reckoned, that, in the approaching spring, they should be able to attack France in Alsace and Flanders; and the war was now about to be renewed on all sides with greater violence, without there being any open rupture, except that between England and Spain on account of the commerce in America; a rupture which seemed to have no relation to the interests which divided Europe: but yet it influenced them in a most essential manner.

The emperor Charles VII. stripped of every thing, had now no seeming resource left; yet the king of France prepared really to assist him; and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the treaty of Breslau, and the defensive alliance subsisting between him and the king of England, was yet more in the interest of the emperor, as he had no longer any room to doubt that the court of Vienna had an intention, the first fair opportunity, to attempt the recovery of Silesia. The courts of France and Prussia were now again on the point of joining in the common cause, and for the interest of an emperor, who seemed on every hand abandoned or oppressed.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the king of France determined to declare war against the king of England and the queen of Hungary: he had no longer any measures to keep with the

English, by whom his ships were continually insulted; nor with Austria, who threatened to carry the war into France, and would not give up a single prisoner, though the terms had been stipulated by cartel in 1741.

The first effect of this change was a secret and bold enterprize, which would have quickly given a new face to one part of Europe, had it been successful.

The house of the Stuarts, which, for the space of fifty-four years, had pined in exile far distant from the kingdoms of which it had been stripped, had still many secret partizans in Scotland and Ireland; nor was it without some few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandson to James II. and son to that prince who has been so long known to all Europe by the title of the Pretender, joined to all the ardour of youth, and resentment of his condition, the most enterprizing and determined courage: he had been often heard to say, he would have either a crown or a scaffold. France, which had long been the asylum of that family, became now necessarily its chief support; and there was a probability, that Lewis XV. might, in his first campaign, have restored the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain. January 9, the young Prince Edward left Rome, and set out upon his expedition with a spirit of secrecy and diligence that marked him born for great enterprizes: he concealed his journey from a brother whom he loved affectionately, and who would not have suffered him to have proceeded without accompanying him. On the 13th he arrived at Genoa disguised like a Spanish courier; and the day after
he

he embarked for Antibes, attended only by one servant, landed safely, and soon reached Paris; nor were the necessary preparations made in France, for conducting him to the British coast, carried on with less secrecy.

The efforts which France now made could hardly have been expected by England, considering the low state in which the French marine had been for some years sunk. She fitted out twenty-six ships of war at Rochefort and Brest, with incredible diligence, and a report was spread, that this squadron was to join a Spanish fleet which had lain at Toulon upwards of two years, and where it was blocked up by admiral Matthews. Twenty ships of war set sail from Brest, carrying four thousand land-forces, with arms and ammunition in proportion; and they were joined between Ushant and Sorlingues by five sail from Rochefort, commanded by M. du Barail.

This fleet having entered the British channel, divided itself into three squadrons: the strongest, consisting of fourteen vessels, cruized off the coast of Kent; the second was to station itself between Calais and Boulogne; while the third bent its course towards Dunkirk. Count Saxe was at the head of this expedition. The first of March he embarked at Dunkirk, with nine battalions; as did count de Chaila, with six more, the day following.

Prince Edward was on board the same vessel with count Saxe, and for the first time had a sight of the desired land. But a violent storm arising, drove the transports back upon the French coast, and many soldiers perished endeavouring to gain the shore. The young prince

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would

would have again attempted the passage with a single vessel. He imagined that his courage and resolution would gain him subjects the moment he should arrive in Great Britain. But the sea, as well as the dispositions made along the English coast to prevent his landing, hindered him from making the attempt.

The court of London was informed of this enterprize so early as the fifteenth of February. The Dutch, as allies to king George, had already sent over two thousand men * to his assistance, and were to furnish six thousand, according to their treaty of 1716. Admiral Norris, with a formidable squadron, was in the Downs, which present a continued chain of ports along the Kentish coast, where ships ride secure from bad weather. The militia was also raised; and thus miscarried an enterprize which had been conducted with more art than any conspiracy that had ever been set on foot in England; for king George knew there had been a plot, but could never discover the authors of it. No insight was gained in this matter from the persons who were taken into custody at London, and the government re-

* The Dutch sent no men to England until the rebellion was actually begun in 1745. Our author gives but a lame account of this French expedition to the coast of England. The truth is, Sir John Norris, at the head of a powerful squadron, had, by taking advantage of the tide, against the wind, got within six miles of the French fleet, and in all probability would have given a good account of it in the morning, had not a violent tempest afforded them an opportunity of bearing away in the night, without any danger of being pursued: but they never thought proper to repeat the attempt.

mained as before involved in trouble and perplexity.

Every thing contributed at this time to favour the undertaking. The English troops were abroad, distributed in different parts of the Austrian Netherlands. There was likewise another advantage attending it. It employed the English fleet, which was to reinforce admiral Matthews, and it was also concerted that his fleet should be engaged by the men of war which France was to leave in the Mediterranean; which for that purpose were to join the Spanish fleet which was to sail from Toulon at the time that prince Edward was landing in Great Britain.

There were now actually at Toulon sixteen Spanish ships of war, which were at first intended to escort Don Philip to Italy; but they had been blocked up for two years by admiral Matthews's fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and insulted all the coasts of Italy and Provence. The Spanish gunners, being but indifferently skilled in the science they professed, had been for four months exercised in shooting at a mark, and their industry and emulation excited by prizes.

When these were supposed sufficiently expert, the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, sailed from the road of Toulon. It consisted indeed of but twelve sail, there not being sailors and gunners enough to man the rest. They were soon joined by fourteen French ships of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships, commanded by M. de Court, who had all the vigour, both of mind and body, necessary to such a command, though four score

years of age. Forty years before, he had commanded as captain on board the admiral's ship in a sea-fight off Malaga, and there had been no naval engagement since in any part of the world, that of Messina excepted, which was fought in 1718. Admiral Matthews set sail to meet the combined squadrons of France and Spain. It may not be amiss to remark here, that the degree of admiral in England does not answer to the dignity of admiral in France. There are three admirals in the English service, each of whom has his separate division, subervient to the orders of the lord high admiral, or the board of admiralty.

Matthews's fleet consisted of forty-five sail, five frigates, and four fire-ships: and to the advantage of number they also joined that of having the wind; a circumstance on which the success in a sea-fight often depends, as much as a victory by land does upon the advantage of ground. The English were the first who drew up a fleet for engaging in the manner at present practised; other nations have learned from them to divide their squadrons into van, rear, and center. You are not to imagine, that these divisions are three lines; on the contrary, they form only one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the center in the middle, so that the vessels never present more than one side.

This was the order of battle off Toulon. The shifting of the wind threw the Spaniards into the rear. Admiral Matthews, still taking advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his division. There should never be more space between the vessels than sixty fathoms; at this distance

distance they are as close as they should be, and then one vessel can be in no danger of being attacked by many. But it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itself so as to observe this order exactly. The Spanish ships were too far from each other. Two of them were disabled by the very first broadsides; and Matthews had an opportunity of falling upon the Spanish admiral with several of his ships. This vessel, on board of which was Don Joseph de Navarro, was called the Real: she carried a thousand men, and was bored for an hundred and ten pieces of cannon; her upper works were amazingly strong, the planks, together with the ribs, being at least three feet in thickness, so that they were impenetrable to a cannon-ball*. It is also proper to take notice, that the English fire more at the rigging than the hull, preferring the disabling and seizing upon a ship to sinking her.

The Spanish admiral was at one and the same time attacked by the admiral and four ships of the line, who poured upon him jointly a most dreadful fire. Matthews depended upon making her a very easy capture, relying upon his own great experience in naval affairs, and the Spaniards not being used to them, as well as Navarro's being a land-officer, redoubled his hopes. Every Spanish ship also being attacked at once by more than one of the enemy, there

* M. de Voltaire seems to be little acquainted with the doctrine of resistance. If the battery is within point blank, and mounted with battering cannon, the shot will penetrate twice the thickness here described. And as for his observation, that the English fire chiefly at the rigging, it is expressly contrary to fact.

was a probability of their being overpowered. Every man on the deck of the Royal Philip was either killed or wounded. The captain of the admiral's ship was mortally wounded, and Don Navarro being wounded in two places, was obliged leave the deck.

Chevalier de Lage, a French officer in the Spanish service, and second captain of the admiral's ship, maintained the fight against five English vessels. Admiral Matthews was astonished at the quickness with which the Spaniards fired their lower tier of guns, which violently annoyed every thing that came within reach, so that he dispatched a fire-ship to destroy her. These kind of vessels are filled with gunpowder, granadoes *, and other combustibles; and they fasten upon an enemy's ship with grappling irons. The moment they are fast together, they set a match to the train of the fire-ship, while the crew hastens to the boat, and the captain is the last who enters it. In the mean time, the fire taking place, the ship is blown up by the force of the powder, together with the vessel to which it is grappled.

This engine of destruction was within fifteen paces of the Royal Philip, when some of the officers proposed to strike and surrender: "You have forgot then, said M. de Lage, that I am on board!" when pointing with his own hand three pieces of cannon against the fire-ship, they took place, and the vessel was near going to the bottom. The unhappy captain seeing his destruction inevitable, determined at

* There is no such thing as granadoes aboard any fire-ship.

least to avenge himself at the moment of his death. He ordered fire to be set to the train, hoping that he might yet work down upon the Royal Philip, and blow her up along with himself. But it was too late; the ship was soon in flames, and blew up within seven or eight feet of the Spanish admiral, the deck of which was covered with the wreck. M. de Lage says he saw the body of the English captain and some sailors reduced in a moment to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as a cork. The Royal Philip did not receive the slightest damage * from this violent explosion.

M. de Court, who hoisted his flag on board the Terrible, and fought in the center, was at one time engaged with three ships within pistol-shot. He did the enemy a great deal of mischief, and getting clear of them, bore down to the assistance of the Spanish admiral and fleet. The English could only make themselves masters of one single Spanish ship called the Poder, which was entirely dismasted. They had already sent some of their hands on board to navigate the vessel, and the remainder of her crew, consisting of four hundred Spaniards, were obliged to surrender. Matthews was at this time retreating; and the English on board the Poder, being busied in securing their prize, were themselves made prisoners. Superiority of numbers was of no service to the English fleet; for their rear, commanded by vice-admiral Lestock, was at four miles distant.

* The failure of the fire-ship was entirely owing to the misconduct of the captain who commanded the ship which was ordered to cover her on going down to the enemy.

Whether Lestock, at variance with Matthews, would have willingly deprived him of the glory of the day, or whether Matthews did not chuse to share with him that glory, is a question we cannot here decide. Be that as it may, a brisk wind springing up from the West in the night, obliged the fleets to separate, and each drew off to repair their damage. The English retired into Portmahon, the French into Carthagená, and the Spaniards into Barcelona.

This action of Toulon, like almost all sea-fights, that of la Hogue excepted, was quite indecisive. In these engagements it commonly happens that the only fruit of great preparations, and indefatigable contention, is the slaughter of many men, and disabling vessels. There were complaints from all parties; the Spaniards supposed they had not been sufficiently supported, and the French accused them of want of gratitude. Though there was an alliance between the two nations, there had not been always unanimity. Their antient antipathy was sometimes kindled in the breasts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the agreement of their kings. On the other hand, Matthews preferred complaints against his vice-admiral to the government, and sent him home to be tried. He retorted the accusation upon the admiral, to whose bravery and conduct M. de Court publicly subscribed, and he repaid the compliment. If his fate was hard in being accused of misbehaviour by his own officers, it was, however, glorious for him to be acquitted by the enemy. However, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was banished to his country-house, two leagues from Paris: and the

the English admiral, being, after a long trial, brought in guilty, was, by a council of war, which is in England called a court-martial, declared for ever incapable of serving the crown *.

The custom of judging severely, and of stigmatizing unsuccessful generals, had been lately brought into Christendom from Turkey. The emperor Charles VI. had given two examples of it in his last war against the Turks, which war was looked upon by all Europe to have been as injudiciously planned, as it was unfortunately fought. The Swedes, since that, condemned to death two of their generals, whose fate all Europe lamented; nor did this severity make their domestic government happier or more respectable. A subject so important deserves to be dwelt upon a little.

The government of France, directed by principles of greater lenity, are satisfied with inflicting only a slight disgrace upon their general officers, for that very conduct which would induce other states to lay them in irons, or cut off their heads. To me it is very plain, that neither justice nor well-founded policy require that the life of a general should depend upon bad success; surely unless he be a rebel or a traitor he will do his utmost, and there is no sort of equity in cruelly punishing a man who

* The issue of this court-martial was indeed very extraordinary, and the conduct of Lestock very problematical. The officer who had displayed the greatest courage and spirit, possibly not sufficiently tempered with conduct, scarce escaped suffering an ignominious death for cowardice; while the rear admiral, who had kept aloof during the whole engagement, and hazarded the destruction of his superior and half the fleet, by disobeying signals, was acquitted with honour.

has acquitted himself to the best of his abilities; nor is it, perhaps, sound policy to introduce the custom of prosecuting a general who is unfortunate; because in that case, those who begin a campaign indifferently in the service of their natural prince, may be tempted to conclude it in that of the enemy.

The consequences, however, proved, that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the side of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open, at least for some time, and Don Philip was easily supplied with provisions, which he much wanted, from the coast of Provence: but neither the French nor Spanish squadrons were able to make head against Matthews, when he returned to his station, having refitted his ships. France and Spain, being under a necessity of always supporting a very numerous land-army, have not that inexhaustible fund of sailors which are the resource of Great Britain's power: it was now more evident than ever, that it was of vast importance to that crown to keep Minorca, and the loss of it very prejudicial to Spain. It was a melancholy consideration, that those islands should have been able to deprive the Spanish monarchy of a port still more useful than Gibraltar; and which from its situation gave them always the power to harass, at one and the same time, Spain, Italy, and France. Spain, which possessed harbours in Africa, in spite of the Moors, yet could not hinder the English from keeping ports in her own dominions, and that against her will.

END of the FIRST PART.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WAR of 1741.
PART II.

CHAP. I.

*The prince of Conti forces the passage of the Alps.
Situation of affairs in Italy.*

IN the midst of all these struggles, Lewis XV. declared war against the king of Great Britain, and soon after against the queen of Hungary, who in return declared it also against him in form; but these declarations, on both sides, were little more than additional ceremonies. Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip was at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, under the command of the mar-

quis de la Mina, and the prince of Conti had with him twenty thousand French; both these leaders inspired their troops with that confidence and resolution so necessary for penetrating into a country where a single battalion may stop a whole army, where you are every instant obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where all these obstacles are heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had served as a lieutenant-general in the unsuccessful war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and understood the consequence of those disappointments to which an army is exposed almost every campaign. He had not as yet seen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a very different manner from what it is in open countries; but he had prepared himself for this expedition by a constant application of ten hours in a day, during the winter which he passed at Paris. He knew even the smallest rock, and was perfectly master of all that had been performed under marshal Catinat and the duke of Vendôme, as if he had been present himself.

The first of April the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti passed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps, and empties itself into the sea of Genoa below Nice. The whole country of that name surrendered; but, before they could advance any farther, they were under a necessity of attacking the intrenchments near Villa Franca, and those of the fortrefs of Montalban, in the midst of rocks which form a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but thro' narrow defiles, and over frightful precipices, exposed

exposed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this fire, they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock, and even on the Alps they had the English to encounter. Admiral Matthews, having careened his ships, was returned to assume the empire of the seas: he landed with some of his men at Villa Franca, who joined the Piedmontese; and his gunners served the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his measures so well, and his troops were so full of spirits, that they surmounted all these obstacles. The marquis de Bissy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemies batteries, which flanked the passage of Villa Franca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened another way for themselves: they made four false attacks where they had no intention to penetrate; but M. de Bissy made two such brisk assaults against those places which he intended to carry; every thing was so well concerted, so quick, and so vigorously pushed; M. d'Argouges, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc, and of the isle of France; and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made such prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards.

On the one side, M. du Chatel and M. de Castellar ascended through very narrow bye-ways to an eminence called Mount Eleus, from whence they drove the Piedmontese; on the other side, the marquis de Bissy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Grosso.

When

When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, and saw that they must either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers; they assisted each other with ardour; and, joining their efforts, they battered down the intrenchments of the enemy. This rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a secure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmontese, with seventeen hundred men, were taken prisoners, and two thousand were killed. The marquis de Suze, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to M. de Bissy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Chatel had taken post, commanded the enemy's entrenchments; so that at length they were obliged to fly to Oneglia, to the number of three thousand men, and embark on board admiral Matthews's fleet, who was witness of the defeat. The count de Choiseul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had distinguished himself. They advanced from post to post, from rock to rock: they took the citadel of Villa Franca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with provisions in proportion. But all this was no more than dividing the dominion of the Alps, and fighting on the top of high mountains.

While these passes were thus forcing in favour of Don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the dominions to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of Modena was also as far from retaking the country of that name, as the infant from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The
Austrians.

Austrians and the Piedmontese were masters every-where, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and count Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering together the remains of the Spanish army, which was still retiring before the Austrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer observe an unfortunate neutrality, which had been greatly abused, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore set out for Naples, to put himself at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Cajeta the latter end of April 1744; and it was even proposed to remove her to Rome, in case of any unlucky blow, or of an insurrection in Naples, with which the Austrians affected to frighten him. Such was the vicissitude of affairs, that the queen of Hungary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herself very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifesto ready, copies of which he afterwards spread through the kingdom towards the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addressed herself to the inhabitants of the two Sicilies, as to subjects to whom she was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herself more than ever in this queen's cause; she augmented her subsidies, and spent upon the war of this year 1744 two hundred and seventy-four millions nine hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, French money; and this expence was
augmented

augmented every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, which entirely ruined the trade of Provence: she recalled the troops that fought at Dettingen back to Flanders; and these, joined to the Flemish and Dutch regiments, formed, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of above sixty thousand men. Prince Charles, with the like number of forces, was coming to make another attempt to pass the Rhine. The emperor, whose neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preserved the shattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipsburgh; and waited for his fate at Frankfurt, uncertain whether he should be maintained in possession of the imperial crown by France, or stripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

C H A P. II.

First campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders: his successes: he leaves Flanders to fly to the defence of Alsace, invaded by the Austrians, whilst the prince of Conti continues to force a passage thro' the Alps. New alliances. The king of Prussia once more takes up arms.

SUCH was the critical and dangerous situation of affairs when Lewis XV. began his first campaign. He had appointed marshal Coigni to defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty-one battalions and one hundred squadrons. The Bavarian troops, consisting of near twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, an officer on whom they at that time had the greatest dependence. Marshal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty-eight battalions and ninety-seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty two battalions and fifty-eight squadrons, also complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above eighty thousand fighting men.

There still remained on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle seventy-five battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons, exclusive of the army in Italy, thirty thousand militia, the garrisons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Hessians. This situation, especially in Flanders, was very different from
what

what it had been the preceding year at the death of cardinal Fleury. The English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage; but now they came too late; and the Dutch, who refused to engage with them when this enterprize was easy, now took a share in it when it was become impracticable.

The king chose rather to make the campaign in Flanders than in Alsace, supposing that upon the Rhine the war would be only defensive; whereas every thing was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army in person, so it was a long time before the public knew that he was to set out for Flanders; with such secrecy did he conduct even those things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people, who have been governed eight hundred years by the same family, to love their king; besides, he had only one son, the dauphin, who was not yet married; all these circumstances gave rise to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breasts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighbourhood of Lille, and made some new regulations for the establishing of military discipline; a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aids-de-camp were Messrs. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxemburg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubise, and de Pequigny. The enemy were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, who, like the earl of Stair, had been bred under the duke of Marlborough,

Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns: the English had great expectations from his experience and abilities. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had spent great part of his life at the court of France, where his person was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight against them. He was trained up under prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and the French, and was not a little instrumental to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince dying before he could fulfil the promise of marriage which he had made to his mistress Madame de Mechelin, his posterity were deprived of the honours annexed to his house.

Those three generals had it in their power to oppose the king's designs, had they been united; but the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand, they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the space of two months, against any power that should attack either of the two nations: on the other hand, they flattered

tered themselves with keeping the appearances of moderation, even in war itself; and were arming against the king, at the same time that they were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed count de Waffenaar to Lewis, a person agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankness and complaisance, with other amiable qualities, had procured him a great many friends. The count used the most respectful and the most insinuating language to the king, desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered: "The choice, Sir, which the states general have made of you on this occasion, cannot but be very agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct towards your republic, since my accession to the crown, has been such as should have convinced her how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her.

"I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace; but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations. My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions."

The eighteenth of May the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following, the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalifts are pleased to call it: on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's master-pieces. He built this fortification with fome regret, forefeeing that one day we fhould be obliged to furrender it to ftangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place feveral times: he even approached within piftol-shot of the palifade, with marfhal Noailles, count d'Argenfon, and all his court. The trenches were opened the 29th of May. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty loudiores to be diftributed among thofe who worked at the attack towards the gates of Ipres, and a hundred to thofe who worked towards the gate of Lille. At the affault commanded by prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmoft rapidity; and they drained the inundations made by the befieged. The covert-way was taken the fourth of June; the fifth the town capitulated, and was the firft which the king took in perfon. The commanding-officer was permitted to march out with all military honours*.

The king thought proper to demolifh the fortifications of this town, in which fuch great fums had been expended. This was at once fhewing an inftance of moderation to the ftates general, by letting them fee he did not intend to make ufe of this fortrefs againft them; and was taking fome revenge, and teaching them

* It is diverting enough to hear a Frenchman expatiate on the conqueft of Menin, which was scandaloufly given up, almoft without oppofition.

to shew a greater respect to France, by demolishing one of their barriers.

The very next day the king caused Ipres to be invested; and while preparations were making for the siege, he assisted at a *Te Deum* in Lisle, such as had never been seen on those frontiers. Three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied her nephew the duke of Chartres into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthièvre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her husband the duke of Modena was at the head of the Spanish army in Italy. The duchess of Chartres had followed her husband; and the princess of Conti, whose son was at that time upon the Alps, and whose daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied those two princesses.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St. Germain des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the siege of Ipres. There had been no instance, since the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a person in whom both professions, the gown and the sword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permission from pope Clement XII. who thought fit that the church should be subordinate to the army in the grandson of the great Condé. They stormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town; but this action has been censured as premature and too hazardous. The marquis de Beaveau, major-general, marched to the assault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received

ceived a wound, which gave him the most excruciating pain, and proved mortal. His death was regretted by all the officers and soldiers, as a person whom they thought capable of commanding one day the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit: he was one of the most curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very scarce medals; and was, at that time, the only man of his profession that cultivated this kind of knowlege.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ipres soon capitulated. Every moment was improved; for whilst the king's troops were taking possession of Ipres, the duke of Boufflers reduced fort Knock; and during a visit, which the king made after these expeditions, to the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid siege to Furnes, which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progress of the French, without being able to oppose it. The body of troops commanded by marshal Saxe was so well posted, and so effectually covered the army of the besiegers, that they could not but be certain of success. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations: those of the French army were all concerted. Marshal Saxe was posted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers. A numerous train of artillery, which was easily brought from Douay; a regiment of artillery, consisting of near five thousand men, full of officers capable of conducting a siege, and composed of sol-
diers

most of them very able artists; in short, a very considerable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had hastily united only to wage war together for a few years. Establishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. The French will ever be superior in a war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges.

In the midst of all these successes, advice came that the enemy had passed the Rhine towards Spire, within sight of the French and Bavarians; that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine exposed. At first, no-body would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length succeeded on the side where count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians.

This passage of the Rhine, which did such honour to prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg, covered by that fortress, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that should present themselves on that side. General Nadasti advanced towards him, while the other divisions of the Austrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at bay. The Bavarians withdrew, and repassed the Rhine: marshal Coigni was obliged to entrust count Seckendorff to guard the banks

banks of the river towards Germersheim and Rinsabeau: the count undertook to defend them; and this was the very place where prince Charles passed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had succeeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before: this man advanced softly towards a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by several boats loaded with Pandours, Waradins, and Hussars. He silently reached the other side of the river towards Germersheim: about six thousand men passed in this manner; and having advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments, whom they defeated, and put to flight. Prince Charles caused a second bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops passed without opposition. Marshal Coigni, being informed of this disaster, dispatched his son and the marquis de Croissi in all haste with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Chatelet Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the best regiments: they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themselves amidst the morasses; and had no other resource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Those three officers pressed general Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy: they represented to him the important moment, the advantage of situation, and the ardour of the troops. The count at first promised to march, but afterwards changed his opinion: in vain did they insist upon his complying: he answered, that he was better informed than they; and

that he must write to the emperor. Upon which he left them, filled with indignation and surprize.

Thus the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without the least resistance. In an hour's time prince Charles made himself master of Lauterburg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. He made general Nadaſti advance as far as Weissemburg, an open town, whose garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: after this he put a body of ten thousand men into the town, and in the lines around it.

Marshal Coigny, whose army extended along the Rhine, saw that his communication with France was cut off: that Alsace, the country of Metz, and Lorrain, were going to be a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians: in short, there was no other resource left than to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alsace, and to cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weissemburg, just after the enemy had taken possession of it. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with great bravery: they fought in the market-places and in the streets, which were strewed with dead bodies; and the engagement lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had defended the Rhine so ill, repaired their misconduct by their valour: they were principally led on by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the emperor's service, who received ten musket-shot in his cloaths. The marquis de Montal headed

headed the French ; and at length they retook Weisseburg and the lines : but they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire towards Haguenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy spread terror even to Lorrain, and king Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

When the king received this news at Dunkirk, he did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take : he resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders ; and leaving marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, he flew himself to the assistance of Alsace.

After having caused marshal Noailles to set out before him, he sent the duke of Harcourt with some troops to guard the streights of Phalsburg, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty-six battalions, and three and thirty squadrons. This resolution of his majesty in his first campaign, revived the drooping spirits of the provinces, disheartened by the enemy's passing the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was so much the more excited, as in every thing the king wrote, in his letters, ordering *Te Deum* to be sung, in his declarations to foreign persons, in his letters to his family, the desire of peace, and the love of his people, were always his principal topics. This new stile, in an absolute monarch, affected the minds, and at the same time roused the spirits, of the nation.

The king took his route by St. Quintin, la Fere, Laon, and Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldiers pay and subsistence; an attention which encreased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the fifth of August, and the seventh tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation than any she had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia, after the peace of Breslau; and especially after a defensive alliance, concluded, the same year as the treaty of Breslau, between that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united against the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and especially Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance; the progress of the queen of Hungary's arms encreasing daily in Germany; from all these circumstances, it was plain, sooner or later, that the king of Prussia had every thing to fear. At length he determined to renew his engagements with France; the treaty had been signed secretly the fifth of April; and afterwards a strict alliance was concluded at Frankfort, betwixt the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine,

time, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Thus the secret union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau arrived, on the part of the Prussian monarch, to inform the king of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourscore thousand men, and that two and twenty thousand Prussians were advanced as far as Moravia. At the same time advice was brought of the fresh progress which the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps; but, notwithstanding the scaling of those mountains at Montalban and Villa Franca, and the victories obtained among those precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a passage on that side: they could not advance, for want of subsistence, through those defiles, and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk, in several places, on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of the English fleet. Besides, the Genoese had not yet signed their treaty; the negotiations were still depending; so that the thorns of politics retarded the progress of the French arms. They opened themselves, however, a new road on the side of Briançon towards the valley of Suza, and at length they penetrated as far as Chateau Dauphin.

The bailiff de Givri led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Sales, Provence, and Brie, betwixt two mountains. The count de Campo Santo † followed him, at the head of the Spaniards, through another defile. Givri scaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thousand Piedmontese entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first that scaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewise one of the first that mounted this rock; but this was a more sanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to the cannon of the Piedmontese. The king of Sardinia was in person behind the intrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givri was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily found out, sent orders for a retreat. Givri obeys; but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaps into the first entrenchments; the grenadiers dart themselves one upon the other; and, what is hardly credible, they pass through the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the very instant when the pieces, having fired, were recoiling by

† The count de Campo Santo bore this name and title ever since the battle of Campo Santo, where he did surprising feats: his name was his reward, as the name of Bitonto was given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto. There is no title more glorious than that of having gained a battle.

their ordinary motion. The French lost near two thousand men, but not one Piedmontese escaped.

The king of Sardinia, in despair, attempted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants; and it was with difficulty he was withheld. Givri lost his life; colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed; the duke de Agenois, and a great many others were wounded: but it cost them a great deal less than they might have expected in such a situation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and steep defile where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "Some opportunities will offer, in which we shall behave as well as the French; for it is impossible to behave better." I commonly transcribe the letters of general-officers, when I find they contain any interesting matter; for which reason I shall insert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. "It is one of the most glorious and most obstinate engagements that ever was fought: the troops have shewn such valour as surpasses nature. The brigade of Poitou, with Monsieur d'Agenois at their head, have gained immortal glory.

"The bravery and presence of mind of M. de Chevert contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modene, to your Majesty. La Carte is killed: your majesty, who knows the value of friendship, must be sensible how greatly I am affected with this loss." Let me be permitted to say, that such expressions from

a prince to a king, are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

While they were taking Chateau Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the Barricadoes. This is a pass of about three fathoms wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice: the post on the other side of the river was defended by three entrenchments and a covert-way. It was necessary then for the French to make themselves masters of the castle of Demont, which had been built at an immense expence on the top of a rock, that stood by itself in the middle of the valley of Stura, before they could become masters of the Alps, from whence they would have a view of the plains of Piedmont. These barricadoes were forced with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Chateau Dauphin: they took them almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them betwixt two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage, called the *day of the barricadoes*, that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Chateau Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterprize of the barricadoes with more than ordinary success, as it was not attended with the loss of any of the king's troops, was desirous to spare the effusion of human blood before Chateau Dauphin; because, after forcing the barricadoes, this fortress must fall of itself: but the bravery of the king's troops transported them farther than was expected, and in two days

days time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricadoes, and by Chateau Dauphin, was laid open.

The surmounting of so many obstacles towards Italy, a powerful diversion made in Germany, the king's conquests in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had removed the public apprehension, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into a consternation.



CHAP. III.

The king's illness. His life is in danger. As soon as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays siege to Friburg, while the Austrian army, that had penetrated into Alsace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia; and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy.

THE very day that *Te Deum* was sung at Metz for the taking of Chateau Dauphin, the king was attacked with some symptoms of a fever; this was on the 8th of August. His illness increasing, turned to a malignant disorder; and the 14th at night his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very strong constitution, hardened by exercise; but the most robust bodies are the soonest overcome by such distempers. The news of the king being in danger spread desolation from town to town, the people flocked from every side of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different reports increased the general inquietude.

The 14th in the evening, the queen received an express from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the great danger his majesty was in. The queen, the dauphin, and his sisters, and all about them, were in tears; the whole palace and town of Versailles resounded with lamentations. The royal family set out post that very night, without the least preparations. The queen, who was accustomed to give away
her

her money in acts of generosity, had not enough about her to defray the expences of her journey: they were therefore obliged to send in the middle of the night to the receiver-general of the finances at Paris for a thousand louis d'ors. The ladies at court followed the queen without a single servant; the stair-cases, the court-yards, and the avenues, were filled with innumerable crouds of people, who followed the queen's coaches at a distance, some with mournful cries, and others in silent consternation. The news was immediately spread through Paris; the people left their beds, and ran up and down the streets, without knowing where they were going; some repaired to the ramparts, where they might see the royal family pass by at a distance; others flock to the churches; there is no longer any distinction of the time of sleep, of waking, or of rest; all Paris is in consternation; the houses of the officers at court are besieged by a continual croud; the people gather in the public squares, and break out into a general cry, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our assistance."

And indeed his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him, darted with such violence as to burn his thigh. They represented to themselves what he had done in his first campaign; their concern was not owing to the misfortunes they might have reason to fear; no, they were too much grieved to have any foresight. Their affection deprived them of their understanding; strangers accosted one another and asked questions in church; the priest, as

he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, mingled his prayer with his tears; and the people answered him with sobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, desiring them to *pray for the king*; and these carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were some people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were seized with a fit of illness, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magistrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The superior courts sent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were passing continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris they were stopped upon the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The physicians who attended the king sent word every three hours how his majesty did, to satisfy the people, who read those certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where she found her father Stanislaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they despaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greatest height; they thought the king was dead, and the rumour was spread through all the neighbouring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his physicians, to whom such disorders are familiar, and who, joining reason with experience, knew extremely well that the whole consists only in letting nature operate freely; that, when this method does not succeed, we must leave our days to him who has counted

counted them; all the rest being only a false art, which imposes on human weakness.

The queen arrived the 17th, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier, who brought the news of his recovery, was embraced and almost suffocated by the people; they kissed his horse; they led him about in triumph through all the streets, which resounded with cries of joy, "the king is recovered." Strangers embraced each other; they ran to prostrate themselves in the churches; there was not so much as a company of tradesmen, but gave order for *Te Deum* to be sung. The king still kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of these surprizing transports of joy which had succeeded to such scenes of sorrow. This affected him so much as to draw tears from his eyes; when deriving strength from his sensibility, he raised himself up in his bed, and said, "Oh, what a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deserve it?"

The first days of his recovery were distinguished by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barricadoes of the defiles of Stura, which seemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Chateau Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every entrenchment, and at length reduced twelve hundred men, who defended this last fortress of the Alps, to surrender at discretion.

This news pleased the king, and comforted him in his recovery. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never lost sight of
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the interest of his people. Marshal Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alsace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illness hindered him from conducting in person. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to prince Charles, who had sent his flying parties as far as Lorrain: and notwithstanding the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was still taken up with the expectation of an engagement; so that when he thought himself in danger of dying, he said to count d'Argenson, who never stirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illness: "Tell marshal Noailles from me, that while they were carrying Lewis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Condé obtained a victory." But marshal Noailles could only fall upon the rear of prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and cut off about eighteen hundred men. In this skirmish, which cost France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orleans, grand prior of France, and M. de Fremur were dangerously wounded.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine in spite of the French forces, repassed it, almost without any loss, within sight of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against their letting an enemy escape, who was coming to wreak their vengeance upon him. Here indeed they missed a lucky opportunity. The king's illness had retarded the march of the troops; besides, they must have passed through a difficult morass to attack prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, secured his bridges, and contrived
every

every thing that could facilitate his retreat, in-
 somuch that he did not lose a single magazine.
 Having therefore repassed the Rhine with fifty
 thousand men complete, he marched towards
 the Danube and the Elbe with incredible ex-
 pedition ; and, after having penetrated into
 France as far as the gates of Strasburg, he ha-
 stened to deliver Bohemia a second time. The
 king of Prussia advanced towards Prague, and
 invested it the 4th of September : and it is
 somewhat remarkable, that general Ogilvi, who
 defended the town with fifteen thousand men,
 ten days after surrendered himself and his gar-
 rison prisoners of war. This was the same go-
 vernor who gave up the town in less time in
 1741, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand Austrians being
 thus made prisoners of war at the taking of
 the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the
 kingdom being subdued a few days after, Mo-
 ravia invaded at the same time, the French
 army returning to Germany, and other suc-
 cesses attending their arms in Italy ; in such a
 situation one would have imagined that the
 grand European quarrel was on the point of
 being decided in favour of the emperor. This
 prince was preparing to return to Munich, as
 soon as he could receive intelligence that the
 road was left open, by prince Charles's re-
 passing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to
 the assistance of Bohemia. The landgrave of
 Hesse Cassel, having acceded to the union of
 Frankfort, had already three thousand men in
 the pay of the king of France, and was to
 furnish him with six thousand more. The
 elector Palatine was always of that party.

The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was strongly solicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Konigsgratz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France, there was very little left for the emperor: and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to count Bruhl, prime minister of Saxony; at the same time he promised father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity; and among the pleasures of his successes he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a Jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a protestant prince. The appearances were favourable, when prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss; though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march towards Bohemia: and scarce had the Austrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the siege of Friburg, the bulwark of Upper Austria, which marshal Coigni invested the thirtieth of October.

The king's physicians all advised him not to expose himself to the unwholesome air of that province, after so dangerous an illness, but to return to Versailles. He did not mind their advice,

advice, being determined to finish the campaign. While he was at Strasburg, where his reception was one of the most magnificent ceremonies ever beheld, the marquis de Bissi arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid siege to Coni*: and the king of Sardinia, with a superior army, attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprize: it was on one of those occasions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out in this advanced season, and he had a very safe retreat. The disposition of his army was one of the most judicious ever known; for having less cavalry by one half than the besiegers, and more infantry by half, he made his attack in such a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to suffer. And yet he was beaten†; the French and Spaniards, notwithstanding

* Coni is a town of Piedmont, situated between the Geez and the Stura, at the foot of the Alps. It is populous, commercial, and opulent, and equally strong by the nature of its situation, its works, and its citadel.

† He maintained the battle without flinching till night; when finding it impracticable to face the enemy's intrenchments, he retired in good order to his camp at Murasb. He afterwards threw a reinforcement of men, and a supply of provisions, into Coni, which enabled Baron Leutrum, the governor, to hold out the place till the approach of winter, when the chevalier de Soto entered the place with a reinforcement of six hundred fresh men. The besiegers were

standing the national jealousies which used constantly to rise upon the cessation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who support each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, and the field of battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as a general and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of messieurs de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the signal services of monsieur de Courten, on those of messieurs du Caylus, de Choiseul, de Beaupré, and of all those who had behaved gallantly; desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of officers, who deserved the commendations of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters of messieurs de Montmorenci, d'Agenois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quarter master general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major general of the army. This history would be only one continued list of names, was I to recite all the

were no sooner informed of this incident than they abandoned their enterprize, and marched back to Demont, leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese,

brave

brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually lost in the croud.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigor of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura, and the overflowing of the torrents, were of more service to the king of Sardinia, than the gaining the battle of Coni was to Don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege, and to repass the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of those who fight towards the Alps, and have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their armies even by their victories.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The siege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy.

IN this wet season the king was before Friburg. Of all the sieges he had made, this was the most painful and the most dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treissau, and to open a new bed for it of two thousand six hundred fathom; but no sooner was this work completed, than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The besiegers were exposed to the fire of the castle of Friburg, and obliged at the same time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were exposed to an incessant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies perished by the springing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant-general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major-generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aid de camp; and count Lowendahl, who would also be at the siege as a volunteer, was wounded on the head with a musket-shot. This foreigner was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Russian service: it was he that took

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Ockzakow from the Turks *. He spoke almost all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, their genius, the character of the people, and their different methods of fighting; however, he preferred the service of France, where from his reputation he was immediately received as lieutenant-general.

The besiegers were not the least discouraged, but carried the greatest part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themselves entirely masters of it, notwithstanding the bombs, patteringoes, and grenadoes, with which the enemy incessantly annoyed them. There were sixteen engineers at those attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubise had his arm broke by a stone; which as soon as the king heard, he visited him several times, and saw his wounds dressed. This sympathy in their sovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardships of the siege, and generously ventured his life. Their ardour was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the first prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Fri-burg, did not hang out the white flag till the 6th of November, after a siege of two months †.

* The reduction of Ockzakow was chiefly, if not entirely owing to the gallantry of our countryman general Keith, who commanded the attack in person; and notwithstanding a dangerous wound in his thigh, mounted the breach, and with his own hand planted the Russian standard on the ramparts of the place.

† The defence of this place redounded greatly to the honour of Damnitz, who had been bred a dancing-master.

Count d'Argenson drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Friburg. It was stipulated, as a favour granted from the king to general Damnitz, that he should have leave to retire with his garrison, his sick and wounded, into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had signed the capitulation, that this permission would prove fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold such a number of men, that they would be crowded upon one another, and more exposed to the enemy's cannon, and, in short, that his sick must infallibly perish: he therefore begged of them not to grant him so dangerous a favour; but the permission was then become an obligation. A suspension of arms was however granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term the citadel was besieged, and taken in seven days. The king used the same policy at Friburg as at Menin; he demolished the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep possession of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken some day by the Austrians, and proving a thorn in his side. This was one of those towns which Lewis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterwards was obliged to surrender. It is true, that, according to the plan so often defeated, Friburg and Upper Austria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor: but it was then foreseen that he would not keep possession of this country. The king indeed was master of all Brisgau: the prince of Clermont, on his side, was advanced as far as Constance: and the emperor at length had the pleasure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favourable turn, though they advanced

advanced but slowly. The prince of Conti demolished the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by storm. The king of Naples was pursuing prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diversion made by the king of Prussia; but they were disappointed; fortune changed sides again, as she had often done during this war, and prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Prussians committed the very same mistakes, and made the same kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with: they successively evacuated the different posts which led to Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itself.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine within sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year within sight of the king of Prussia. He followed him even into Silesia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breslau. At length it became a question, whether the queen, who seemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Silesia in the month of December, the same year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but just returned to his desolate capital, should be once more obliged to leave it.

CHAP. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Maria Teresa, against whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples surprized at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome.

THE Austrians indulged themselves in these hopes from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the least revolutions in the whole war; namely, the step then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This same prince, who at first had joined the king of Prussia against the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princess against Prussia, and had already furnished her with about twenty thousand men. In pursuing this measure he did not intend to declare war against king Frederic, but only to assist the queen, just as the states general had joined with her against France, without declaring war: It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest in making the queen of Hungary and the new house of Austria more powerful; nay, it seemed strange that he should chuse rather to aggrandize that house, than to raise himself upon its ruins; but a particular pique betwixt him and the king of Prussia, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

The

The king of Prussia had scarce set his hand to his treaty in April 1744 with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland signed his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May: he promised to assist her with thirty thousand men, and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia, which she hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince pretended some antient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories of their neighbours. England paid him a subsidy of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling every year, so long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of surprize, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony should be reduced to accept of this money, it was a much greater surprize that England should be able to give it, when she had granted this very year five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the same time she paid a subsidy of twenty-two thousand pounds to the elector of Cologne, for permitting the enemies of the emperor his brother to raise troops against him in the territories of Cologne, Munster, and Osnabruck; to such a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The passage of prince Charles had struck the borders of the Rhine with terror and amazement; and the English gold did the rest. At this conjuncture the Austrians, assisted by their new allies the Saxons, menaced Silesia: they likewise threatened French Flanders with English and Dutch succours.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of marshal Saxe by twenty thousand men. This general employed all those resources of war which are entirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities; to cover our own country; to maintain an army at the enemy's expence; to remove upon their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back; in short, to baffle superior strength by skill; this is what is looked upon as one of the master-pieces of the military art; and this marshal Saxe did from the beginning of August to the month of November*.

The quarrel about the Austrian succession was every day growing more obstinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the respective interests more complicate, while the successes of each party were generally counterpoised by those of the opposite side.

France had on her side in Germany, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the landgrave of

* The army of the allies amounted to ninety thousand effective men, and there was nothing to obstruct their march to Paris, which might have been performed in three days, except the small body commanded by count de Saxe, which did not exceed five and twenty or thirty thousand at most; these too he was obliged to secure by double intrenchments. The English general Wade was superannuated: his partner in command, the duke d'Aremberg, is said to have been unwilling to give umbrage to the French king, great part of his fortune lying within the territory of Lisle, where they were now encamped. The Dutch were averse to any bold enterprize; and the train of artillery was retarded by some fatality.

Hesse Cassel, and the elector palatine, by the treaty of Frankfort: but the Prussians were then busy in defending themselves. Hesse was always ready to sell troops to England, as well as to France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving assistance; and, besides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Austria was still the predominant power in Germany, especially having the succours of Saxony and of the Dutch; with the troops and subsidies of Great Britain. The rest of the empire still neuter, though a great part were well affected to the house of Austria, in all their mémoires complained of this civil war which laid waste their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many; yet, on the other hand, it is no less true, that this war really enriched Germany, while it seemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and English money, which was scattered among them with such profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans: Frankfort especially, so long the residence of the imperial court, of such a number of ministers, princes, and generals, had made immense profits; Dresden, which had furnished provisions a long time to the French and Austrian armies in their turn, had thereby enriched itself; and, upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and consequently must, sooner or later, render it more powerful. It was not so in regard to Italy, which, moreover, cannot form, for any considerable time, a powerful body like Germany. France had not sent to the Alps more than forty-

two battalions and thirty-three squadrons, which, considering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compose above a body of twenty-six thousand men. The infant's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thousand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in this vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples towards the months of March, April, and May, 1744; and, had it not been for the prudent conduct of count Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general finding that his army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and these new troops grew inured to discipline: at length, by temporizing, he obliged prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army also wasting away, to retire from Abruzzo towards Rome.

This city had beheld, since the month of July, an engagement in her neighbourhood betwixt the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were at Velletri, antiently the capital of the Volsci, and now the residence of the dean of the sacred college. The king of the two Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is reckoned a structure of magnificence and taste.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz made the same attempt upon Velletri, as prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702 ; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night : the main guard were slain : those who resisted, were cut in pieces ; and those who made no resistance, were made prisoners : in short, terror and alarm were spread every-where. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken ; the marquis de l'Hospital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noise, runs to the king, and saves him ; no sooner had the marquis quitted his house, when it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena and the ambassador, puts himself at the head of his troops without the town ; the Austrians break into the houses ; general Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's minister, who had been formerly in the same regiment with himself. " Is it not true," said this minister to him, " that you grant me my life, and will content yourself with making me your prisoner." While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very same thing happened as at Cremona ; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Irish, and another of Swiss, repulsed the Austrians, strewed the streets with dead bodies, and retook the town. M. Sabatini, seeing this revolution from his window, said to the Austrian general ; " 'Tis I now that grant you your life, and 'tis you that are my prisoner." A few days after, prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat to-

wards Rome, whither he was pursued by the king of Naples. The former marched towards one gate of the city, and the latter towards the other: they both passed the Tiber within sight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the spectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards stood with their drawn swords in the streets, while their master was kissing the pope's toe. The two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whose inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was from the beginning the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that on both sides the success was still extremely dubious.

C H A P. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever.

IMMEDIATELY after the taking of Fri-burg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been afraid of losing. He remained three days in his capital, to shew himself to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleasure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuse: he dined in the Hotel de Ville, whose square was adorned with those magnificent decorations which make us wish for more durable monuments: he was served at table, according to custom, by the provost of the merchants, and the dauphin by the first Echevin.

On this occasion, it was observed, that the inscriptions of the Hotel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin; though, indeed, these interpreters of the people's joy ought to be such as they can understand. In Germany, England, and the North, they pique themselves for making inscriptions and devices in French, which ought to be a hint to our nation to shew the same honour to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, at his return from the campaign, had no minister of foreign affairs, having been his own minister at the army. To fill this

place, he chose successively two men who had no thoughts of it. The first was M. de Villeneuve, who, during his embassy to the Ottoman Porte, had negotiated a peace between the Turks and the last emperor of the house of Austria: he was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wise man; a character which he still maintained by his sensibility of his present condition: having no ambition to deceive himself, or to imagine he had strength above his age, he refused the employment. The second was the marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the secretary of war. By this favour the king surprized the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had for giving away a place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in most courts of Europe, seems to require less virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honest man. These two ministers were descended from one of the most antient houses of Touraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for some years been joined to the antient honours of the sword. Their father, who had been keeper of the seals, and minister of the finances, was a genius equal either to the command of an army or directing the police of a state; a man of piercing wit, great intrepidity, and unwearied assiduity; one who would unravel the most knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are so fond of; in short, a man superior to party, fear, or interest. At the time the government wanted money, he paid back an hundred thousand crowns into the royal treasury, which were his right as minister of the finances; and when he acted

acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king was acquainted with, contributed greatly to the promotion of his sons.

One of the first affairs that came before the minister of state, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambassadors, and of the constitutions of the empire, than any exercise of the right of war.

The king, still true to his engagements with the emperor, had sent marshal Belleisle, with full powers from himself and from the emperor, to Munich, and from thence to Cassel and Silésia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial residence, with the chevalier his brother: they had been at Cassel, and were continuing their journey, without any distrust, through a country where the king of Prussia has several post-houses, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neuter and inviolable. While the marshal and his brother were changing horses at one of those post-houses, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arrested and ill used by an Hanoverian messenger, and soon after removed to England. The duke of Belleisle was a prince of the empire, and in this quality this arrest might have been considered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times, emperors would have punished such an indignity; but any insult might have been offered to Charles VII; all he could do, was to complain.

The French ministers laid claim at the same time to the privileges of ambassadors, and to every right of war. If marshal Belleisle was considered as a prince of the empire, and as a minister of the court of France, going to the imperial and Prussian courts; as those two courts were not at war with Hanover, his person was undoubtedly sacred: if, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general, and as a marshal of France, the king offered to ransom him and his brother. Pursuant to the cartel settled at Frankfort the 18th of June, 1743, between France and England, the ransom of a marshal of France was rated at fifty thousand livres. The minister of king George II. eluded these pressing arguments by an evasion, which was a new affront: he declared that he looked upon Messieurs de Belleisle as prisoners of state: they were treated with the greatest politeness, according to the maxim of most of the European courts, who soften the iniquity of politics, and the cruelty of war, by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII. despised and disregarded in the empire, having no other support but the king of Prussia, pursued by prince Charles, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again compel him to quit his capital, seeing himself the continual sport of fortune, and oppressed by maladies which were increased by his vexations, sunk at length under the weight: he died at Munich at the age of forty-seven years and a half, leaving this lesson to the world, that the highest degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmost pitch of infelicity: he had not been unhappy till
after

after his elevation to the imperial throne ; and nature from that time proved even more unkind to him than fortune : a complication of acute disorders filled his days with bitterness, and brought him to the grave. He had both the gout and the stone : upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his stomach mortified, with stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded, that for some time he must have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in state, dressed after the old Spanish mode, according to the regulation of Charles V. though there has been never a Spanish emperor since that prince ; and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the imperial ceremonies ; and, with all that parade of vanity and human misery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during his short reign, was not even possessed of a small unhappy province. They gave him the title of Invincible in the rescripts published by the young elector his son, a title by custom annexed to the imperial dignity, and which only served to remind the world of the misfortunes of him that possessed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologn, would never defend his cause ; not but that this elector, who was bishop and prince of Munster, Paderborn, and Osnabruck, might have raised an army ; but then to have a good one required great preparations ; he must have laid up money, have had officers regularly trained, and soldiers properly disciplined ; but all this he wanted. He had always foreseen that Austria

would resume the superiority, which indeed was the reason of his neutrality during this whole war : this occasioned great complaints against him ; but the event justified the conduct he was obliged to observe.

It was then believed that, as the cause of the war no longer subsisted, peace would be restored to Europe : they could not offer the empire to the son of Charles VII. who was then only seventeen years of age ; they flattered themselves in Germany, that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the surest means of, at length, placing her husband, the grand duke, upon the imperial throne : but she would obtain this throne, and also continue the war. The English ministry, who gave the law to their allies, because they gave them money, supplying, at the same time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they should be losers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war : they had no difficulty to inspire Maria Theresa with the same confidence, so as to flatter herself that she should be able to beat both France and Prussia. The passage of the Rhine and of the Elbe in one campaign had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon either his son-in-law the infant Don Philip, in Italy ; or the young elector of Bavaria, in Germany ; or the king of Prussia, who was returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, because it was begun : the object of it was now no longer the same as in the beginning ; it was one of those maladies whose symptoms alter when they grow

grow inveterate. Flanders had been respected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was considered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aspire to this dignity, but he might likewise render it subservient to the enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he had at first attempted to acquire by the sword. At least, by detaching him from his new alliance with Austria, there was a probability of giving a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept of terms of peace. But the Saxon minister chose rather to see his master an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept of it.

This refusal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared so astonishing to Europe, did not at all surprize those who were acquainted with his court, and with the state of his affairs. They persuaded him, that he would find it very difficult to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They represented to him that he would run the risk of losing a throne, which he might secure to his posterity: and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point in competition with the great duke of Tuscany. The example of the
elector

elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince who is not of himself very powerful, to sustain the weight of the imperial crown; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own strength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In short, this prince, whether he was not strong enough, or whether he was restrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England; instead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her husband's head, and to give every thing to those, to whom at first he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other resource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the decision of so many different interests, which had so often changed, and whose different mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joseph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to son whose rights had been maintained by France: they had restored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, and now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Six thousand Hessians in French pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which have been a long time in the French service, had joined the Bavarian forces which, were still maintained by the king. To render these succours effectual, the Bavarians ought to have done their best to defend themselves; but it was their fate

to be always beaten by the Austrians. They defended the entrance of their country so very ill, that in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that same capital from which his father had been so often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to such a degree, that it was not able to supply forage to the French troops who were coming to the elector's assistance. The Hessians were mercenaries, who, though they would accept of French money, did not care to fight. The 10th of April general Braun declared to count Segur, commander in chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Segur found himself deserted by the very people he was come to assist; and he could not rely on the Hessians, who had shewn such backwardness.

To complete the disgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who still commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with Austria, and was negotiating a secret accommodation, whereby he surrendered the house of Bavaria to the discretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated every thing that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's discontent, was that the French had lately refused him twenty-four thousand German florins, which he still demanded, notwithstanding the immense sums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the emperor Charles VIth's plate in pledge, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electorall

electoral family, he complained that they did not pay him the remainder of a sum of money which was still due. Every body knows, that this man, after having been long in the service of the house of Austria, was confined by the last emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the house of Bavaria: now human nature is so constituted, that those who often change masters, are seldom heartily attached to any party. The 24th of March he wrote to marshal Thoring, a Bavarian general, these very words: "The happy success with which they flatter themselves upon the Rhine, will not save Bavaria; this country must be doomed to utter destruction, if means be not found of saving it by some kind of accommodation, cost what it will."

The count de Segur and M. de Chavigni, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his secret designs; they plainly perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left exposed in a country, where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the space of four years, were become their enemies.

Things being thus unhappily situated, count Segur, who had only six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thousand Austrians, within a few leagues of Donavert, near a little town called Pfaffenhoven. All he had to do in this situation was to save the king's troops, and the military chest; for this end he posted his men so well, by covering them

them with a wood, and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and most obstinate fight, without being thrown into disorder. The French alone lost about two thousand men, killed and wounded: the Palatines, who were less exposed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made prisoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major-general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a musket-ball on the field of battle. He had only his aid-de-camp near him when he received the wound. "Let me die, said he; run and tell M. de Segur that he take care of the rear." We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who, besides every military talent, was possessed of a philosophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his company infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long distinguished in Flanders; the hope and consolation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this son, on whom she doated. The marquis de Crussol, who was entrusted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that the enemy could not refuse them their commendations, and were rewarded by the prince. This little army retired to Donavert in good order, without being ever broke; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themselves had lost.

All

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augsburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to those which were only fighting his battles, he might still have kept the balance even. The king was defending his cause on all sides: marshal Maillebois, at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and sixty-two squadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Prussia kept prince Charles employed: in short, the king of France himself was upon the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were superseded by count Sekendorff's party; they prevailed on the young elector to sign preliminaries, by which he made himself dependent on Austria; while the queen of Hungary was left in possession of his strongest towns, Ingolstadt, Scharding, and Branau, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty: he likewise promised his vote at the first diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very person whom the present conjuncture had rendered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Bavaria. The six thousand Hessians who were in this army declared themselves neuter; but notwithstanding their neutrality, they were disarmed at Augsburg, after which they passed from French into English pay. The Palatines were soon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution, so lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this service at least to France, that

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it saved her the men and the treasure of which she had been so lavish in favour of the house of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally cost a great deal more than their service is worth. The young elector's council might excuse this treaty by the experience of past, and the apprehension of future misfortunes : but how could they justify a secret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and, like the rest, to receive English pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the Imperial throne, that in two years time the Bavarians would serve among his enemy's troops.

While the king lost one ally, who was only a burden to him, he still preserved another, who was of infinite use. The king of Prussia was the terror of the Austrians; prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The resolution taken by Lewis XV. was to act upon the defensive in Germany, and upon the offensive in Flanders and Italy : and thereby he answered every purpose. His army upon the Rhine employed the Austrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally the king of Prussia, with too great a superiority of forces. He had already sent marshal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was entrusted with the management of the war upon the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook in person to finish the conquests, which he had interrupted the preceding

ceding year. He had just married the dauphin to the second infanta of Spain, in the month of February; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his sixteenth year, prepared to set out the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of an hundred and six battalions and an hundred and seventy-two squadrons complete, with seventeen independent companies.



C H A P. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe having made several marches, which kept the enemy in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all of a sudden fate down before Tournay, and invested it the 25th of April; while the allied army of the English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's masterpieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the antient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage: they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom regarded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places: they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay happened one of those events, in which the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the most conspicuous characters.

characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron: here a cavalier* was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gun-powder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himself down upon a bear-skin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze: he resolves to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand did all he could to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone, than a soldier trying the prime of his fusil, a spark fell upon the cask of gun-powder, and instantly the cavalier flew up into the air, carrying with it M. de Talleyrand, with twenty-four soldiers, whose mangled limbs were dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the distance of above thirty fathom. But an accident of this kind, though never so fatal, is confounded in time of war in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language; upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them, not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descend without order, without preparation, or even without officers, upon the covert-way, notwith-

* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

standing

standing the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardour of the troops rendered in some measure excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epauléments, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states general were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of the troops that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of those republicans, they were the first of the allies at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

The fifth of May the enemy advanced to Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aids-de-camp, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing the king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of observation; nor were the twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed that the king's
army

army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations, it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty-two squadrons; for the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons; whereas the allies had only forty-six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is, that the day of the engagement the French did not avail themselves intirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived; there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers were certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true, that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides, it happens very seldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck, of the same age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty-six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons: the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of Eng-
land

land and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old general Königsegg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle, besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general, in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace: besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge: in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone, and when to execute a project, to see things at one glance, presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But at that time this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at death's door, when he left Paris. The author of these memoirs happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him, how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? the marshal answered: "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

The 6th of May the king arrived at Douay: just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him that

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the enemy's army was approaching, and that they should be quickly in sight of each other. "Gentlemen," said the king to his aid-de-camps and to his officers, "there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprized, was there in time, and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the 10th and the night of the 11th in making their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than the evening before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present: the king said, that since the battle of Poitiers, there had not been any king of France who had his son with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a signal victory over the English; and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought, he waked the first: at four o'clock he himself awakened count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who that very instant sent to marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted as he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The
marshal

marshal told the officer sent by count d'Argenson, that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve with the carabineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops, whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made these answers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprized of the marshal's directions, said, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge." Soon after he went and took post beyond the place called *The Justice of our Lady in the Wood*. For his guard he would have only a squadron of an hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one gendarm, a light-horse-man, and a musketeer. Marshal Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also the count d'Argenson; the aid-de-camps were the same as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroy was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his attendants near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person that has a mind to form to himself a clear and distinct image of this action. The antients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies; but to have an adequate knowledge of such a day, requires researches still more difficult. No one officer can see every thing; a great many behold with eyes of prepossession, and there are some that are very short-sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war-office, and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps; but it is requisite moreover to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their relations, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions have I taken for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation*. Casting an eye upon the plan, you may perceive at one glance the disposition of the two armies. You will see Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dau-

* Notwithstanding M. Voltaire's boasted accuracy in the relation of this battle, it appears on further information that he is mistaken in many essential particulars. The disappointment of the allies was entirely owing to the failure of the left wing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry's forbearing to advance to the support of the infantry; who, by the way, never formed themselves into that imaginary column described by the French writer, with no other view probably than to tarnish the honour of marshal Saxe, and compliment the rival French officers.

phin came. The village of Fontenoy is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad, betwixt the woods of Barri and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left towards Remecroix, where the enemy might advance by making the compass of the woods.

The general had made dispositions both for a victory and a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, strengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the same time over the other bridges on the Lower Scheld in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least clashing, there happened one mistake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, it was told the general, that there was a hollow way, deep and impassable, which extended, without discontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoi, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himself; and

they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He made his dispositions accordingly ; but this ground which was very deep near Fontenoy and Antoin, was quite level betwixt those two villages. This circumstance, so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence ; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quarter-master, M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot betwixt the villages. Marshal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoi to the first redoubt by a redan of earth ; the three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four ; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens, with that of Diesbach. Beside these precautions, they had likewise planted six sixteen-pounders on this side the Scheld, to gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe that there was a piece of ground of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle ascent betwixt the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrazures ; here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left-side of Fontenoi, formed a cross-fire sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

Had

Had the English attempted to pass through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had entrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marshal Saxe make the most advantage of the ground on every side.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The count de la March and de Lorges were entrusted with the post of Antoin; where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiss, and the regiment of Courtin on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barri.

formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and perhaps absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the same time they had it in their power constantly to harass the besieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Konigsseg: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, marshal Noailles was near Fontenoy, and gave an account to marshal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning of the night, in causing the village of Fontenoy to be joined to the first of the three redoubts betwixt that village and Antoin: he acted here as M. de Saxe's first aid-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedence to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there so perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who from the ordinary weakness of the human heart, should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Granmont came up, when marshal Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced

one another most tenderly; and then marshal Noailles went to give his majesty an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barri, opposite to an English battery; here a cannon-ball of three pound weight struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot, fell into his boot: "Have a care, says he to the duke of Grammont, your horse is killed." "And I myself," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern: "Ah! we shall lose a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Towards seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made entrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin

not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed; for the soldiers did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark; at each discharge they made the air resound with *Vive le Roi*. The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The English presented themselves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time with the dauphin, near *the Justice of our Lady in the Wood*, against which the English played very briskly with their cannon. Even the small musket-shot reached thus far; a domestic of count d'Argenson being wounded on the forehead by a musket-ball, a good distance behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed every thing with great attention. He was the first who perceived, that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine towards Ramecroix: he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the general's advice, entirely solicitous about the success of the day, never presuming

presuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced towards the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their second attack : the cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin ; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midst of danger : the king and those about him, finding themselves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this shot, fell a-laughing : the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery, " Send these balls back to the enemy ; I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterwards returned to his former post, and with surprize observed, that most of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barri, from the English battery, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Roussillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpose, upon the villages and the redoubts. Towards ten the duke of Cumberland took the resolution of forcing his way betwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other side of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprize seemed temerarious.

temerarious. The duke took this resolution only because an officer, whose name was Ingoldsby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders *. Had he made himself master of that redoubt, he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the byeways; they formed upon three lines pretty close, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoy and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, was a rising ground.

* General Ingoldsby was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted.

The officers of the French guards said to one another, "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended soon to the top with their grenadiers; but when they got there, how great was their surprize to find a whole army before them! The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very near sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards, and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew near the enemy: the regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces; Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the first; Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant-general; lord Albemarle their major-general; and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. Lord Charles Hay *, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant, and since captain of grenadiers, answered with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; do you begin." Then lord Charles, turning about to his men, gave the word of command, in English, to fire! The English made a run-

* This nobleman's words were these: *Souvenir vous l'affaire de Dettingen*, "Remember the affair of Dettingen."

ning fire; that is, they fired in platoons, in this manner, that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry: it was impossible but their eyes must have been surprized at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge; Messieurs de Clisson, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, lost their lives; ninety-five soldiers were killed upon the spot; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven Swiss officers were wounded; as also one hundred and forty-five of their common men, and sixty-four were killed; colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers dropped down dead; fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers, were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and, seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above three hundred fathom, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Lutaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the mean time, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise: one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers muskets, to make them fire low and straight!

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoy
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and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines *, being now straitened by the nature of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre: at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aid-de-camp begged of him to stay to have his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is dearer to me than my life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds; at the same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank; upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen others, and twelve lieutenants; at the same time two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself to the English column; but its colonel the duke d'Havré, the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and, in short, thirty-seven officers are wounded so as to be obliged to quit the

* In the foregoing page he says it was drawn up four deep, which was not the case; and as for this column, there was no such manœuvre.

field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, entirely overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges: six of its officers, one hundred and thirty-six soldiers were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

It was probable that the English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in the hollow way which lined Fontenoy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time two battalions of French and Swiss guards were filing off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Lutteurs, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoi. "Ah, gentlemen, said he, do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died, some time after, in unspeakable torments: before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment

giment of guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to *Our Lady in the Wood*, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the Wood of Barri, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the Dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king; "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade, and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himself. The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning: of the first line of cavalry not above the one half was left. The division of count d'Estrées was near Antoin, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that

that side, while the English on the other were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's division, remained under the command of the count d'Estrées. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name; but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must of course disperse all those small detached bodies, which successively presented themselves: besides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire: his illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler made of several folds of stitched taffety, which he carried on his saddle bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignecourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant of a family which has given three grand masters to the order

order of Maltra, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank; but the squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through with M. de Vignecourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil: the horse, having received several wounds, ran away with his master; while the but-end of the musket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broke through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenson, son of the secretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the same time that the regiment of Fiennes was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Brionne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabillant headed and rallied their troops; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, master de camp of the cavalry, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi, were every-where: all the general-officers were continually riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, suffered greatly; that of prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve.

twelve. All the staff-officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisegur, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges, de Mezieres, aid-quarter-masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general, (whose name is pronounced *d'Abé*) had his foot shattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguish obliged him to retire.

The more the English column advanced the deeper it became, and of course the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder as far as the very place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the croud that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change colour; he was concerned, but shewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him towards *Our Lady of the Wood*, he said to a light-horseman, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back." The light-horseman

horseman galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister enquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very instant from Douay, and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy: but all these corps were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a Guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced thro'. M. de Guesclin received a wound on the foot. The carabineers charged the enemy; but had six officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All these attacks were made without any preparation or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which the greatest bravery can avail nothing against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, continued still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire: he passed close under the front of the English column, to observe every thing that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very same manner as towards the right; endeavouring, but in vain, to throw
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the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after the other; while the English, facing about on every side, properly disposing their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceased to fire. The marshal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was; they told him, it was the regiment de Vaisseau, commanded by M. de Guérchi; he then cried out, "Admirable indeed!" Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, and one third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less: their colonel was son to the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany: the father served in the enemy's army, and his sons in the king's. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded, by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to observe whether Fontenoy still held out; there he found that they had no more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hopes; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoy, though a supply of ball was come; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, tho' it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprized to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken; their countenance was bold and undaunted, and they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Battens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king and his son. The success of a last attack was

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dubious.

dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move towards the bridge of Calonne, in order to favour this retreat in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aid-de-camp M. Dailvorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorges who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland must have likewise had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross-fire of Fontenoy and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance;

advance; the English horse, which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered brigadier Ingoldsby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments, in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadier obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promised him some, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing so much as losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of a council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aid-de-camp to the

king: he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoy; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life-guards; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command, and these had stopped the column, which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every side without being wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword in his hand, and all covered with dust. "Well, Resce," says marshal Noailles to him (this was a familiar expression used by the marshal) "what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news, says the duke of Richlieu, is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and his other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." "But Fontenoy, said they, is possessed by the enemy." "I come from thence, said the duke; it holds out still." "We must see, replied they, whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them, "There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and every body else joined in the opinion. He gave orders to bring up four pieces of cannon immediately: twenty messengers rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whose name was Issards, aged one and

and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Lewis.

The king ordered the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed: they were designed, they said, to cover the retreat. "We shall make no retreat, said the duke de Chaulnes; the king commands that these four pieces shall give us the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full speed in the king's name to give orders to the king's household to march: he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light-horse; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the musketeers commanded by M. de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with sword in hand to put himself at the head of the king's household; but they stopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. "Mine is not precious, said he; it is the general's life that is precious in the day of battle."

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld with concern the troops quitting their post at Antoin;

the count de la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying. "I will answer, said the duke de Biron, for his disobedience; I am sure the king will approve of it now that there is so great a change in our favour; I answer that marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin; he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Irish brigade, strictly recommending to all the troops he met upon his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

While he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croisy, were together on the right, opposite the left flank of the column upon a rising ground: they perceived the Irish and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing towards the right flank. "Now is the time, said they to one another, for us to advance; the English are beaten." M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the rest advance under the count d'Estrées. Five squadrons of Penthievre's regiment follow M. de Croisy and his sons; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabillant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if

if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant: it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. Lord Clare marches up with the Irish; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiss advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All these corps move at the same time; the Irish commanded by lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way; they force through it firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed on their muskets. M. de Bonnafanse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the first that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carabineers betwixt the Irish and the king's household, were then piercing thro' the first ranks; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the croud and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform as the English, for English battalions; and fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out *Vive France*, but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed thro' mistake.

The four cannon which the duke of Richlieu had called for, and which the duke de Chaulnes

had levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrées, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell-mell with the guards and the musketeers. All the pages were there with sword in hand; so that the marquis de Tréflau, who commanded the brigade of the king's body guards, said to the king after the battle, "Sire, you sent us pages whom we took for so many officers."

All this time, the duke de Biron held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade de Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boisseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king, in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and that the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, dispatched by marshal Saxe, to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed; general Ponsonby, lord Albemarle's

Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers, were slain. The English repass'd the hollow way betwixt Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with dead and wounded bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever memorable day*.

* After having perused this tedious and confused detail, one is surprized to find M. de Voltaire exclaiming against those historians who take up the reader's time in describing the incidents of battles, from which nothing is to be learned but an imperfect idea of carnage and desolation.

S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W A R of 1741.

Affairs of Genoa in 1746 and 1747.

THE war which began upon the Danube, and almost at the very gates of Vienna, and which at first seemed likely to last only a few months, was, after continuing six years, removed to the southern coasts of France; and at the same time that the Austrians and Piedmontese, masters of Genoa and of the whole coast, were making preparations to enter Provence, Brittany was likewise menaced by an English fleet.

The design of the enemy, especially the English, was at that time to invade Provence; to destroy Port L'Orient, and with it the East-India company; to make themselves masters of Port Louis, which must fall after L'Orient; to lay

lay Brittany under contribution ; to excite the Calvinists towards Rochelle, Languedoc, and Dauphiné, to a revolt ; while they were concerting measures to attack the different settlements of France in Asia and America, and depended on making themselves masters of Naples, after they had brought Genoa under the yoke.

These vast expectations were not without some foundation ; for the Austrians were masters of Italy, and about this time the English had hardly any more enemies at sea. Indeed the king's campaigns and marshal Saxe's victories made amends for every thing. But the king of Great Britain reckoned that he should soon make the Dutch a warlike power, by obliging them to accept of his son-in-law for their stadtholder ; besides, he was then contracting for an entire army of Russians, to stop the progress of the king's army in Flanders.

In this conjuncture Brittany was no more in a posture of defence than Provence. An old officer, who commanded at Port Louis, wrote word to court : " I discovered, on the 28th of September, a fleet whose number is infinitely increased ; but I shall easily withstand these Englishmen." The 2d of October he wrote again : " They have landed at Polduc with three hundred and fifty flat-bottom boats and fifty-five men of war : if we had muskets, we should beat them ; but the peasants have nothing but pitchforks."

By these letters, it appears to what danger that country was exposed, notwithstanding the confident expressions of an old commander. General Sinclair, with about seven thousand

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regular

regular troops *, landed without opposition at the mouth of the little river of Polduc. From thence he advanced to Plemur, and encamped on an eminence which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis. Six days were spent before he cannonaded the town. If the English lost all this time, the French did not employ it better; for those who commanded in the place, and who were able to defend themselves a long time, as they had artillery and twelve thousand militia of Brittany, capitulated the first day of the attack, upon receiving a declaration of general Sinclair, in which, according to custom, it was signified that he would destroy every one that resisted with fire and sword.

Such mistakes, it is said, were committed on this occasion, as nothing, except the conduct of general Sinclair, could surpass. Never was there a stronger instance how greatly the fate of an important enterprize, and of a whole province, depends on a critical minute, on false advice, on a panic, terror, or a mistake. Early in the morning the drums of the militia, who were not as yet perfect in their trade, beat the general. General Sinclair asked the people of the country why they beat the general after capitulation. Answer was made, that the garrison had laid a snare for him by capitulating; for they were going to fall upon him with twelve thousand men. During this conversation the wind changed, and Admiral Lestock made a signal to give him notice of it; upon which Sinclair, afraid of being attacked, and of not having an opportunity of re-embarking his

* He had not above half the number,

men, precipitately quitted his post, and returned to Plemur in some confusion.

In the mean time, those who had made the capitulation came out of the town to make their submission to the English general; but they could hardly believe their eyes, when they found no-body in the camp. In this preposterous manner did the English reembark, just when the French were come to bring them the keys of the town. Ashamed of their bad conduct, they made a descent upon the little island of Quiberon; which was an enterprize as ill contrived, as that of Port L'Orient had been executed; for this being almost a desert island, the taking of it could answer no purpose. In short, this great armament produced nothing but blunders and laughter, whereas every other part of the war was but too serious and too terrible*.

At that time a revolution was carrying on in Genoa, much more important and more sur-

* General Sinclair did all that could be expected. He landed with about three thousand men, in the face of two thousand, assembled to oppose him. He marched ten miles up into the country, invested Port L'Orient, and summoned the place to surrender. Confiding in the skill of his engineers, he caused a small battery to be built, and began to open trenches; but, in the mean time, the garrison of the town was reinforced; the works were improved and augmented; a considerable body of French troops was advancing to the relief of the place. The engineers failed in performing their promise, and repeated messages came from admiral Lestock, importing, that in such an advanced season of the year he could not, and would not continue with the great ships on the coast of France. In these circumstances, nothing was left for general Sinclair but a retreat, which he executed with the utmost deliberation; and we leave the world to judge whether this expedition was more disgraceful to the French than to the English nation.

prizing

prizing than that which had lately alarmed the coast of Brittany.

The Austrians exercised the right of conquest with the utmost rigour. The Genoese having exhausted their resources, and given away all the money of their bank of St. George, to pay sixteen millions of livres, desired to be forgiven the other eight: but the 30th of November, 1746, notice was given them on the part of the empress queen, that they must not only pay the sum, but likewise as much more, for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the suburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena, and Bisagno, and in the neighbouring villages. At the publication of these orders, despair seized every inhabitant; their misery was at the utmost pitch; their commerce ruined, their credit lost, their bank exhausted, their lands laid waste, their fine country-houses, which embellished the environs of Genoa, plundered, and, in short, the people treated as slaves by the soldiery. They had nothing more to lose but their lives; and there was not a single Genoese who did not seem determined to lose the last drop of his blood, rather than to bear any longer with so severe and so ignominious a treatment.

The captive Genoese reckoned, among the rest of their disgraces, the loss of the kingdom of Corsica, which had been long in a state of rebellion; and now they made no doubt but the malecontents would be supported by the victorious arms of Austria. In this chaos of revolutions, Corsica, which pretended to be oppressed by Genoa as Genoa was by the Austrians, rejoiced at the calamity of her masters. This additional affliction affected only the senate;

nate: by losing Corsica they were deprived only of a phantom of authority; but the rest of the Genoese were a prey to those real sorrows with which human misery is attended. Some of the senators privately, and with great address, fomented the desperate resolutions, which the inhabitants seemed disposed to take. It behoved them to act with the greatest circumspection on this occasion; for, in all probability, a hasty and ill-concerted insurrection would have been attended with the destruction of both senate and city. The emissaries of the senate contented themselves with saying to those who seemed to have most credit among the people: "Are you then determined to wait till the Austrians come to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, to rob you of the little food you have yet left? Their troops are dispersed without the inclosure of the walls, and only a few left in the city to guard the gates: you are here above forty thousand men able to strike a blow: is it not far preferable to die, than to be spectators of the ruin of your country?" By a thousand such discourses were the minds of the people inflamed; but they did not yet stir, as nobody had dared to set up the standard of liberty. An opportunity soon offered. The Austrians wanted to remove some cannon and mortars out of the arsenal of Genoa for the expedition into Provence, and they obliged the inhabitants to perform this drudgery. The people murmured, but obeyed. An Austrian captain happening to strike an inhabitant, who did not bestir himself sufficiently, this was a signal, at which the people assembled, rose, and armed themselves in a moment with every thing they could lay hold

on, with stones, sticks, swords, muskets, weapons of every kind. The people, who had not the least thoughts of defending the town when the enemy was at a distance, rose up in its defence when it was in the possession of the Austrians.

The marquis de Botta, who was then at St. Pietro d'Arena, imagined that this popular insurrection would subside of itself, and the transient fury soon be succeeded by fear. The next day he only reinforced the guards of the town gates, and sent some detachments into the streets. Upon this the people assembled in greater crowds than the preceding day, and flock to the doge's palace, demanding the arms that were kept there. The doge made no answer; but the domestics pointed out another magazine: the people immediately run and break it open, and arm themselves; about a hundred officers are distributed among the populace: they barricade the streets; and though it was now become necessary to establish some kind of order in the midst of this sudden and furious commotion, yet it did not in the least slacken the popular ardour.

One would think that this and the following days, the consternation which had so long possessed the minds of the Genoese, was transfused into the Austrians. The marquis de Botta was in St. Pietro d'Arena with some regiments, but never once attempted to oppose the people with his regular troops: he suffered the rebels to make themselves masters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael. The senate, as yet dubious whether the people would maintain what they had so bravely begun, sent a deputation

tation to the Austrian general in St. Pietro d'Arena. Botta negotiated when he should have been fighting: he ordered the senators to arm the Genoese troops, whom he had left disarmed in the town, and that they should join the Austrians to fall upon the rebels, as soon as he had made a proper signal. Some of the senators, who were devoted to the enemy, promised to execute his orders: but could it be expected that the majority of the Genoese senate would join with the oppressors of their country to complete its destruction?

The Germans, depending on the correspondence they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Bisagno, through the suburb of that name; but they were received with a volley of cannon and musket-shot. The people of Genoa made an army: the drum was beat in their name, and orders were issued, upon pain of death, to every citizen to make his public appearance in arms, and to repair under the colours of his respective ward. The Germans were attacked at one and the same time in the suburb of Bisagno and in St. Pietro d'Arena. The alarm-bell was rung in all the villages of the vallies; and the peasants assembled, to the number of twenty thousand. A nobleman of the house of Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis of Botta in St. Pietro d'Arena, when the general and his nine regiments were obliged to save themselves by flight. They left four thousand prisoners behind them and above a thousand slain, with all their magazines and equipages, and retired in great disorder to the post of Bocchetta: hither they were pursued by the peasants, who forced them at length.

length to quit this post, and to fly as far as Gavi. Thus it was that the Austrians lost Genoa, for having despised and oppressed the people, and for being so simple as to believe that the senate would join with them against the inhabitants, who had taken up arms in defence of that very senate. Europe was surprized to see how a weak people, who had never been bred to arms, and whom neither the inclosure of their rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been able to save from the Austrian yoke, had the bravery, unassisted, to break their chains, and to expel their conquerors.

In this commotion a great many violences were committed: the people plundered several houses belonging to the senators suspected of favouring the Austrians. But what was more surprizing in this revolution is, that this very same people, who had four thousand of their conquerors in prison, and had driven away the remainder, did not turn their arms against their masters. It is true, they had chiefs; but these were pointed out by the senate, and none of them were considerable enough to usurp the authority for any time. The people chose thirty-six citizens for their governors; but they added four senators to the number, viz. Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari. These four nobles gave an account of every thing to the senate, who did not seem to concern themselves any longer in the government, though they governed in effect: they disavowed at Vienna the revolution which they were fomenting at Genoa, and for which they apprehended the most dreadful chastisement. Their minister at that
count

court declared, that the Genoese nobility had no share in that change which was called a revolt. The court of Vienna behaving still as masters, and fancying they should soon be able to recover Genoa, intimated to this minister, that the senate should instantly pay the eight millions of livres, which was the remaining part of their fine, and thirty millions more for the damage done to their troops; that they should restore all the prisoners, and punish the ringleaders of the revolt. These laws, which a provoked master might have prescribed to impotent and rebellious subjects, served only to confirm the Genoese in the resolution of defending themselves, and in hopes of driving from their territory those whom they had expelled their capital. The four thousand Austrians in the prisons of Genoa, were hostages that quieted their fears.

It is in such times of calamity and despair, that the spirit of patriotism and magnanimity seem to exert themselves with the greatest force; either because those virtues become more conspicuous in the hour of general distress, or rather indeed that the love of our oppressed country revives the whole vigour of the soul, so as to raise human nature above itself. Of this was seen a memorable instance in Augustin Adorno. This brave republican commanded in the town of Savona, which belongs to the territory of the republic. It was besieged by the king of Sardinia; and the senate, having submitted to the Austrians, ordered him to give up the town. He made answer, that he could not obey any other orders than those of a free senate; after which he held out long enough for succours,

succours, but none came. The people of Genoa, though victorious at home, were not sufficiently disciplined to engage in the open field; and France, being obliged to defend Provence, could not spare any troops for her allies on the other side of the Alps. Thus the valour of Augustin Adorno only served to make him prisoner of war, at the very time that Genoa was delivered; but he merited the praises of his country, as well as of the king of Sardinia, to whom he surrendered.

This revolution of Genoa was of great service to Provence. The Austrians, who already possessed one third part of the country, no longer received either provisions or ammunition by the way of Genoa, as in the beginning: and yet they were advanced as far as the river of Argens, with a design of attacking Toulon and Marseilles, assisted by the English fleet.

They soon took the islands of St. Margaret and St. Honorat, which had only a garrison of invalids.

In those islands several state-prisoners were confined, who flattered themselves with hopes that the English would set them at liberty; but the commanding officer made so quick a capitulation, that they permitted him to carry off all his prisoners, with other effects belonging to the king, and his little garrison. It is surprising that several public journals should pretend to say, that this commanding officer was the marquis de Dreux, lieutenant-general and grand-master of the ceremonies. The mistake is owing to this, that the marquis de Dreux is lord of those islands. The person who commanded there, was an old officer, who was tried
by

by a council of war, and condemned to imprisonment, for surrendering so precipitately.

After the taking of those islands, the enemy began the siege of Antibes. It was not an easy matter to stop the progress of an army that had seventy-one battalions, eight thousand irregulars, and eight thousand horse. Marshal Belleisle was intrusted with this undertaking.

Upon his arrival he could only be a spectator of the deplorable situation, and of the despondency of the whole province, as well as of the king's troops. He was neither able to hinder the passage of the Var, nor to protect the country occupied by the Austrians, who expected a reinforcement of thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, with cannon, ammunition, and provisions. The coasts were guarded by a few frightened militia. The troops, under no sort of discipline, took hay and straw by force from the inhabitants; and the mules employed in the service of the army, perished for want of food. The enemy had plundered and laid waste the whole country, from the Var to the river of Argens and the Durance. Their generals permitted their troops to pillage Vence and Grasse for the space of six hours, because these towns had not been expeditious in paying their contributions.

The infant Don Philip and the duke of Modena were at Aix in Provence, where they waited to see what efforts France and Spain would make to extricate themselves from this cruel situation. The supplies were as yet far off; while the dangers and wants were pressing. Marshal Belleisle began with borrowing fifty thousand crowns in his own name, to relieve
the

the most urgent necessities. He was obliged to perform the office of intendant, and of commissary of the stores. Then, as fast as the troops came in, he made himself master of different posts, where he stopped the progress of the Austrians. On the one side he covered Castellane on the Verden, when the Austrians were preparing to take possession of it; and on the other he secured Draguignan and Brignoles.

At length, towards the beginning of January 1747, finding his army increased to sixty battalions and twenty-two squadrons, and being seconded by the marquis de Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he looked upon himself as in a condition to attack the enemy. Count Brown, who commanded the Austrians, and the marquis of Ormea, who was at the head of a body of Piedmontese, were a great deal superior to him in forces. But they met with greater difficulties in procuring subsistence for their army. This is an essential point, which frustrates the end of most invasions. Their first defeat began with a post in the neighbourhood of Castellane, from whence a captain of the regiment of Lyonnois, whose name was Daupenet, drove them with sword in hand. They occupied a space of forty leagues; namely, from Sener to St. Tropes. A considerable body was beaten and dislodged from Castellane by the count de Maulevrier, and by the marquis de Taubin, a Spaniard. Another corps were also dislodged, and obliged to repass the river of Argens. Marshal Belleisle, by his winning manner, engaged the Spanish troops to second him in every attempt. The marquis de la Mina joined with him in all
his

his schemes; and this perfect harmony contributed greatly to their common success. The enemy were pursued from post to post, and always with loss. At length the marshal obliged them to repass the Var, and delivered Provence.

There remained now only one difficult enterprize for the king, and this was to relieve Genoa. During the whole war he had been occupied in protecting his allies; first the emperor Charles VII. afterwards the prince of Spain Don Philip, then the pretender to the crown of England, and finally the Genoese; and in the whole course of the war fresh dangers arose from his successes.

Marshal Belleisle had now driven the Austrians and Piedmontese out of Provence: but there was reason to fear that this very enemy, who were strong enough to guard the passage of the Alps, had also sufficient strength to fall upon Genoa, and afterwards upon Naples. Though Genoa had expelled the enemy from her walls, yet she was still blocked up by sea and land. Count Schullemburg succeeded the marquis de Botta, and continually threatened the first inclosure. Admiral Medley took as much care as possible that no succours should enter the harbour. Yet the king of France was continually supplying them. Marshal Belleisle began with sending them twenty thousand louis-dores by eight officers, among whom this sum was equally distributed. He ordered them to throw the money into the sea, in case they should not be so lucky as to escape. The officers arrived with the money, provisions, and soldiers, and especially with great promises.

With

With this encouragement the Genoese withstood all the attacks of the Austrians, as well as the proposals of the court of Vienna; for this court had still the assurance to treat with a people, whom so severe a treatment and so glorious a revolution must have rendered ever irreconcilable. The Austrians demanded money of them, when they had none; and, on the contrary, the king of France gave them money.

It was not enough that the French had obliged the Austrians and the Piedmontese to repass the Var; it was also incumbent upon them to pass that river in pursuit of the enemy, to drive them beyond the mountains, to enter Italy once more, and above all things speedily to relieve Genoa. There was no sending any succours to that city but by sea; and these were to steal unknown to the English fleet, which was cruizing off that coast. At that time there were but eight ships at Toulon, and these laid up, three frigates, and two barks; so that they were able to arm only six galleys, for want of seamen. In the mean time the Austrians, assisted by the Piedmontese, threatened to recover possession of Genoa. Count Schullenburg, nephew of the Venetian general, had reinforced his army with Albanians: these are the ancient Epirots, who are esteemed to be as good soldiers as their ancestors. He had repassed the Bocchetta, and kept Genoa closely blockaded; while the country both to the right and left was given up to the fury of the irregular troops, to plunder and devastation. Genoa was struck with terror, and the consternation produced some secret correspondence with their oppressors: to complete their misery, there was a great division betwixt the senate and the people.

people. The town did not want provisions, but money; they were at the expence of eighteen thousand florins a day, to maintain the militia who fought in the country, or defended the city. The republic had no regular troops well disciplined, nor any experienced officer: they could expect no succours but by sea, and even these at the hazard of being picked up by the English fleet, as happened to those which had been sent to prince Edward. These succours were expected from France and Spain; and if they did not arrive soon, all was lost.

The king of France had already sent a million of livres to the senate. The gallies were now ordered to set out from Toulon and Marseilles with about six thousand men on board. They put into Corsica and Monaco, by distress of weather, but chiefly to avoid the English fleet. The master of a small vessel belonging to this convoy, who was a foreigner, took this opportunity to commit a treacherous action: He gave notice of the embarkation to the English admiral, who came and fell upon the convoy; but they lost only six small vessels, with about a thousand soldiers. At length the first succours reached Genoa, to the number of about four thousand French, who revived the drooping hopes of the Genoese.

Soon after arrived the duke of Boufflers, to take upon him the command of the troops that were to defend Genoa, and whose number daily increased. The general himself was obliged to take his passage in an open boat, in order to escape admiral Medley's fleet. If the English had been as diligent and artful as they were magnanimous in their undertaking, they would

have had a proper number of small craft well armed, which would have kept near the shore when their great ships could not, and have rendered it extremely difficult for the French to send any succours. For want of some such precaution, detachments of French, Spaniards, and Swiss, were successively coming into Genoa from the coast of France; at the same time they were supplied with provisions from the coast of Italy, while the English stood by as mere spectators.

The duke of Boufflers was now at the head of about eight thousand regular troops, in a town which was blocked up, and expected every moment to be besieged. There was very little order among them, not much provisions, and no powder; besides, the heads of the people were not properly subordinate to the senate. The Austrians had still some secret intelligence in the town. Thus the duke of Boufflers had as much difficulty to deal with those whom he was come to defend, as with the enemy. Yet he established order in every quarter; at the same time provisions of all kinds were imported in plenty, by means of a secret consideration given to the captains of the English ships; so greatly do public calamities depend on private interest.

The Austrians had some monks on their side: the same arms were employed against them with greater force. The priests were prevailed upon to refuse absolution to those who should balance a moment between the enemy and their country. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his enthusiastic declamation, and by his example in fighting: he

was killed in one of those daily skirmishes, and with his last breath exhorted the Genoese to defend their country. The ladies pawned their jewels to supply the expences of the necessary operations.

But of all these encouragements, the most powerful was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke of Boufflers often employed in attacking the enemy in their posts beyond the double inclosure of Genoa. There were many more, the possession of which would have rendered the operations of the siege much easier to the enemy : one among the rest on the coast of Riverola, of which the Austrians and Piedmontese made themselves masters, very near the mountain of the Two Brothers, and from whence they were by all means to be dislodged. This action, which was conducted with as much prudence as vigour, revived all their hopes. The count de Lanion distinguished himself on this occasion ; as also the chevalier de Chauvelin, who was wounded in the engagement. Here the French lost colonel la Faye, son of the captain of the guards, whose character is so well known in Paris. This young officer had inherited from his father a very high degree of courage with great application to the sciences ; and from his uncle he had learnt to improve in the most agreeable parts of polite literature. The author of this narrative, who knew his merit, cannot too much lament his loss.

The Genoese succeeded in almost every one of those little skirmishes, which at that time engrossed the whole attention, and are afterwards swallowed up in the multitude of more important

important events. But what disconcerted all the measures of the Austrians in Italy was the progress marshal Belleisle was making with his army: he had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Antibes, while his brother retook the isles of St. Margaret within sight of the English fleet: he was master of Nice, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia; and the king of Sardinia was obliged to recall his troops to defend his own dominions. The Austrians, being obliged to make a stand against Belleisle's army, could not besiege Genoa in form, lest the French should advance; so that the court of Vienna at length gave orders for raising the blockade.

The duke of Boufflers did not long enjoy this happiness and glory: he died of the small-pox the very day the enemy retired. He was son of marshal Boufflers, a general much esteemed under Lewis XIV. a man of honour, and a good subject; and a son who inherited all the amiable qualities of his father.

END of the FOURTEENTH VOLUME.



CHARLEMAGNE.

14 Add i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII.

THE

WORKS

OF

ALFRED OLIVIER

WITH

AN

INTRODUCTION

BY

ALFRED OLIVIER

LONDON

PRINTED BY

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

15, N. B. STREET, LONDON.

MDCCCXIV

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OF THE
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TO HER
SERENE HIGHNESS
THE
DUCHESS OF S— G—.

MADAM,

IT was in obedience to the orders of your Serene Highness, that I undertook the abridgement of the History of the Empire, which would have had much more merit, had my stay at your court been of long duration; as I should have been better qualified to describe virtue, especially that human and social virtue which derives additional lustre from wit and beauty; though this indeed has but small influence over history. Ambition disguised under the specious name of interest of states, which, however, it serves only to involve in misfortunes, and those ferocious passions, by which politics have been almost always conducted, leave very little room for the mild virtues that seek to dwell with tranquillity and peace. The world abounds with troubles and with crimes, and history is no other than a picture of the outrages and distress of mankind. It is of consequence to all the nations of Europe to make themselves acquaint-

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2 To her SERENE HIGHNESS, &c.

ed with the revolutions of the Empire. The histories of France, England, Spain, and Poland, are confined within their own boundaries: but the Empire is a more extensive theatre: her prerogatives, her pretensions, and rights over Rome and Italy, the number of kings and sovereigns she hath made, the dignities she hath conferred in other states, and her almost continual assemblies of so many princes, form an august scene, even in the most unpolished ages. But the detail of those particulars is immense; and men of business have too little time to peruse that prodigious assemblage of incidents which throng upon one another, and those collections of laws which have been rendered contradictory by intended explanation.

The justness of your judgement prompted you to desire the perusal of annals, which should be equally entertaining and concise, so as to give a general idea of the Empire, in a language which is understood by all nations, and embellished by the graces of your pronunciation; and the orders of your Serene Highness might have, doubtless, been obeyed with more success, but not with more zeal and veneration.

A LETTER

A LETTER from Mr. de V—— to Mr. de ——
 Professor of History.

SIR,

YOU must have perceived that the pretended Universal History printed at the Hague, and said to be carried down to Charles V. though it contains less than the title promises, by more than a whole century, was not originally intended to see the light. It is no other than a crude collection made in the course of old studies, in which I was engaged, about fifteen years ago, with a person of a most respectable character, far transcending her sex and the age in which she lived, whose understanding comprehended all sorts of erudition, and whose understanding was reinforced by taste, without which that erudition would have been insipid, and scarce intitled to the name of merit.

I prepared that ground-work solely for her use and my own, as may be plainly seen by considering the beginning: it is an account to which I freely call myself, of what I had been reading; the best method of learning and acquiring distinct ideas: for a bare reading alone leaves little more than a confused picture in the memory.

My principal aim was to trace the revolutions of the human understanding in those of governments.

I endeavoured to discover in what manner so many bad men, conducted by worse princes,

have notwithstanding, at the long run, established societies, in which the arts and sciences, and even the virtues, have been cultivated.

I attempted to find the paths of commerce, that privately repairs the ruins which savage conquerors leave behind them; and I studied to know, from the price of provisions, the riches or poverty of a people: above all things, I examined in what manner the arts revived and supported themselves in the midst of such desolation.

The character of nations is strongly marked by poetry and eloquence. I translated passages from some of the antient oriental poets; and still remember one from the Persian Sadi, upon the power of the Supreme Being, in which we see the same genius that inspired the Arabian, Hebrew, and all oriental writers; that is, more imagination than propriety; more of the *fustian* than the sublime: their diction is figurative, but their figures are often very ill arranged; their sallies of imagination are hitherto vague and superficial; and they are utterly ignorant of the art of transition. This is the passage from Sadi in blank verse:

“ He knows distinctly that which never was;
His ear is fill’d with what was never heard;
A monarch he, that needs no kneeling slave;
A judge, that executes no written law;
With his omniscience, like a graver’s tool,
He trac’d our features in each mother’s womb: .
From morn to eve he leads the sun along,
With rubies sows the mountain’s mighty mass:
He takes two drops of water; one starts up
A perfect man, the other shines a pearl.

He

He spoke the word and Being sprung from nought :
His word the universe will quickly melt
Into th' immensity of space and void :
His word will raise the universe again,
From depths of nothing to the plains of Being."

Sadi was a native of Bactriana, and cotemporary with Dante, who was born in Florence in the year 1265, and whose verses did honour to Italy, even when there was not one good prose author among all our modern nations. This genius happened to rise at a time when the quarrels between the empire and the church had left rankling wounds in different states, as well as in the minds of men. He was a Ghibeline, consequently persecuted by the Guelphs; therefore we must not be surprised to find him venting his chagrin in his poem to this effect :

" Two suns of old, in one united blaze,
Diffus'd their genial warmth and chearing rays,
That banish'd darkness, and display'd the road
Which leads bewilder'd man to truth and God.
The imperial eagle's rights were plainly shewn,
And the lamb's sep'rate privileges known :
But now no more that light congenial shines ;
One, dim'd with vapours, from his orb declines ;
With dusky flame and heat unhallowed teems,
Ambitious to eclipse the other's beams ;
War, blood, contention, and confusion reign ;
The lamb now roars, a lion on the plain,
Proud in his purple robes usurp'd appears,
And with the shepherd's crook the sov'reign's
sceptre wears."

I translated above twenty pretty long passages
from Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto ; and with

a view to compare the genius of a nation with that of her imitators, I culled some parallel verses from Spenser, of which I endeavoured to preserve the sense and spirit with the utmost exactness. Thus I pursued the arts in their career.

Without engaging in the vast labyrinth of philosophical absurdities, which have been so long honoured with the name of science, I only took notice of the most palpable errors which had been mistaken for the most incontestible truths; and confining myself intirely to the useful arts, I still kept in view the history of all the discoveries which have been made from Geber the Arabian, who invented Algebra, to the very last miracles of our own time.

This part of the history was doubtless the favourite of my attention, and the revolutions of states were no more than accessary to those of the arts and sciences. This whole work, which had cost me so much trouble, having been stolen from me some years ago, I was the more chagrined, as I found myself absolutely incapable of beginning again such a tedious and toilsome task.

That part which was purely historical, remained in my hands an undigested mass: it is brought down to the reign of Philip II. and ought to be continued to the age of Lewis XIV.

This series of history, disincumbered of all the details which commonly obscure the plan, as well as of all those minute circumstances of war, so interesting at the time, but so tedious afterwards, together with the smaller occurrences which never fail to injure the great events, ought to compose a vast picture, which,
by

by striking the imagination, might assist the memory.

Several persons expressed a desire of having the manuscript imperfect as it was; and indeed there are above thirty copies of it, which I gave the more willingly, because, finding myself unable to work longer on the subject, I considered them as so many materials put into the hands of those who might finish the performance.

When Mr. de la Bruiere had the privilege of the French Mercury about the year 1747, he begged of me some sheets which appeared in his journal, and were afterwards collected in the year 1751; for they make collections of every thing. What relates to the Crusades, which was but a part of the work, they inserted in this collection as a detached piece, and the whole was printed very incorrectly under the preposterous title of A Plan of the History of the human Understanding. This pretended plan of the history of the human understanding contains no more than some historical chapters relating to the ninth and tenth centuries.

A bookseller at the Hague having found a more compleat manuscript, has printed it under the title of An Abridgement of the Universal History, from the Time of Charles the Great, to the reign of Charles V. although it goes not so far as Lewis XI. king of France: probably he had no more copy, or was resolved to suspend the publication of his third volume, until the two first should be sold off.

He says, he bought the manuscript of a man who lives at Brussels; and indeed I was informed, that a domestic, belonging to his highness prince Charles of Lorraine, had been long in

possession of a copy which fell into his hands by a very remarkable accident; for it was taken in a box among the equipage of a certain prince, which was pillaged by the hussars in a battle fought in Bohemia. This work being therefore got by the right of war, is a lawful prize: but one would imagine the same hussars had directed the printing; for it is strangely disfigured, and the most interesting chapters are totally wanting; almost all the dates are false, and the proper names for the most part disguised. There are many expressions which convey no idea, and a number that convey such as are either ridiculous or indecent. The transitions, the connexions are misplaced. I am often made to say that which is quite contrary to what I have said; and I cannot conceive how any body should read that work as it hath been presented to the public. I am very glad that the bookseller has found his account in the sale of it; but, if he had consulted me on this subject, I would have enabled him to oblige the world with a work that would not have been so defective; and seeing it was impossible to stop the impression, I would have taken all imaginable pains to arrange that uninformed mass, which, in its present condition, does not deserve the notice of any sensible man*.

As I did not believe that any bookseller would have run the risque of publishing such an imperfect work, I frankly own I have made use of some of the materials to build a more regu-

* Since the publication of these annals, Mr. de Voltaire has given a compleat edition of his historical tracts, the same which we have translated.

lar and solid edifice. One of the most respectable princesses of Germany, to whom I could refuse nothing, having done me the honour to desire I would write the Annals of the Empire, I have made no scruple to insert a small number of pages from that pretended Universal History, in the work which she commanded me to compose.

While I was busied in giving her Serene Highness this proof of my obedience, and the Annals of the Empire were almost already printed off, I understood that a certain German, who was last year at Paris, had employed his talents on the same subject, and that his work was ready to appear. Had I known the circumstance sooner, I should certainly have put a stop to the impression of mine: for I know he is more equal than me to such an enterprize, and I am very far from pretending to enter the lists with such a rival; but the bookseller to whom I have made a present of my manuscript, has taken too much pains in serving me, to be deprived of the fruits of his labour: besides, the taste and manner in which I have wrote these Annals of the Empire, being altogether different from the method observed by that learned gentleman, whom I have had the honour to mention, perhaps the understanding reader may not be sorry to see *the same truths* displayed in different lights.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE short annals contain all the principal events since the renewal of the Empire of the West. Here we see five or six kingdoms vassals to that empire, that long quarrel between the emperors and popes, that of Rome with both, and that obstinate struggle of the feudal right against the supreme power. Here we see how Rome, that was so often on the brink of being subdued, escaped a foreign yoke, and in what manner that government, which subsists in Germany, was established. It is at once the History of the Empire and the Church, the detail of Germany and Italy. Germany gave birth to that religion which hath withdrawn so many states from the jurisdiction of the Roman church. The same country is become the bulwark of the Christian states against the Ottomans; so that what we call the Empire, is, since the time of Charlemagne, the greatest theatre of Europe.

To the first volume is prefixed a catalogue of the emperors, with the year of their birth, accession, and death, together with the names of their wives and children. Opposite to this, is a list of the popes, mostly characterized by the principal actions of their lives, and marked with the year of their exaltation; so that the reader, with one glance of the eye, may consult this table, without going in search of the fragments of this list at the head of the reign of each emperor. To the second volume is likewise prefixed a column of all the electors: but a catalogue of the kings of Europe and the Ottoman emperors, which is so easily found every where else, would have too much augmented the bulk of the work, which was intended to be equally concise and complete.

EMPERORS,

EMPERORS.

I.

CHarlemagne, born April 10th 742, became emperor in 800, died in 814. His wives were Hildegarda daughter of Childebrant count of Suabia. Irmengarde supposed to be the same with Desiderata daughter of Didier king of the Lombards. Fastrada of Franconia. Luitgarde of Suabia. His concubines or wives of the second rank were Ilmetrude, Galienne, Matilgarde, Gerfinde, Regina, Adelaide, and many others. His children were Charles king of Germany, died in 771, Pepin king of Italy, died in 810. Father of Bernard king of Italy, stock of the house of Vermandois, dispossessed, deprived of his eye-sight and died in 818.

Lewis the Pious, the *Debonnaire*, or the *weak Emperor*, Rotrude betrothed,

P O P E S.

Zacharias, exalted in 741. It was he who (it is said) pronounced "that he alone was king who had the kingly power."

Stephen II. or *III.* exalted in 751. the first who ordered himself to be carried on men's shoulders.

Paul I. 757. in his time the church was divided by the great quarrel about images.

Stephen III. or *IV.* 768. He disputed the papacy with Constantine, who was a secular, and with Philip, and there was abundance of blood-shed.

Adrian I. 772. his legates had the first seat at the second council of Nicea.

Leo III. 795. he conferred the appellation of emperor on Charlemagne on Christmas-day 800, but would not

add

EMPERORS.

trothed to Constantine V. emperor of the East. Bertha married to one of Charlemagne's chancellors. Gisfelde, Tetrarde, Hiltrude, shut up in a convent by Lewis debonnaire. By his concubines he had Drogon bishop of Metz, Hugo or Hugues the abbot. Pepin the hump-backed, Rathilde, Gertrude. Writers of romance add the fair Emma, of whom they say the secretary Eginard and Charlemagne himself were enamoured.

2.

Lewis the weak, born 778, emperor 814, died 840, June 20. His wives : Irmengarde, daughter of the count de Habsbanie. Judith daughter of the count of Suabia. Children : Lotharius the emperor. Pepin king of Aquitain, died 838. Giselle wife to the count of Burgundy. Lewis king of Germany, died 876. Adelaid wife to a count of

POPES.

add *Filioque* to the creed. He is said to have introduced the custom of kissing the pope's feet.

Stephen IV. or V. 816.

Paschal I. 817. accused of having assassinated Theodorus the Dean, and obliged to purge himself by oath, before the commissaries of Lewis the emperor.

Eugenius II. 824. surnamed the Father of the poor.

Valentine, 827.

Gregory IV. 828. who deceived Lewis the weak.

Sergius

EMPERORS.

of Burgundy. Alpaide wife to a count of Paris. Charles the bald, king of France and emperor.

3.

Lotharius I. born 796. Emp. 840. d. 855. Wife: Hermengarde daughter to the count de Thionville. Children: Lewis II. emperor. Lotharius king of Lorrain, died 868. Charles king of Burgundy. Hermengarde married to a duke upon the Moselle.

4.

Lewis II. born 825. Emperor 855, d. 875, August 13. Wife: Ingelbertha daughter of Lewis king of Germany. Children: Hermengarde married to Bozon king of Burgundy.

POPES.

Sergius II. 844. who caused himself to be consecrated without waiting for the emperor's permission, in order to establish the liberty of the Roman church.

Leo IV. 847. he saved Rome from the Mahometans by his vigilance and courage.

Benedict III. 855. created pope by the assistance of the Franks, in spite of the Roman people. In his time St. Peter's Penny was established in England.

Nicholas I. 858. In his time began the great schism between Constantinople and Rome.

Adrian II. 867. the first that caused the cross to be carried before him. The patriarch Photius excommunicated

EMPERORS.

POPES.

nicated him by way of reprisal.

John VIII. 872. He acknowledged the patriarch Photius ; was said to be assassinated with a hammer.

5.
Charles the Bald, born 823, Emp. 875, d. 877, Oct. 6. Wives: Hirmenrude daughter of Odo duke of Orleans, Richilda daughter of a Count de Bouvines. Children: Lewis the Stammerer. Charles killed in 866. Carloman deprived of his eye-sight 873. Judith, first wife to Ethelred king of England, and afterwards married to Baldwin I. earl of Flanders.

6.
Lewis the Stammerer, born 843. November 1, 878. d. 879, April 10. Wives : Ansgarde, Adelaide. Children : Lewis Carloman and Charles the Simple kings of France. Egisella married to Rollo

or

Marinus

EMPERORS.

or Raoul first duke of
Normandy.

7.

Charles the Gross,
Emperor 880. deposed
887. d. 888. without
children.

8.

Arnolphus or Arnoldus,
born 863. Emp. 887.
d. 889. By his mistress
Elengarde he had Lewis
the Infant or Lewis IV.
Emperor. Zwentilbolde
king of Lorrain. Ra-
polde, from whom are
descended the counts
d'Andeck and Tirol.

9.

Lewis IV. or Lewis
the Infant, born 893.
Emp. about 900. died
912. without posterity.

10.

Conrad I. Emp. 911.
or 912. d. 918. Dec.
23. His wife: Cuni-
gonda of Bayaria; by
whom

POPES:

Marinus, 882.

Adrian III. 884.

Stephen VI. 884. He
forbad the trials by fire
and water.

Famosa, 891.

Stephen VII. 896. son
of a priest. He caused
the body of his prede-
cessor Famosa to be
dug up, decapited and
thrown into the Tiber.
He was afterwards put
in prison and strangled:

John IX. 897. In his
time the Mahometans
landed in Calabria.

Benedict IV. 900.

Leo V. 904.

Sergius III. 905. a
cruel man; the gallant
of Marofia, daughter of
the first Theodora, by
whom he had pope
John XI.

Anastasius, 913.

Lando, 914.

John X. 915; the
gallant of the young
Theodora,

EMPERORS.

whom he had Arnolphus the Bad, from whom is descended the House of Bavaria.

II.

Henry the Fowler duke of Saxony, born 876. Emperor 919. d. 936. His wives: Hatbourge daughter of a count of Merzbourg. Melchtida daughter of a count of Ringelheim. His children: Tancard killed at Merzbourg 939. the emp. Otho the Great. Geberg married to Giselberg duke of Lorraine. Aduida married to Hugues count of Paris. Henry duke of Bavaria. Bruno bishop of Cologne.

12.

Otho I. surnamed *the Great*, born Nov. 22. 916. Emperor 936. d. 973, May 7. His wives: Editha daughter of Edward king of England. Adelaide daughter of Rodolphus II. king of Burgundy.

POPES.

Theodora, by whose means he ascended the papal chair, and by whom he had Crescentius, the first consul of that name. He was strangled in his bed.

Leo VI. 928.

Stephen VIII. 929. believed to be the son of Marofia, shut up in the castle which is now called St. Angelo.

John XI. 931, son of pope Sergius and Marofia, under whom his mother governed in a despotic manner.

Leo VII. 936.

Stephen IX. 939. a German by birth, slashed in the face by the Romans.

Marinus III. 943.

Agapetus, 946.

John XII. 956. son of

EMPERORS.

Burgundy. Children : Lutholf duke of Suabia. Luitgarde married to a duke of Lorrain and Franconia. Otho II. surnamed the Red, emperor. Mathilda abbess of Quedlimbourg. Adelaide married to a marquis of Montferrat. Richilda to a count of Eninguen. William archbishop of Mentz.

13.

Otho II. surnamed the Red, born 955. Emp. 973. died 983. Wife : Theophania daughter-in-law to the emperor Nicephorus. Children : Otho afterwards emperor. Sophia abbess of Ganeheim. Mathilda married to a count palatine.

POPES.

of Marosia and the patrician Albericus; himself a patrician : elected pope at the age of 18 : opposes the emperor Otho I. assassinated in going to the house of his mistress.

Leo VIII. 963. elected by a small council at Rome, in consequence of Otho's orders.

Benedict V. 964. expelled immediately after his election, by the emperor Otho I. died in exile at Hamburgh.

John XIII. 965. expelled from Rome, and afterwards established.

Benedict VII. 972. strangled by the consul Crescentius, son of pope John X.

Boniface VII. 974. was inclined to deliver Rome to the emperors of the East.

Domus, 974.

Benedict VII. 975.

John

EMPERORS.

latine. Withilda a natural daughter married to a count of Holland.

14.

Otho III. born 973. Emp. 983. d. 1002. he is supposed to have married Mary of Arragon, died without posterity.

15.

Henry II. surnamed *the Saint, the Chaste,* and *the Lame*, duke of Bavaria, grandson of *Otho the Great*, Emp. 1002. d. 1024. Wife: *Cunigonda* daughter of *Sigefroi*

POPES.

John XIV. 984. in the time of *Boniface* VII. he died in prison in the castle of St. Angelo.

Boniface VII. re-established, assassinated with a poignard.

John XV. or XVI. 986. expelled from Rome by the consul *Crescentius*, and re-established.

Gregory V. 996. by the nomination of the emperor *Otho* III.

Silvester II. 999. this is the famous *Gerberg* *Auvergnac*, archbishop of *Rheims*, a prodigy of learning in those days.

John XVII. 1003.

John XVIII. 1004.

Sergius IV. 1009. looked upon as an ornament of the church.

Benedict VIII. 1012. repulsed the Saracens.

John

EMPERORS.

Sigefroi count of Luxemburg, no posterity.

16.

Conrad II. the Salique, of the house of Franconia. Emp. 1024. died 1039, June 4. Wife: Giselle of Suabia. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Beatrix abbess of Gandersheim. Judith, said to have been married to Azon d'Este in Italy.

17.

Henry III. surnamed the Black, born Oct. 28. 1017. Emp. 1039. d. 1056. Wives: Cunigonda daughter of Canute king of England. Agnes daughter of William duke of Aquitaine. Children by his second wife: Mathilda married to Rodolphus duke of Suabia. The emperor Henry IV. Conrad duke of Bavaria. Sophia married to Solomon king of Hungary, and afterwards to Uladislaus king of Poland. Itha wife of Leopold marquis of Austria.

Adelaide

POPES.

John XIX. or XX. 1024. expelled and re-established.

Benedict IX. 1033. who purchased the third part of the pontificate and afterwards sold his share.

Gregory VI. 1045. deposed.

Clement II. bishop of Bamberg, 1046. nominated by the emperor Henry II.

Damasus II. 1048. nominated by the emperor.

Leo IX. 1048. a virtuous pope.

Victor II. 1055. a great reformer, inspired and governed by Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII.

Stephen

EMPERORS.

Adelaide abbess of Gandersheim.

18.

Henry IV. born Nov. 11. 1050. Emp. 1056. d. 1106. Wives: *Bertha* daughter of *Otho Savoy* called the marquis of Italy. *Adelaide* of Russia, widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. Children by *Bertha*: *Conrad* duke of Lorraine. The emperor *Henry V.* *Agnes* wife of *Frederick* of Suabia. *Bertha* married to a duke of Carinthia. *Adelaide* married to *Bollelaus III.* king of Poland. *Sophia* to *Godfrey* duke of Brabant.

POPES.

Stephen X. 1057. brother to *Godfrey* duke of Lorraine.

Nicholas II. exalted by force of arms 1056. expelled his competitor *Benedict I.* who subjected Apuglia and Calabria to the holy see.

Alexander II. elected by the faction of *Hildebrand*, without the consent of the imperial court 1061. In his time happened the astonishing adventure of the experiment of the stone *Igneus*, whether true, false or exaggerated.

Gregory VII. 1078. this is the famous *Hildebrand*, the first pope who rendered the Roman church so formidable. He was the victim of his own zeal.

Victor III. 1086. recommended by *Gregory VII.* at his death.

Urban II. native of *Chatillon sur Maine*, 1087. published the crusades

EMPERORS.

19.

Henry V. born 1081. Emp. 1106. died 1125, May 23. Wife: *Matilda* daughter of *Henry I.* king of England. Children: *Christina* wife of *Ladislaus* duke of *Silesia*.

20.

Lotharius II. duke of *Saxony*, Emp. 1125. died 1137. Wife: *Richenza* daughter of *Henry the Gross*, duke of *Saxony*.

21.

Conrad III. born 1092. Emp. 1138. d. 1152, Feb. 15. Wife: *Gertrude* daughter of a count of *Sultzbach*. Children: *Henry* died under age. *Frederick* count of *Rothenbourg*.

22.

Frederic I. surnamed *Barbarossa*, duke of *Sua-bia*, born 1121. Emp. 1152. d. 1190. Wives: *Adelaide*

POPES.

crusades contrived by his predecessor.

Paschal II. 1099. followed the footsteps of *Gregory VII.*

Gelasius II. 1118. dragged to prison by the opposite faction.

Calixtus III. 1119. finished the great process of the investitures.

Honorius II. 1124.

Innocent II. 1130. almost all the elections were double in this age, and the popes were not masters of Rome.

Celestinus II. 1143.

Lucius II. 1144. killed by a stone, fighting against the Romans.

Eugenius III. 1145. maltreated by the Romans, takes refuge in France.

Anastasius IV. 1153.

Adrian IV. 1154. an Englishman, son of a mendicant, himself a men-

EMPERORS.

Adelaide daughter of the marquis of Vohenburg, repudiated. Beatrix daughter of Renauld count of Burgundy. Children: Henry afterwards emperor. Frederic duke of Suabia. Conrad duke of Spoleto. Philip afterwards emperor. Otho count of Burgundy. Sophia married to the marquis of Montferrat. Beatrix abbess of Quedlimbourg.

23.

Henry VI. born 1165. Emp. 1190. died 1197. Wife: Constance daughter of Roger king of Sicily. Children: Frederic afterwards emperor. Mary wife of Conrad marquis of Mahren.

24.

Philip duke of Suabia, youngest son of Frederic Barbarossa, guardian of Frederic II.

6

born

POPES.

mendicant, becomes a great man.

Alexander III. 1159. humbles the emperor Frederic Barbarossa and Henry II. king of England.

Lucius III. 1181. expelled and pursued by the Romans, who, in receiving the bishop, would not acknowledge the prince.

Urban III. 1185.

Gregory VIII. 1187. passes for a learned, eloquent and honest man.

Clement III. 1188. endeavours to reform the clergy.

Celestinus III. 1191. forbade the emperor Henry VI. to be buried.

Innocent III. 1198. laid France under interdiction. In his time was the crusade against the Albigenes.

EMPERORS.

born 1181. Emp. 1198.
died June 21, 1208.
Wife: Irene daughter
of Isaac emperor of
Constantinople. Chil-
dren: Beatrix wife of
Ferdinand III. king of
Castile. Cunigonda
married to Wincellaus
III. king of Bohemia.
Mary wife of Henry
duke of Brabant. Bea-
trix died immediately
after her marriage
with Otho IV. duke of
Brunswick, afterwards
emperor.

25.

Otho IV. duke of
Brunswick, Emp. 1198.
d. 1218. Second wife:
Mary daughter of Hen-
ry the Virtuous duke of
Brabant, died without
posterity.

26.

Frederick II. duke of
Suabia, king of the
two Sicilies, born Dec.
26, 1193. Emp. 1212.
died 1250, Dec. 13.
Wives: Constance
daughter of Alphonfus
II. king of Arragon.
Violenta daughter of
John

POPES.

Honorius III. 1216.
began to thwart Frede-
ric II.

Gregory IX. 1227.
expelled by the Ro-
mans, excommunicated
and thought to depose
Frederic II.

Celestinus IV. 1241.
Innocent

EMPERORS.

John de Brienne king of Jerusalem. Isabella daughter of John king of England. Children: Henry king of the Romans died in prison 1236. Conrad afterwards emperor, father of Conradin in whom the house of Suabia was extinct. Henry governor of Sicily. Margaret wife of Albert the Depraved, landgrave of Turingia and marquis of Misnia. By his mistresses he had Enzo king of Sardinia. Manfred king of Sicily. Frederick prince of Antioch.

27.

Conrad IV. Emperor 1250. d. 1254. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Otho count Palatine. His son Conradin duke of Suabia, heir to the kingdom of Sicily, whom Charles of Anjou caused to be decapitated at the age of 27, Oct. 19, 1268.

(*Alphonfus X.* king of Spain, and *Richard* duke

POPES.

Innocent IV. 1243. excommunicated Frederic II. and thought to depose him at the council of Lion.

Alexander IV. 1245. who protected the mendicant monks against the university of Paris.

Urban IV. 1261. was at first a cobbler at Troye in Champagne; and the first who called Charles of Anjou to Naples.

Clement IV. 1264. It is pretended that he advised

EMPERORS.

duke of Cornwal, son of Lackland, were both elected in 1257, but are not reckoned among the emperors.)

28.

Rodolphus, count of Habsbourg in Swisserland, ancestor of the house of Austria, born 1218. Emp. 1273. d. 1291. Wives: Anne Gertrude of Bohenberg. Agnes daughter of Otho count of Burgundy. Children: Albert duke of Austria, afterwards emperor. Rodolphus supposed to have been duke of Suabia. Herman drowned in the Rhine at the age of 18. Frederic who died without issue. Charles who died under age. Rodolphus who died in his infancy. Mechtilda married to Lewis the Severe, duke of Bavaria. Agnes who married Albert II. duke of Saxony. Hedwig wife of Otho marquis of Brandenburg. Gutha married

POPES.

advised the murder of Conradin and the duke of Austria, by the hand of the hangman.

Gregory X. 1271. he established severe laws for holding of the conclaves.

Innocent V. 1276.

Adrian V. 1276.

John XXI. 1276. was said to be a good physician.

Nicholas III. 1277. of the house of Ursini. Before his death he is said to have advised the Sicilian vespers.

Martin IV. 1281. as soon as he was pope, he caused himself to be elected senator of Rome, that his authority might be the greater.

Honorius IV. 1285. of the house of Savelli: espoused the French party in Sicily.

Nicholas IV. 1288. in his time the Christians were entirely expelled from Syria.

C

Ce-

EMPERORS.

ried to Wincellus
king of Bohemia, son
of Ottocarus. Cle-
mence married to
Charles Martel king of
Hungary, grandson of
Charles I. king of Na-
ples and Sicily. Mar-
garet wife of Theodoric
count of Cleves. Ca-
tharine married to Otho
duke of Lower Bavaria
son of Henry brother to
Lewis the Severe, and
Euphemia a nun.

29.

Adolphus of Nassau,
Emperor 1292. d. 1298,
July 2. Wife: Imagi-
na daughter of Jorlach
count of Limbourg.
Children: Henry who
died young. Robert
of Nassau. Jorlach of
Nassau. Valdrame A-
dolpha. Adelaide. Im-
gina. Mathilda Philip-
pa.

30.

Albert I. of Austria,
Emp. 1298. d. 1308.
Wife:

POPES.

Celestinus V. 1292.
Benedictus Caietanus
persuaded him to abdi-
cate.

Boniface VIII. (Be-
nedictus Caietanus).
1294. confined his pre-
decessor: excommuni-
cated Philip the Fair:
assumed the title of
Master of all kings:
caused two swords to
be carried before him:
put two crowns on his
head, and instituted the
Jubilee.

Clement V. (Bertrand
de Gott) native of
Bour-

EMPERORS.

Wife : Elizabeth daughter of Menard duke of Carinthia and count of Tirol. Children : Frederic the Beau afterwards emperor. Albert the Wise duke of Austria.

31.

Henry VII. of the house of Luxembourg. Emp. 1308. d. 1313. Wives : Margaret daughter of a duke of Brabant. Catharine daughter of Albert of Austria, only betrothed before his death. Children : John king of Bohemia.

32.

Lewis V. of Bavaria, Emp. 1314. d. 1347. Wives : Beatrix of Glaugau. Margaret countess of Holland. Children : Lewis the Ancient, margrave of Brandenburg. Stephen the Curled, duke of Bavaria. Mechtilda wife of Frederic the Severe, marquis of Misnia. Elizabeth married to John duke of Lower

POPES.

Bourdeaux, 1305: persecuted the templars : all sorts of benefices are said to have been sold at his court.

John XXII. 1316. son of a cobbler of Cahors, called d'Eus, who is reckoned to have sold a greater number of benefices than his predecessor, and who had great credit in Europe, without having any at Rome. He always resided near the Rhone : wrote upon the philosopher's stone, but really had it in ready money. C 2 It

EMPERORS.

Lower Bavaria. William count of Holland by his mother, grew mad. Albert count of Holland. Lewis the Roman, marquis of Brandenburg. Otho marquis of Brandenburg.

33.

Charles IV. of the house of Luxembourg, born 1316. Emp. 1347. died 1378. Wives: *Blanche de Valois*. *Anne Palatine*. *Anne of Silesia*. *Elizabeth of Pomerania*. Children: *Winceslaus* afterwards emperor. *Sigismund* afterwards emperor. *John* marquis of Brandenburg.

34.

Winceslaus, born 1361. Emp. 1368. deposed 1400. d. 1419. Wives: *Jane* and *Sophia* of the house of Bavaria; no posterity.

35.

Robert Count Palatine of the Rhine, Emp.

POPES.

It was he who added a third crown to the Tiara.

Benedict XII. (*Jacques Fournier*) 1334. resided at Avignon.

Clement VI. (*Pierre Roger*) 1342. resided at Avignon, which he bought of queen Jane.

Innocent VI. (*Stephen Aubert*) 1352. resided at Avignon.

Urban V. (*William Grimaud*) 1362. resided at Avignon: made a journey to Rome, where, however, he durst not settle.

Gregory XI. (*Roger de Momon*) 1370. transferred the holy see to Rome again, where he was received as lord of the city.

A great schism begins in 1378. between *Prignano*, *Urban VI.* and *Robert of Geneva*, *Clement VII.* This schism continues from competitor to competitor to 1417.

Martin

EMPERORS.

1400. d. 1410. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of a burgrave of Nuremberg. Children: Robert, who died before his father. Lewis the bearded and blind, Elector. Frederic count of Hamberg. Elizabeth married to a duke of Austria. Agnes to a count of Cleves. Margaret to a duke of Lorraine. John Count Palatine Zimмерen.

36.

Jodocus marquis of Brandenburg and Moravia, Emp. 1410. died three months after.

37.

Sigismund brother to Winceßlaus, born 1368. Emp. 1411. d. 1437. Wives: Mary heiress of Hungary and Bohemia. Barba countess of Sille. Children: Elizabeth daughter of Mary heiress of Hungary and Bohemia, married to the emperor Albert II. of Austria.

38.

POPES.

Martin V. (Colonna) 1417. elected by the council of Constance: pacified Rome, and recovered a great many dominions to the holy see.

Eugene IV. (Gondemore) 1431. supposed son of Gregory XII. one of the popes of the great schism: triumphed over the council of Basle, which deposed him in vain.

EMPERORS.

38.

Albert II. of Austria, born 1399. Emp. 1438. d. 1439. Wife: Elizabeth daughter of Sigismund, heiress of Bohemia and Hungary. Children: George who died young. Anne married to a duke of Saxony. Elizabeth to a prince of Poland. Ladislaus Posthumus king of Bohemia and Hungary.

39.

Frederick of Austria, born 1415. Emp. 1440. d. 1493. Wife: Eleonora daughter of the king of Portugal. Children: Maximilian afterwards emperor. Cunigonda married to a duke of Bavaria.

POPES.

Nicholas V. (Sarazane) 1447. made the concordat with the empire.

Calixtus III. (Borgia) 1455. the first who sent gallies against the Ottomans.

Pius II. (*Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini*) 1458. during the council of Basil, he wrote against the power of the holy see, and retracted when he became pope.

Paul II. (Barbo a Venetian) 1464. augmented the number and honours of cardinals: instituted public games, and the Minim friars.

40.

EMPERORS.

POPES.

40.

Maximilian I. of Austria, born 1459, king of the Romans 1486, Emp. 1493. d. 1519, Jan. 12. Wives: Mary heiress of Burgundy, and the Low Countries. Blanche Maria Sforza. Children: Philip the Beau of Austria king of Spain by his wife. Francis died in the cradle. Margaret promised to Charles VIII. king of France, governante of the Low Countries, married to John son of Ferdinand king of Spain, and afterwards to Philibert duke of Savoy. He had no children by Blanche Sforza,

Sixtus IV. (de la Rovere) 1471. encouraged the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medici: repaired the bridge of Antoninus, and laid a tax upon courtizans.

Innocent VIII. (Cibo) 1484. married before he was a priest, and had a number of children.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) 1491. his mistress Vanosia, his daughter Lucretia, his son the duke of Valentinois, are very well known, as well as the means he used to aggrandize that son, which redounded to the advantage of the holy see.

Pius III. (Picolomini) 1503. in electing this man, they deceived cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister of France, who thought himself secure of the Tiara.

Julius II. (de la Rovere) 1503. augmented the ecclesiastical state,
C 4 and

EMPERORS.

Sforza, but he had six bastards by his concubines.

41.

Charles V. born Feb. 24, 1500, king of Spain 1516, Emperor 1519, abdicated June 2, 1556. d. Sept. 21, 1558. Wife: *Isabella* daughter of *Emanuel* king of Portugal. Children: *Philip II.* king of Spain, Naples and Sicily, duke of Milan, sovereign of the Low Countries. Jane married to John infant of Portugal. Mary wife of the emperor *Maximilian II.* his own cousin. Bastards known: *Don John* of Austria, famous in war; and *Margaret* of Austria, married to *Alexander* duke of Florence, and afterwards to *Octavius* duke

POPES.

and was a warrior who wanted nothing but an army.

Leo X. (Medicis) 1513. a lover of the arts; magnificent and voluptuous; under him the Christian religion was divided into several sects.

Adrian VI. (Florentius Boyens of Utrecht) 1521. preceptor to *Charles V.*; hated by the Romans, because a stranger. At his death was found written on his physician's door, "To the deliverer of his country."

Clement VII. (Medicis) 1523. in his time Rome was sacked and England detached itself from the Roman church.

Paul III. (Farnese) 1534. gave Parma and Placentia to his bastard; and this was the cause of much trouble. He believed in judicial astrology, more than all the princes of his time.

Julius

EMPERORS.

duke of Parma. These two children are supposed to have been born of a princess very nearly related to Charles V.

42.

Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. born March 10, 1503. king of the Romans 1531. Emp. 1556. died July 25, 1564. Wife: Ann sister of Lewis king of Hungary and Bohemia. By her he had fifteen children: Maximilian afterward emperor. Elizabeth married to Sigismund Augustus king of

POPES.

Julius III. (Ghiocchi) 1550. It was he who made a cardinal of his ape-bearer, whom they called cardinal Simia. He is said to have been a great voluptuary.

Marcellus II. (Cervin) 1555. his exaltation lasted but twelve days.

Paul IV. (Caraffa) 1555. elected after the age of fourscore: his nephews governed every thing. The inquisition was violent at Rome, and after his death the people burned the prisons of that tribunal.

Pius IV. (Medequino) 1559. caused Caraffa, nephew to his predecessor, to be strangled: nepotism prevailed as much under him as under Paul IV.

EMPERORS.

of Poland. Anne to the duke of Bavaria Albert V. Mary to William duke of Juliers. Magdalen a nun. Catharine first married to Francis duke of Mantua, and afterwards to Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, after her sister's death. Eleonora married to William duke of Mantua. Margaret a nun. Barba married to Alphonsus II. duke of Ferrara. Helen a nun. Jane wife of Francis duke of Florence. Ferdinand duke of Tyrol. Charles duke of Stiria. Jane and Ursula died in their infancy.

43.

Maximilian II. of Austria, born August 1, 1527. Emp. 1564. d. Oct. 12, 1576. Wife: Mary daughter of Charles V. by whom he had fifteen children: Rodolphus afterwards emperor. Ernestus archduke. Matthias afterwards emperor. Max-

POPES:

Pius V. (Gisleri Dominican) 1566. caused Zoannetti Carneseccli and Palearius to be burnt; had great quarrels with Queen Elizabeth.

Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagno) 1572. the first year of his pontificate is famous for the mas-

EMPERORS.

Maximilian archduke. Albert who married the Infanta Clara Eugenia. Wincellaus who died at the age of seventeen. Anne wife of Philip II. king of Spain. Elizabeth wife of Charles IX. king of France. Margaret a nun, and six children that died in the cradle.

44.

Rodolphus II. born July 18, 1552. Emp. 1576. d. 1612, Jan. 10. unmarried, though he had five natural children.

POPES.

massacre of St. Bartholomew, for which two bonfires were made at Rome. He gave to James Buoncompagno, his bastard, abundance of wealth and dignities, but he did not dismember the ecclesiastical state in his favour.

Sixtus V. son of a poor husbandman called Peretti, 1585. finished the church of St. Peter; embellished Rome, and in the space of five years that he governed, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo.

Urban VII. (Castagna) 1590.

Gregory XIV. (Sfondrat) 1590. sent assistance to the league in France.

Innocent XI. (Santi-quatro) 1591.

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandino) 1592. He gave absolution and discipline to Henry IV. king

EMPERORS.

POPEs.

45.

Matthias, brother of
Rodolphus, born 1557,
 Feb. 24. Emp. 1612.
 died 1619, March 20.
 Wife: *Anne* daughter
 of *Ferdinand* of Tyrol,
 died without posterity.

46.

Ferdinand II. son of
Charles archduke of
 Stiria and Carinthia and
 grandson of the empe-
 ror *Ferdinand* I. born
 July 9, 1578. Emp.
 1619. d. 1637, Feb. 15.
 Wives: *Mary Anne*
 daughter of *William*
 duke of Bavaria. *Eleo-
 nora* daughter of *Vin-
 cent* duke of Mantua.
 Children by *Anne*:
 John

king of France, on the
 backs of the cardinals
Du Perron and *d'Ossat*;
 and seized upon the du-
 chy of Ferrara.

Paul V. (*Borghese*)
 1605. excommunicated
 Venice, and afterwards
 repented of what he
 had done; built the pa-
 lace of *Borghese*, and
 embellished the city of
 Rome.

Gregory XV. (*Ludo-
 visio*) 1621. helped to
 pacify the troubles of
 the *Valtelline*.

Urban VIII. (*Barbe-
 rino*) a Florentine,
 1623. passed for a good
 Latin poet. His ne-
 phews governed, and
 made war upon the
 duke of Parma.

Innocent

EMPERORS.

John Charles died at fourteen. Ferdinand afterwards emperor. Mary Anne wife of Maximilian duke of Bavaria. Cecilia Renee married to Uladislaus king of Poland. Leopold William who possessed several bishopricks. Christina who died young.

47.

Ferdinand III. born July 13, 1608. Emp. 1637. d. 1657. Wives: Mary Anne daughter of Philip III. king of Spain. Mary Leopoldina daughter of Leopold archduke of Tyrol. Eleonora daughter of Charles II. duke of Mantua. Children: Ferdinand king of the Romans died at the age of twenty-one. Mary Anne wife of Philip IV. king of Spain. Philip Augustin and Maximilian Thomas who died in their infancy. Leopold afterwards emperor. Mary died in the cradle.

Charles

POPES.

Innocent X. (Pamphili) 1644. his pontificate was a long time governed by his sister-in-law Dona Olympia.

Alexander VII. (Chigi) 1655. made new embellishments in Rome.

Clement

EMPERORS.

Charles Joseph bishop of Passau. Teresa Maria died young. Eleonora Maria who being widow of Michael king of Poland, married Charles duke of Lorraine. Mary Anne wife of the Elector Palatine. Ferdinand Joseph died in his infancy.

48.

Leopold, born 1640, June 9. Emp. 1658. d. May 5, 1705. Wives: Margaret Teresa daughter of Philip IV. of Spain. Claudia Felicitas daughter of Ferdinand Charles duke of Tyrol. Eleonora Magdalen daughter of Philip William Count Palatine duke of Neubourg. Children by Margaret Teresa. Ferdinand Wenceslaus died in the cradle. Mary Antonietta wife of Maximilian Mary elector of Bavaria. Three other daughters who died in their infancy. Children by Eleonora Magdalen of Neuburg. Joseph

POPES.

Clement IX. (Rospigliosi) 1667. was desirous of putting the finances of Rome in order.

Clement X. (Altieri) 1670. in his time began the quarrel of the Regale in France.

Innocent XI. (Odescalchi) 1676. was always an enemy to Lewis XIV. and espoused the party of the emperor Leopold.

Alexander VIII. (Ottonoboni) 1689.

Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) 1691. advised Charles II. king of Spain to make his will in favour of the house of Bourbon.

Clement

EMPERORS.

Joseph afterwards emperor. Mary Elizabeth governante of the Low Countries. Leopold Joseph who died in his infancy. Mary Anne wife of John V. king of Portugal. Mary Theresa died at twelve years of age. Charles afterwards emperor, and three daughters who died young.

POPES.

Clement XI. (Albano) 1700. was obliged against his will to acknowledge Charles VI. as king of Spain.

EMPERORS.

49.

Joseph, born July 26, 1678. king of the Romans 1690, at twelve years of age. Emp. 1705. d. 1711, April 17. Wife: *Amelia* daughter of John Frederic duke of Hanover. Children: *Mary Josephina* married to Frederic Augustus king of Poland, elector of Saxony. *Leopold Joseph* who died in the cradle. *Mary Amelia* married to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

50.

Charles VI. born Oct. 1, 1685. Emp. 1711. d. 1740. Wife: *Elizabeth Christina* daughter of Lewis Rodolphus duke of Brunswick. Children: *Leopold* who died in his infancy. *Mary Theresa* who married Francis of Lorraine, Feb. 12, 1736. *Mary Anne* married to Charles of Lorraine. *Mary Amelia* died in her infancy. *Charles VI.* was the last prince of the house of Austria.

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FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE

INTRODUCTION

It is the aim of this work to present a history of the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne, and to show how the empire of the Romans was founded, and how it was maintained, and how it was finally destroyed. The history of the empire of the Romans is a history of the most important events in the history of the world, and it is a history which has been the subject of many of the most important works of history. The history of the empire of the Romans is a history of the most important events in the history of the world, and it is a history which has been the subject of many of the most important works of history.

A N N A L S
OF THE
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FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

INTRODUCTION.

OF all the revolutions which have changed the face of the earth, that alone, which transferred the empire of the Romans to Charlemagne, seems to have been just, if the word *just* may be pronounced of events which partook so much of violence. Charlemagne was actually called to the empire by the voice of the Roman people, whom he had at once saved from the tyranny of the Lombards, and the negligence of the eastern emperors.

This is the great epocha of the western nations ; at this time a new order of government began, the foundation of the temporal power of the church ; for no bishop in the east had ever been a prince, or possessed any of the rights of royalty. This new Roman empire bore no
resemblance

resemblance to that of the first Cæsars. In these annals will be seen the true nature of this empire, how the Roman pontiffs acquired that temporal power, with which they have been so much reproached; how so many western bishops, especially those of Germany, erected themselves into sovereigns; and in what manner the Roman people struggled to preserve their liberty between the emperors and popes, who disputed with one another the dominion of Rome.

All the West, since the fifth century, was either barbarous or desolate; so many nations, formerly subdued by the antient Romans, had at least lived till the fifth century in a state of happy subjection. It is a singular example in all ages, that conquerors should have built for the conquered those vast baths, amphitheatres, and highways, which no nation since those times hath even presumed to imitate; there was in effect but one people; the Latin language, in the time of Theodosius, was spoke from Cadiz to the Euphrates; trade was carried on from Rome to Triers and Alexandria with more ease than many provinces now find in trafficking with their next neighbours; even the tributes, though burthensome, were much less intolerable than since that time, when the people are obliged to pay for the luxury, and undergo the violence of so many particular masters. Let us only compare the state of Paris, while governed by Julian the philosopher, with its situation an hundred and fifty years after. Let us consider Triers the largest city of the Gauls, in the time of Theodosius, when it was called a second Rome, and then observe the

the state of that city after the inundation of the Barbarians. Autun under Constantin contained five and twenty thousand masters of families; Arles was still more populous. The Barbarians brought along with them devastation, poverty, and ignorance. The Franks were of the number of those famished and ferocious people, who ran to the pillage of the empire. They subsisted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they settled was very fair and fertile. They did not know how to cultivate the lands. That country is marked in an antient carte still preserved at Venice. There we see the Franks settled from the mouth of the Maine as far as Friseland, and in part of Westphalia, the *Franci seu Chamavi*. It is by means of the antient Romans, and them only, that we have a distinct notion of our own origin. The Franks then were part of those people called Saxons, who inhabited Westphalia; and when Charlemagne made war upon them three hundred years after, he exterminated the descendants of his own ancestors.

Those tribes of Franks, of which the Salians were the most illustrious, established themselves gradually in Gaul, not as allies of the Roman people, as generally supposed, but after having plundered the Roman colonies, Triers, Cologne, Mentz, Tongres, Tournay, Cambrai; defeated indeed by Aëtius, one of the last supports of the Roman grandeur, but afterwards united with him, through necessity, against Attila; then taking the advantage of the anarchy to which those irruptions of the Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards and Burgundians reduced the empire, they used against the
emperors

emperors themselves the rights and titles of masters of the militia, and the patriciate, which they had received from them. This empire was torn into shreds, and every horde of those fierce savages seized upon part as its own prey. One incontestable proof that those people were a long time in a state of barbarity, is, that they destroyed a great number of cities, and founded none.

All these dominions were of small importance till the end of the eighth century before the power of the caliphs, which threatened the whole earth.

The first successors of Mahomet possessed the right of the throne and of the altar, of the sword and of enthusiasm; their orders were so many oracles; their soldiers so many fanatics. In the year 651, they besieged Constantinople, destined to be one day Mussulman. The inevitable divisions among so many new chiefs, of so many peoples and armies, did not interfere with their conquests; the Mahometans, in that particular, resembled the antient Romans, who subdued Asia Minor and the Gauls, even in the midst of their civil wars.

In 711, we see them passing from Egypt into Spain, which was easily subdued * successively by the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Vandals, and at last by those Arabs called Moors, who there established the kingdom of Cordova. The sultan of Egypt, indeed, shook

* Spain was far from being easily subdued. The learned author of the Memoirs of the Court of Augustus justly observes, that the Romans fought more battles for the possession of Spain alone, than the greatest conquerors on record did for the utmost extent of their dominion,

INTRODUCTION. 45

off the yoke of the grand caliph of Bagdat; and Abderame, governor of conquered Spain, no longer acknowledged the sultan of Egypt: nevertheless, every thing yielded to the arms of the Mussulmans.

This Abderame, grandson of the caliph Hesham, takes the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon; makes a settlement in Languedoc; conquers Guienne and Poitou; and, if Charles Martel had not deprived him of his conquests and his life, France would have been a Mahometan province.

As the Mahometans increased in power, they improved in politeness. Those caliphs who were always acknowledged as the sovereigns of religion by such as received their orders from afar, finding themselves at their ease in their new Babylon, revived the arts in that capital.

Aaron Rachild, cotemporary with Charlemagne, more illustrious than his predecessors, who caused himself to be respected even in Spain and at the river Indus, reanimated all the sciences, cultivated the agreeable and useful arts, invited and encouraged learned men, and saw politeness succeed barbarity through his vast dominions. Under him the Arabians, who had already adopted the Indian cyphers, carried them into Europe. The first rudiments of astronomy known in Germany and France, were learned from the Arabians; the word *Almanac* is still a proof of this assertion. In a word, during the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West were obliged to go and take instructions from the Mussulmen.

The more Mahomet's empire flourished, the more Constantinople and Rome were abased.

Rome

46 INTRODUCTION.

Rome had never recovered that fatal stroke she received from Constantine, in his removing the seat of empire: the Romans were no longer animated by glory and patriotism. The inhabitants of that antient capital had nothing more to hope from fortune. Courage became enervated, the arts sunk into oblivion, and nothing was now seen in the abodes of the Scipios and Cæsars, but contests between the secular judges and the bishop. Taken, retaken, and sacked so often by the Barbarians, Rome still obeyed the emperors. After Justinian, a vicëroy governed it under the name of Exarch; but he no longer deigned to look upon it as the capital of Italy. He resided at Ravenna, and from thence sent his orders to the prefect of Rome. The emperors had nothing now remaining in Italy, but the country that extends from the boundaries of Tuscany to the extremities of Calabria. The Lombards were in possession of Piedmont, the Milaneze, Mantua, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Bologna: these dominions composed the kingdom of Lombardy. Those Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, where they had embraced Arianism, which was the prevailing religion. Having penetrated into Italy by Tyrol, there they settled, and confirmed their dominion by submitting to the Catholic religion. Rome, whose walls were demolished, and who had no other defence but the troops of the exarch, was often menaced with subjection to the power of the Lombards. It was then so poor, that the annual imposition levied by the exarch, amounted to no more than a golden sol from every master of a family; and even this was a bur-

den some tax. It was like those barren and remote lands which are a charge to the owners.

The Roman diurnal of the seventh and eighth centuries, a precious monument, part of which is printed, shews, in the most authentic manner, what the sovereign pontif was in those days. He was called The Vicar of Peter, Bishop of the City of Rome, as soon as he was elected by the citizens ; the clergy in a body intimated his election to the exarch, in this form : " We intreat you who are charged with the imperial ministry, to order the consecration of our father and pastor." They likewise communicated the news of the election to the metropolitan of Ravenna in these words : " St. Peter, we beseech thy holiness to obtain of our lord the exarch the ordination now depending." They were also obliged to send an account of it to the judges of Ravenna, whom they stiled Your Eminences.

At that time the new pope, before his ordination, was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith ; and in the second he condemned among the heretics pope Honorius I. because, at Constantinople, the said Honorius bishop of Rome was supposed to have acknowledged but one will in Jesus Christ.

There is a great distance from this to the Tiara ; but there is likewise a great difference between the first monk who preached on the banks of the Rhine and the electoral cap ; as also between the first chief of the wandering Salians and a Roman emperor. All greatness is formed gradually, and the origin of every thing is small and inconsiderable.

The

48 INTRODUCTION.

The pontif of Rome established his greatness insensibly, during the abasement of the city: the Romans were poor, but the church was not. Constantine had given, to the basilique of the Lateran only, above a thousand marks of gold, and about thirty thousand of silver, and assigned to it fourteen thousand sols of yearly revenue. The popes, who fed the poor, and sent missions through all the West, having had occasion for more considerable supplies, had obtained them without difficulty. The emperors, and even the Lombard king, had granted them lands; and they possessed, in the neighbourhood of Rome, certain revenues and castles called The Justices of St. Peter. Several citizens eagerly strove to enrich, by donation or will, a church whose bishop was looked upon as the father of their country. The credit of the popes was greatly superior to their wealth. It was impossible to fail, in point of veneration, for an almost uninterrupted succession of pontiffs, who had consoled the church, extended religion, and softened the manners of the Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Francis*.

Although

* It is paying too great a compliment to the Roman Catholic religion to ascribe these blessings to a succession of popes, who embroiled all Christendom with intrigues, excited rebellions, dethroned kings, denounced damnation, tyrannized over conscience, preached up war, implacable hatred, and persecution; armed one half of the world against their fellow-creatures; filled the nations of the earth with massacre, blood, and desolation; and in their own personal conduct displayed the most shocking composition of perfidy, cruelty, profligacy, and superstition. The barbarous nations were civilized by the gradual improvement

Although the Roman pontiffs, in the time of the exarchs, extended their right of metropolitan no farther than the *suburbary towns*, that is, over the towns subjected to the government of the prefect of Rome: nevertheless, they were often dignified with the appellation of Universal Pope, on account of the primacy and dignity of their see. Gregory the Great refused that title, which however he merited by his virtues; and his successors extended their credit in the West; therefore we ought not to be surprized to find in the eighth century Boniface archbishop of Mentz, the same who consecrated Pepin, express himself thus in the form of his oath: "I promise to St. Peter, and his vicar Gregory the Happy," &c.

At length, in process of time, the popes formed the design of delivering Rome at once from the Lombards, by whom it was incessantly threatened, and the Greek emperors, by whom it was so ill defended. The popes at that time perceived that which at other conjunctures would have been no other than a revolt or impotent sedition, might now become a revolution excusable from necessity, and respectable through success. This is the revolution which was begun under Pepin II. usurper of the throne of France, and compleated by his son Charlemagne, at a time when every thing was in confusion, and the face of Europe must have necessarily been changed.

ment and cultivation of the human understanding, which the Roman pontiffs in general prevented to the utmost of their power, well knowing that ignorance was the mother of devotion.

The kingdom of France at that time extended from the Pyrenees and the Alps to the Rhine, the Maine and the Sala. Bavaria depended upon this vast kingdom. It was the king of France who bestowed that duchy when he was strong enough to give it away. This kingdom of the Franks, which had been almost always divided since the time of Clovis, and torn by intestine wars, was nothing but a vast, barbarous province of the antient Roman empire, which Constantinople always reckoned among the rebellious states, though she treated with it as a powerful kingdom.

CHARLEMAGNE.

742.

CHARLEMAGNE, born April 10, near Aix-la-Chapelle, was the son of Pepin, mayor of the palace, duke of the Franks, and grandson of Charles Martel. All that we know of his mother, is, that her name was Bertha; but we are not even precisely acquainted with the place of his birth. He was born during the session of the council of Germany, tho', thanks to the ignorance of those times, we know not where that famous council was held.

One half of the country, which is now called Germany, was idolatrous, from the banks of the Weser, and even of the Maine and Rhine, to the Baltick, and the other half Christian.

There were already bishops at Triers, Cologne, and Mentz, frontier cities, founded by
the

the Romans, and instructed by the popes; but that country was then called Aufrasia, and belonged to the kingdom of the Franks.

One Villebrod*, an Englishman, had, in the time of Charles Martel's father, gone to preach to the idolaters of Friesland what little Christianity he knew. There was, towards the end of the seventh century, a titular bishop of Westphalia who raised little children from the dead. Villebrod took the vain title of Bishop of Utrecht; and there he built a small church, which was destroyed by the pagan Frieslanders. At length, in the beginning of the eighth century, another Englishman, known afterwards by the name of Boniface†, went and preached in Germany, and was looked upon as an apostle. The English were at that time the preceptors of the Germans; and it was to the popes that all those people, as well as the Gauls, owed the little learning and Christianity which they knew.

743.

A synod at Lestine in Hainault serves to shew the manners of those times. There it was regulated, that those who had taken the effects of the church, in order to maintain a war, should give a crown to the church by way of farm. This regulation regarded the officers of Charles Martel and his son Pepin, who enjoyed during life the abbeys they had seized. It was

* Villebrod was a native of Northumberland, educated in the monastery of Rippon, who afterwards prosecuted his theological studies in Ireland, at that time famous for the most learned and pious professors of the true faith.

† This was Wilfred who had assisted Wilbrod in his apostolical labours in Friesland,

then equally usual to endow monks, and to deprive them of their endowments.

Boniface, that apostle of Germany, founded the abbey of Fuld in the county of Hesse. At first it was no more than a church covered with thatch and surrounded with cabbins, inhabited by some monks, who grubbed an ungrateful soil. It is now a principality; and no man can be a monk, unless he is a gentleman: the abbot has been long a sovereign, and since the year 1753 a bishop.

744.

Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne, duke of Austrasia, reduces the Bavarian vassals, who were in rebellion against the king of France, and defeats the Saxons, of whom he wants to make vassals also.

745.

At this time Boniface was bishop of Mentz. The dignity of metropolitan, hitherto attached to the see of Worms, is transferred to Mentz.

Carloman, brother of Pepin, abdicates the duchy of Austrasia: it was a powerful realm, which he governed under the name of Mayor of the Palace, while his brother Pepin ruled in western France; and Childerick king of all France could scarce command the servants of his own family. Carloman renounces his sovereignty to go and turn monk at Montecassini.

Historians still affirm that Pepin loved him tenderly; but, in all probability, he loved better to rule alone. The cloister was then the asylum of those who had too powerful competitors in the world.

747.

748.

In most towns of France they renew the custom

custom of the antient Romans, known under the name of Patronage, or Clientship. The citizens chose patrons among the noblemen; and this circumstance alone proves that the people in Gaul were not divided, as it is pretended they were, into masters and slaves.

749.

Pepin at length undertakes what his father Charles Martel could not perform. He resolves to deprive the Merovean race of the crown; and the first step he takes is to gain the apostle Boniface over to his party, together with several bishops, and at last pope Zacharias himself.

750.

Pepin causes his king Hilderic or Childeric III. to be deposed and made a monk at St. Bertin, and seats himself on the throne of the Franks.

751.

Pepin resolves to subdue the people then called Saxons, extending from the neighbourhood of the Maine to the Cimbric Chersonesus, who had already conquered England*. Pope Stephen III. demands the protection of Pepin against Luitprand king of Lombardy, who wanted to make himself master of Rome. The emperor of Constantinople was too remote and too weak to succour him; and the first domestic of the king of France, now become usurper, was the only person who could give him protection.

* Those who conquered England, or rather South Britain (for they themselves gave it the name of England), came from Jutland, Angelem, and Holstein, and these were assisted by the Frieslanders.

754.

The first known action of Charlemagne was, to go, by order of his father Pepin, and prostrate himself before pope Stephen at St. Maurice in Valais. This was an eastern custom. People often kneeled before bishops, and these bishops bended the knee not only before emperors, but even before the governors of provinces, when these last came to take possession.

As for the custom of kissing feet, it was not yet introduced in the West. Dioclesian was the first who exacted that mark of respect. Pope Adrian I. and Leo III. first arrogated to the pontificate that honour which Dioclesian had assumed to the empire; after which, kings and emperors submitted like other people to that ceremony, in order to render the Roman religion the more venerable.

Pepin caused himself to be consecrated king of France, by the pope, in the month of August, in the abbey of St. Denis: he had already been consecrated by Boniface; but the hand of the pope rendered his usurpation the more respectable in the eyes of the people. Eginard, secretary to Charlemagne, says in express terms, that Hilderic was deposed by order of pope Stephen. Pepin is the first European king who was consecrated. This ceremony was an imitation of the unction applied to the Hebrew kings: he, at the same time, took care to see his two sons, Charles and Carloman, consecrated. The pope, before he consecrated him king, absolved him of his perjury to his sovereign Hilderic; and, after the consecration, fulminated an excommunication against whosoever should at any time attempt to take the crown

crown from the family of Pepin. Neither Hugh Capet nor Conrad have shewn great respect to that excommunication. The new king, in recompence for the pope's complaisance, passes the Alps with his vassal Thasillon duke of Bavaria, besieges Astolphus in Pavia, and returns the same year without success either in making war or peace *.

755.

Scarce had Pepin repassed the Alps, when Astolphus besieges Rome. Pope Stephen conjures the new king of France to come to his relief. Nothing can be a more convincing proof of the simplicity of those ignorant times, than a letter which the pope causes to be written to the king of France in the name of St. Peter, as if it had come down from heaven; a simplicity, however, which did not exclude the frauds of policy and attempts of ambition.

Pepin delivers Rome, again besieges Pavia, makes himself master of the exarchate, and gives it (as they say) to the pope. This is the first title of the temporal power of the holy see, by which Pepin equally weakened the kings of Lombardy and the emperors of the East. This donation is very doubtful; for the archbishops of Ravenna at that time took the title of exarchs; consequently the bishops of Rome and Ravenna were resolved to aggrandize themselves. It is very probable that Pepin gave

* The French historians expressly say, that in this first expedition he obliged Astolphus to relinquish the exarchate of Ravenna and all his conquests, together with all his pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome; and that he exacted an oath from him and his nobility for the performance of these articles.

some lands to the popes, and favoured those in Italy who strengthened his dominions in France. If he really made that present to the popes, it is very clear that he gave away what did not belong to him; but he had also taken what was not his own. We find scarce any other source of the first rights. Time renders them legitimate.

756.

Boniface archbishop of Mentz goes upon a mission among the Friesland idolaters, from whom he receives the crown of martyrdom: but as historians say that he was martyred in his camp, and that abundance of the Frieslanders were killed, it is reasonable to believe that the missionaries were soldiers. Thasillon duke of Bavaria does homage for his duchy to the king of France, in the form of those homages which have been since called Liegance. By this time there were great hereditary fiefs, and Bavaria was one of that number.

Pepin once more defeats the Saxons. All the wars of those people against the Franks seem to have been little more than the incursions of barbarians, who came by turns to carry off cattle, and ravage the harvests. There was no place of strength, no policy, no formed design. This part of the world was still savage.

Pepin, by all his victories, gained no more than the payment of an old tribute of three hundred horses; to which were added five hundred cows. This was hardly worth the trouble of slaying so many thousand men.

758. 759. 760.

Didier, or Desiderius, successor of Astolphus, retakes the towns which Pepin gave to St. Peter; but

but Pepin was so formidable, that Didier is said to have restored them in consequence of his threats only. Hereditary vassalage began to be so effectually introduced, that the kings of France pretended to be lords paramount of the duchy of Aquitaine. Pepin, by force of arms, compels Gaïfre duke of Aquitaine to take the oath of fidelity to him in presence of the duke of Bavaria; so that he had two great sovereigns at his feet. We may easily perceive that these homages were no other than the submission of weakness to superior power.

762.

763.

The duke of Bavaria thinking himself strong enough, and seeing Pepin at a distance, revokes his homage; but, when the other is on the brink of making war upon him, renews his oath of fidelity.

766.

767.

The erection of the bishoprick of Saltzbourg. Pope Paul I. sends to the king, in a present, books, chanters, and a clock. Constantine Copronimus likewise sends to him an organ and some musicians. This would not be a fact worthy of history, if it did not shew how little the arts were known in that part of the world. At that time the Franks knew nothing but war, hunting, and feasting.

768.

The preceding years are barren of events, consequently happy for the people; for almost all the great events of history are public misfortunes. The duke of Aquitaine revokes his homage after the example of the duke of Bavaria. Pepin flies upon him, and reunites Aquitaine to the crown.

Pepin, surnamed the Short, died at Xaintes, September 24, in the 54th year of his age. Before his death he makes his will by word of mouth, and not by writing, in presence of the great officers of his house, his generals, and those who held extensive lands for life. He divides his dominions between his two sons, Charles, and Carloman. After Pepin's death, the nobles modify his will. They gave to Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Provence, and Neustria, which then extended from the Meuse to the Loire and the ocean. Carloman had Austrasia from Rheims to the extremities of Thuringia. It is plain that the kingdom of France at that time comprehended near one half of Germany.

770.

Didier, king of the Lombards, offers his daughter Desiderata in marriage to Charles, who was already married: he espouses Desiderata, so it appears he had two wives at one time. This was not uncommon: Gregory de Tours says, that the kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had several wives.

771.

His brother Carloman dies suddenly at the age of twenty: his widow flies into Italy with two princes her children. This death and that flight do not absolutely prove that Charlemagne was resolved to reign alone, and entertained evil designs against his nephews; but neither do they prove that he deserved to have his festival celebrated as it is in Germany.

772.

Charles causes himself to be crowned king of Austrasia, and reunites all the vast realms of the

the Franks, without leaving any thing to his nephews. Posterity, dazzled by the glare of his glory, seem to have forgot that injustice. He repudiated his wife, the daughter of Didier, in order to revenge himself for the asylum which the Lombard king had afforded to the widow of his brother Carloman.

He takes the field against the Saxons, and finds at their head a man worthy to fight against him: this was Witikind, the greatest defender of the German liberty, next to Herman, whom we call Arminius.

The king of France attacks him in that country which is now called the County de la Lippe. Those people were wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we see a most rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses and helmets to the Saxons. The arms and discipline of the Franks could not fail of being victorious over ferocious courage. Charles cuts in pieces the army of Witikind, and takes the capital called Erresbourg. That capital was a number of huts surrounded with a ditch. The inhabitants are slaughtered. He demolishes the principal temple of the country, said to have been formerly dedicated to the god Tanfana *the universal principle*, if ever those barbarians acknowledged an universal principle; but at that time dedicated to the god Irminful a temple revered in Saxony, like that of Sion among the Jews. The priests were murdered upon the fragments of the idol which had been overthrown. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser. All those districts submitted. Charlemagne resolved to bind them to his yoke with the tie of Christianity. While he has-

tened to the other end of his dominions, and to other conquests, he left among them missionaries to persuade, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all the people, who lived near the Weser, found themselves in one year Christians and slaves.

773.

While the king of the Franks restrains the Saxons on the banks of the Weser, he is recalled to Italy. The quarrels between the Lombards and the pope still subsisted; and the king, in succouring the church, might have made himself master of Italy, which was better worth his trouble than the countries of Bremen, Hanover, and Brunswick. He marched therefore against his father-in-law Didier, who was then before Rome. His aim was not to avenge Rome, but to hinder Didier from accommodating matters with the pope, in order to restore to the two sons of Carloman the kingdom which was their due. He ran to attack his father-in-law, and cloaked his usurpation with piety. He was followed by seventy thousand men, regularly trained to war; an almost incredible circumstance in those times. Armies of one hundred and two hundred thousand men had been assembled before this period, but then they consisted of peasants, who retired to their harvest after a battle was lost or won. Charlemagne retained them longer under his standard, and this discipline greatly contributes to his victories.

774.

The French army besieges Pavia. The king goes to Rome, renews and augments the donations of Pepin, and with his own hand places
a copy

a copy of it on the tomb, which, as they pretended, contained the ashes of St. Peter. Pope Adrian thanks him in panegyric verses of his own writing.

The Tradition of Rome says, that Charles gave Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but surely he did not bestow any of these countries, which were not in his possession. But there is still extant a letter from Adrian to the empress Irene, which proves that Charles gave some dominions which are not specified in the letter. "Charles duke of the Franks and Patrician, said he, hath given us provinces, and restored the towns which the perfidious Lombards detain from the church, &c."

We find that Adrian still carefully husbanded his influence over the empire, in giving Charles the title of Duke and Patrician only, and seeking to fortify his possession with the name of restitution.

The king returns from Pavia. Didier surrenders himself, is made a monk, and sent to the abbey of Corbie in France. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those made by the emperors. Every king, who had the misfortune to be dethroned, became a monk in those days.

Charlemagne caused himself to be crowned king of Italy in Pavia, with a crown on which there was an iron circle, still preserved in the little town of Monza.

Justice was still administered in Rome in the name of the Greek emperor. Even the popes received from him the confirmation of their election;

election; for though the emperor was deprived of the substance, he still retained the shadow of power. Charlemagne, like Pepin, assumed no other title but that of Patrician, which Theodorick and Attila had deigned to receive; so that the name of Emperor, which originally signified no more than the general of an army, still implied the Master of the East and West. Unsubstantial as it was, they respected it, and even were afraid to usurp it. They affected no more than the term Patrician, which formerly meant a Roman Senator, and which at that time signified a Lieutenant, independent of an emperor, without power.

Nevertheless, money was then coined at Rome in the name of Adrian; from whence, what are we to conclude, but that the pope, delivered from the Lombards, and no longer obeying the emperors, was himself master in Rome? Certain it is, the Roman pontiffs, like the bishops of the Franks and Germans, seized the regal rights as soon as they were in their power; all authority seeks to augment itself; and for that reason only, nothing but the name of Charlemagne was stamped upon the new money coined at Rome in the year 800, when he was elected emperor by the pope and the Roman people.

775.

The second effort of the Saxons against Charlemagne, for the recovery of their liberty, which is called a revolt. They are again defeated in Westphalia; and, after abundance of blood had been shed, gave cattle and hostages, having nothing else to pay.

776. An

776.

An attempt of Adalgise the son of Didier to recover the kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Adrian construes it into a horrible conspiracy. Charles hastens to take vengeance; flies from Germany into Italy; beheads a duke of Friouli, who was an accomplice; and every thing submits to his fortune.

During that very period, the Saxons return to Westphalia, and he returns to defeat them. They submit, and promise again to become Christians. Charles builds forts in their country, before any churches were built among them.

777.

He gives laws to the Saxons, and compels them to swear they will become slaves, should they ever cease to be Christians and submissive. At a grand diet, held at Paderborn in tents, a Mussulman emir, who commanded at Saragossa, came to conjure Charlemagne to support his rebellion against Abderame king of Spain.

778.

Charles marches from Paderborn into Spain; espouses the cause of this emir; besieges and takes Pampelune. We may observe, that the spoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and soldiers, according to the antient custom of making war only for the sake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all those who had an equal share of the danger. But all that booty is lost in repassing the Pyrenees. The rear-guard of Charlemagne is cut in pieces at Roncevalles by the Arabians and Gascons. There, it is said, perished his nephew

phew Orlando, so celebrated for his courage and incredible strength.

As the Saxons had recourse to arms while Charles was in Italy, so they take them up while he is in Spain. Witikind, who had retired to the duke of Denmark his father-in-law, returns to reanimate his countrymen: he re-assembles them; finds in Bremen the capital of the country which bears that name, a bishop, a church, and his Saxons in despair of being dragged to new altars: he expels the bishop, who has time to embark and get away. Charlemagne comes up with great expedition, and defeats Witikind again.

780.

Victor on all hands, he sets out for Rome with one of his wives, called Ildegarde, and two younger children, Pepin and Lewis. Pope Adrian baptizes these two children, and consecrates Pepin king of Lombardy, and Lewis king of Aquitaine. This Aquitaine had been erected into a kingdom for some time.

781.

782.

The king of France keeps his court at Worms, Ratibon, and Cuerci. There he is visited by Alcuin archbishop of York. The king, who could scarce sign his own name, was resolved to make science flourish, because he would be great in every thing. Peter de Pisa taught him a smattering of grammar. It is not surprising that the Italians should instruct the Gauls and Germans; but it is very extraordinary that they should have always had occasion for Englishmen to learn that which at this day is not honoured with the name of Science.

They held conference before the king, which may be called the origin of the academies, especially those of Italy, in which every academician assumed a new name. Charlemagne took the appellation of David, Alcuin of Albinus*, and a young man called Ilgeberd, who wrote doggerel verses, boldly appropriated to himself the name of Homer.

783.

Mean while Witikind, who did not learn grammar, raised an insurrection among the Saxons, and defeated the generals of Charles on the banks of the Weser. Charles comes to repair this loss. He is again victor over the Saxons, who lay down their arms before him: he commands them to deliver up Witikind. They answer that he has escaped to Denmark. *His accomplices are still here*, replied Charlemagne, and ordered four thousand five hundred to be butchered before his eyes. In this manner he prepared Saxony for the reception of Christianity.

784.

This massacre had the same effect as that produced a long time after by the massacre called St. Bartholemew in France. All the Saxons resumed their arms with fury and despair, and were joined by the Danes and neighbouring nations.

785.

Charles marches against this multitude, with his son of the same name. He obtains a new victory, and again imposes fruitless laws: es-

* Alcuin or Albinus was invited over by Charlemagne, and became his favourite. The classical name which this prelate assumed was Flaccus.

establishing marquises or commanders of the militia upon the frontiers of his realms.

786.

Witiking yields at length. He comes with a duke of Friesland, and submits to Charlemagne at Attigni sur l'Aine. Then the kingdom of France extended as far as Holstein. The King of France repairs again to Italy and rebuilds Florence; it is very remarkable, that he is no sooner at one end of his dominions, than there are always revolts at the other; a sure sign that the king had not powerful bodies of troops on all his frontiers. The ancient Saxons joined the Bavarians; the King repasses the Alps.

787.

The Empress Irene who still governed the Greek Empire, at that time the only Empire, had formed a powerful league against the King of France. It was composed of those very Saxons and Bavarians, and the Huns so famous heretofore under Attila, who inhabited, as now, the banks of the Danube and the Drave; nay, part of Italy itself had engaged in the association. Charles vanquished the Huns upon the Danube, and the whole was dissipated.

From 788 to 792.

During these four years of peace, he opened schools in the houses of bishops and monasteries. The Roman chanting was established in the churches of France. At the diet of Aix-la-chapelle he instituted those laws which are called Capitulary. Laws that favour strongly of that barbarism which they were meant to reform, and in which the nation had been long buried.

These

These that follow are the customs, manners, laws and spirit, which then prevailed.

LAWS and CUSTOMS observed in the time of
CHARLEMAGNE.

PROVINCES were governed and troops levied by Dukes, some of whom were removeable and others hereditary vassals, much in the same manner as the Turkish provinces are now governed by Beglerbeys. These Dukes had been instituted in Italy by Dioclesian. The Counts, whose origin appears to have been in the time of Theodosius, commanded under the Dukes, each assembling the troops in his own district. The farms, the towns, and villages furnished a number of soldiers proportioned to their power. Twelve farms found one horseman armed with casque and cuirass. The other soldiers wore nothing but a long square buckler, a battle-ax, a javelin and sword. Those who used arrows were obliged to have at least a dozen in their quivers. The province that furnished the soldiery, provided them with corn and provisions for six months. The king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. They were reviewed on the first of March and the first of May. It was usually at these seasons that the parliaments were held. In besieging towns they employed the Ram, the Balista, the Tortoise, and almost all the machines of the Romans, for, of all their arts, that of war alone subsisted, and *that* for their own ruin.

The noblemen called Barons, Leudes, Rich-lomes, with their followers, composed what little

little cavalry was then to be seen in armies. The Mussulmans of Africa and Spain had a greater number of horse. It appears that afterwards, they learned of them to cover their men and horses with iron, and fight with lances.

Charles had naval forces at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire, from the Elbe to the Tiber. Before his time they were not known among the barbarians, and long after his death no such armaments were to be seen. By these means the warlike police which he maintained on all the coasts, he put a stop to those inundations of northern people, who then exercised the trade of pirates. He contained them within their own frozen climates; but, under his pusillanimous descendants, they deluged all Europe.

The general affairs were regulated in those assemblies which represented the nation, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, the Gauls, and people of the North. Under him, Parliaments had no will but that of their master, who knew how to command and persuade.

He caused trade to flourish a little in his vast dominions, because he was master of the seas. Thus merchants from the coast of Tuscany went to trade at Constantinople among the Christians, and at the port of Alexandria among the Mussulmans, by whom they were civilly received, and from whom they drew the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, so powerful in the sequel, by means of trade, had not yet engrossed the riches of the nations, tho' Venice began to grow wealthy and great.

Rome,

Rome, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles, and Tours, had a great many woollen manufactures, iron was damasked, glass was made, silk stuffs were not woven in any city of the West.

The Venetians began to bring them from Constantinople, where they were not known till after the Emperor Justinian; but it was not till near four hundred years after Charlemagne, that the Moors fabricated silk at Cordova, and the Norman princes who conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, afterwards established a silk manufactory at Palermo. Almost all the works of industry and craft were performed in the empire of the East. Linen was very uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter written to a bishop settled in Germany, desires he will send him some shagged cloth to wipe his feet after washing. This want of linen was in all probability, the cause of those diseases of the skin, known by the name of Leprosy*, so rife in those days; for there was already a great number of those hospitals called Lazars.

It is pretended that even in the time of Charlemagne great projects were formed for the benefit of commerce, as they had actually

* We should rather think that the wearing of woollen next the skin would help to prevent the leprosy, by promoting a copious and regular perspiration. We do not find that the Romans were subject to this distemper; nor the other Europeans, before the use of linen was known to them. The leprosy made no figure among the northern nations, until it was imported from the East, in the time of the crusades; and then it gained ground to such a degree, that it was found expedient to build lazars-houses in almost every kingdom of Europe.

begun the famous canal, which was to join the Rhine to the Danube, and thus open a communication between the black sea and the ocean. But the spirit of conquest might have had a greater share in this undertaking, than any view to public utility.

Money had nearly the same value as that of the Roman empire after Constantine. The golden sol was the *solidum Romanum*, which the barbarians called sol from their known habit of contracting all names. Thus of *Augustus* they made *Aoit*; of *Forum Julii* Frejus; and this golden sol was equivalent to forty deniers of silver through the whole extent of Charlemagne's dominions.

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

THE CHURCH.

THE churches of France were rich, those of Germany began to be rich, and were destined one day to be more so, because they were endowed with larger territories. The Bishops and Abbots had a great number of slaves. The Abbot Alcuin, preceptor to Charlemagne, is reproached with having had twenty thousand. This number is not incredible. Alcuin possessed three abbeys, the lands of which had been inhabited by twenty thousand men, all belonging to the lord or superior. These slaves known under the name of *Serfs* could not marry, nor change the place of their abode without the permission of the Abbot. They

were obliged to go fifty leagues with their carts, if he commanded them. They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of the earth.

In France and in Germany the bishops more than once have been known to go to battle with their *Serfs*. Charlemagne in a letter to one of his wives called Frastada, mentions a Bishop who had valiantly fought by his side, in a battle against the Avars, a people descended from the Scythians, who were settled towards the country which is now called Austria.

We find in his time 14 monasteries which were obliged to furnish soldiers. If the Abbot was in the least inclined to war, nothing hindered him from heading them in person; true it is in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne, that too great a number of priests had been slain in war. Then the ministers of the altar were forbid going to battle, but custom was the stronger law.

We see in the Bavarian laws and the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne, that the priests were forbid to have any other women in their houses, but their mothers and sisters: this was one of those laws which are contradicted by custom.

No person was allowed to call himself clerk who was not really so, or to wear the tonsure without belonging to a bishop. Such clerks were called *Acephali*, and punished as vagabonds. They were ignorant of the station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic*. The title of *Abbot*, which

* A set of people known by the name of Abbe's, who distinguish themselves from the laity by a kind of clerical habit,

signifies father, belonged to none but the chiefs of monasteries, or even to seculars constituted in dignity; for example, that title was given to the chief of the republic of Genoa.

The Abbots of that time had the pastoral staff which the Bishops carried, and which had been the mark of the augural dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power those Abbots had over their monks, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel afflictive pains. They were the first who adopted the barbarous custom of the Greek Emperors, namely, that of burning the eyes† and a council was obliged to prohibit this outrage, which they began to look upon as a right and prerogative.

As to the ceremonies of the Church, the mass was different from what it is at present, and still more different from what it had been in the first ages: there was no more than one said in every church. And Kings very rarely caused them to be said in private.

The first auricular confession which is called general confession, is that of St. Eloy in the sixth century. The enemies of the Roman Church, who have revolted against such a salutary institution, seem to have divested mankind of the most effectual bridle to restrain their secret crimes. Even the very sages of antiquity had felt the importance of it; and

habit, tho' in reality they do not belong to any order of the church: many individuals assume this habit, to save the expence of lace and embroidery; for the abbe's dress, like canonicals in England, entitles the wearer to admission into the best company.

† An operation performed by bringing a piece of red hot metal so near the eye, as to destroy that organ.

tho'

tho' they had not been able to impose it as a duty on all men, they had established the practice of it among those who pretended to lead a life of purity: it was the first expiation of those who were initiated among the antient Egyptians, and in the Eleusinian Mysteries of Ceres. Thus the Christian Religion hath consecrated things, the shadow of which God had permitted human wisdom to perceive and embrace.

Religion was not yet extended to the north farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Denmark, and all the country of the Normans were plunged in gross idolatry. The inhabitants adored Oden; they imagined that after death, the happiness of man consisted in drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies in Odin's Hall. We have still translations of their old songs which express this notion. It was a great deal for them to believe another life. Poland was neither less barbarous nor less idolatrous. The Muscovites, more savage than all the other inhabitants of Great Tartary, knew scarce enough of religion to be Pagans, Yet all these nations lived quietly and peaceably * in their ignorance, happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who sold the knowledge of Christianity so dear.

* Not so quietly, if we may believe the histories of Saxo-grammaticus, Loccinus, &c. How is it possible that savage nations could live peaceably, who depended upon plunder for many of the necessaries of life?

CONTINUATION of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the time of CHARLEMAGNE.

L A W S and C U S T O M S.

Justice was usually administered by counts appointed by the king. They had their respective districts assigned, and were supposed to be acquainted with the laws, which were neither so numerous nor obscure as ours: the proceedings were simple, and every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany.

Rome alone and her dependencies still retained abundance of the laws and formalities of the Roman empire; the Lombard laws prevailed through the rest of Hither Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant called *Viguiers*, seven assessors (*Scabini*) chosen in the city. Like the ancient Roman Senators, they were at once warriors and judges. Nay they were forbid to appear upon the tribunal without their bucklers; but, under Charlemagne, no other citizens or even soldiers were allowed to go armed in time of peace. This wise law, conformable to that of the Romans and Mussulmans, prevented those quarrels and continual duels which afterwards desolated Europe, when the fashion was introduced of never quitting the sword, but of going armed into the houses of friends, courts of judicature, and churches; an abuse carried to such a length, that in Spain, Germany and Flanders, the judge, the counsellor, the solicitor and physician walk

walk at this day with their swords by their sides, as if they were going to fight.

Those counts published in their jurisdiction the order of marching to war, enlisting soldiers under captains or companies of an hundred, conducted them to the rendezvous of the troops, and in the mean time left their lieutenants to act as judges in the boroughs, for I dare not call them cities.

The King sent commissaries with express letters, *Missi Dominici*, to examine the conduct of the counts; but neither those commissaries nor counts scarce ever condemned a criminal to death or to any corporal punishment. For, excepting Saxony, where Charlemagne exacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were punished by fine through the rest of his empire; that of rebellion alone was punished with death, and the kings reserved the judgment to themselves. The Salique law, that of the Lombards and of the *Ripuarii*, had set fixed prices upon the greatest part of all the other outrages which are now punished with the loss of life, or by severe penalties. This jurisprudence, which appears humane, was in effect more cruel than our own: it left every body who could pay for it, a liberty to do mischief. The gentlest law is that which by bridling iniquity in the most terrible manner, prevents the frequent commission of crimes.

By the ancient laws reduced under Dagobert king of the Franks, it cost one hundred sols to cut off a man's ear; and if the loss of the ear was not attended with deafness, the perpetrator was quit for fifty.

The murder of a deacon was taxed at four hundred

hundred sols, and that of a parish priest at six hundred.

The third chapter of the Ripuary law, allows the murderer of a bishop to atone the crime by paying as much gold as will balance a leaden Tunique, as long as the delinquent, and of a determined thickness.

The Salique law revived under Charlemagne, fixes the price of a bishop's life at 400 sols. It is so true that a criminal could redeem his life in this manner, that a number of those laws are thus expressed. *Componat tercentum, ducentum, centum solidis.* The delinquent may compound for 300, 200, or 100, sols.

The torture was applied to slaves only, and he who by the torture occasioned the death of an innocent slave belonging to another man, was obliged to give him two by way of satisfaction.

Charlemagne, who corrected the Salique and Lombard laws, did nothing but raise the price of crimes. They were all specified, and a distinction made between the price of a stroke that bared the brain, and one that only cut off one of the tables of the skull: the first was valued at 45 sols, and the other at 20.

A Witch convicted of having eaten human flesh, was condemned to pay 200 sols: And this article is a proof very humbling to human nature, of the excess to which we may be driven by superstition.

All outrages against chastity had likewise their fixed prices. The rape of a married woman cost 200 sols. For having violated a girl on the highway, they payed but forty sols. Whosoever carried off a girl of servile condi-

tion, was fined in four sols, and obliged to restore her to her master. The most severe of those barbarous laws, was precisely that which ought to have been the most gentle. Charlemagne himself, in the sixth book of his Capitularies, says that a man's marrying his godmother is a crime worthy of death, which can be atoned no other way but by spending his whole life in pilgrimage.

Among the Salique laws there is one which strongly denotes the contempt into which the Romans were fallen with those barbarous people: The Franc who had slain a Roman citizen, paid no more than 1050 deniers; whereas the Roman paid 2500 for the blood of a Franc.

In criminal causes that could not be otherwise decided, the accused party purged himself by oath, and not only himself, but he was obliged to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear to the same effect *. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the combat was sometimes permitted:

These combats we know were appeals to the judgment of God: this is the name they gave to the most deplorable follies of those barbarous governments. The accused were subjected to the proof of cold water, boiling water, or red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Baluze has collected all the antient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, the accused person was excommunicated, the cold water was blessed and exorcised, and then being bound with cords, he was thrown into the water: If

* Resembling the custom of *Frank-pledge* among the Saxons, which was borrowed from the Lombards;

he sunk to the bottom, he was reputed innocent; but if he floated on the surface, he was found guilty. Mr. de Fleuri, in his Ecclesiastic History, says it was a sure way to find no person criminal. I dare say, it was a way by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose breasts are so large, and whose lungs are so light, as to hinder them from sinking, especially when a thick cord with which they are tied in several circumvolutions, constitutes, with the body, a volume specifically lighter than the same quantity of water *. This wretched custom, since proscribed in large cities, is preserved even to our days in many provinces; and those who incurred the imputation of sorcery have been often subjected to it, even by the sentence of the judge; for nothing endures so long as superstition, and more than one unfortunate wretch has lost his life by the trial.

The judgment of God, by means of hot water, was executed by compelling the accused to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water, and take up from the bottom a consecrated ring. The judge, in presence of the priests and the people, inclosed the patient's arm in a bag sealed with his own seal: and if in three days after, no mark of a scald appeared, or if the mark was thought inconsiderable, his innocence was acknowledged. We plainly see that the judges could warp these strange laws according to their own pleasure, seeing it was in their

* We have animadverted on this remark in the first volume of the translation.

power to decide whether or not the cicatrix was considerable enough to constitute the crime.

793.

Charles being neighbour to the Huns, of consequence becomes their natural enemy. He levies troops against them, and girds his son Lewis with the sword in the fourteenth year of his age. He makes him what was then called *Miles*, that is, instructs him in the art of war; but this was not creating him knight, as some authors have imagined. Chivalry was not established until a long time after this period. He again defeats the Huns upon the Danube and upon the Raab.

Charles assembles the bishops to judge the doctrine of Elipand archbishop of Toledo. One may be amazed to find an archbishop of Toledo at that time when the Mussulmans were masters in Spain; but we must know that the Mussulmans, though victors, left liberty of conscience to the vanquished; that they did not think the Christians were worthy to be Mussulmans, and contented themselves with imposing a slight tribute upon them.

This Elipand imagined, like Felix d'Urgel, that Jesus Christ as man was the adopted son, but as God the natural son of God the Father. It was a difficult point to resolve by one's self; therefore it was referred to judges, by whom the doctrine was condemned.

While Charles obtains victories, enacts laws, and assembles bishops, a conspiracy is formed against him. He had a son by one of his wives or concubines, called Pepin the Hunchbacked, to distinguish him from his other son Pepin king of Italy. Such children as are now called

bastards, and deprived of inheritance, were capable of inheriting at that time, and were not reputed bastards. Hunchback, though the eldest of all the sons, had no portion, and this is the origin of the conspiracy. He is apprehended with his accomplices at Ratibon, tried by a parliament, shaved, and sent to the monastery of Prum in the Ardennes. Some of his adherents have their eyes put out, and others are beheaded.

794.

The Saxons revolt again, and are again easily defeated. Witikind was no longer at their head*.

The famous council of Frankfort. Here was condemned the second council of Nicea, in which the empress Irene had re-established the worship of images.

Charlemagne causes the Carolin-Books to be written against image worship. Rome did not then think like the kingdom of the Franks; but this difference of opinion did not create any quarrel between Charlemagne and the pope, to whom his friendship was necessary.

795.

The duke of Friuli, a vassal of Charles, is sent against the Huns, and makes himself master of their treasures, supposing they had any. Pope Adrian dies December 25. Charlemagne is said to have written his epitaph in Latin verse; but one can hardly believe that this king

* This chief had turned Christian when he submitted to Charlemagne, and after that period was never concerned in any insurrection.

of the Franks, who could not write *, should nevertheless be capable of making Latin verses.

796.

Leo III. succeeds Adrian, and Charles writes to him thus: "We rejoice at your election, and that you pay us that obedience and fidelity which is our due." In this manner he expresses himself as a patrician of Rome, and thus his father expressed himself to the Franks as mayor of the palace.

797.

798.

Pepin king of Italy is sent by his father against the Huns; a sure sign that the former victories were not very complete. He obtains a new one. The celebrated empress Irene is shut up in a cloister by her son Constantine V. She re-ascends the throne; causes her son's eyes to be put out: he dies of the operation, and she laments his death. This Irene, although the natural enemy of Charlemagne, was desirous of being allied to him.

799.

At this period the Normans, that is, *men of the North*, who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic, were pirates. Charles equips a fleet and clears the seas of them.

The new pope Leo III. incurs the resentment of the Romans: his canons resolve to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. The attempt is made, but he recovers of his wounds:

* The French historians say positively, that he spoke and wrote Latin fluently, and even composed verses in that language; that he understood Greek, and was a good proficient in astronomy. If that was the case, it is very strange he should not have learned to write.

he comes to Paderborn to demand justice of Charles, who sends him back to Rome with an escorte. Charles follows him in a little time : sends his son Pepin to seize the duchy of Beneventum, which still held of the emperor of Constantinople.

800.

He arrives at Rome ; declares the pope innocent of the crimes laid to his charge ; and the pope declares him emperor amidst the acclamations of the people. Charlemagne affects to conceal his joy under the cloke of modesty, and seems astonished at his glory : he acts as the sovereign of Rome, and renews the empire of the Cæsars : but to render that empire durable, there was a necessity for his remaining at Rome.

801.

Historians alledge, that as soon as he was emperor, Irene expressed a desire of being married to him. Such a marriage would rather have been between the two empires than between Charlemagne and Irene, who was an old woman.

802.

Charlemagne exerts all the authority of the old emperors. No country from Beneventum to Bayonne, and from Bayonne to Bavaria, was exempted from his legislative power. John duke of Venice, having assassinated a bishop, is accused before Charles, and does not object to him as a judge.

Nicephorus, successor to Irene, acknowledges Charles as emperor, without coming to any agreement about the limits of the two empires.

803.

803.

404.

The emperor applies himself to the establishment of police in his dominions, as much as the times would permit. He again disperses the factions of the Saxons, and at last transports part of that people to Flanders, Provence, Italy, and Rome itself.

805.

He dictates his last will, which begins thus : " Charles, Emperor, Cæsar, the most invincible king of the Franks," &c. He bequeaths to Lewis all the country from Spain to the Rhine : he leaves Italy and Bavaria to Pepin ; and to Charles, France from the Loire to Ingoldstadt, and all Austrasia from the Scheld to the confines of Brandenburg. In these three lots there was subject for eternal divisions. Charlemagne thought to prevent all dissensions, by ordaining, that if any difference should happen about the limits of these kingdoms, which could not be decided by evidence, they should appeal to the *Judgment of the Cross*. This consisted in making the opposite advocates stand with their arms extended, and he who was first wearied lost the cause. The natural good sense of so great a conqueror could not over-balance the customs of the age.

Charlemagne still retains the empire and the sovereignty, and was king of the kings his children. This famous will was made at Thionville with the approbation of a parliament. The parliament was composed of bishops, abbots, officers of the palace and the army, who attended for no other reason but to attest the will of an absolute master. The diets were not then what they are now ; and that vast republic

34 CHARLEMAGNE:

lic of princes, noblemen, and free towns, under one chief, was not then established:

806.

The famous Aaron, caliph of Bagdad, the new Babylon, sends ambassadors and presents to Charlemagne. The nations bestowed upon Aaron a title superior to that of Charlemagne; the emperor of the West was surnamed The Great, but the caliph was surnamed The Just*.

It is not surprising that Aaron Rachid should send ambassadors to the French emperor: they were both enemies to the emperor of the East: but what would be surprising is, that a caliph, as our historians alledge, should propose the cession of Jerusalem to Charlemagne. It would have been a prophanation in the caliph to yield up to Christians a city full of Mosques; and this prophanation would have cost him his throne and life. Besides, enthusiasm had not as yet summoned the Christians of the West to Jerusalem.

Charles convokes a council at Aix-la-Chapelle. This council adds to the creed, "that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son." This addition was not then received at Rome, but the Romans adopted it soon after. Thus some *Dogmas* are established by little and little.

At this period, the people called Normans, Danes, and Scandinavians, reinforced by the antient Saxons, who had retired among them, presumed to menace the coasts of the new empire. Charles crosses the Elbe; and Godfrey, chief of all those Barbarians, in order to defend

* He was called Aaron Al Raschid, or The Upright himself.

himself, draws a large trench between the ocean and the Baltick, on the confines of Holstein, the antient Cimbrique Chersonesus, and fortifies this trench with a strong palisado. In the same manner the Romans had drawn an intrenchment between England and Scotland: feeble imitations of the famous Chinese wall*.

807. 808. 809.

Treaties with the Danes. Laws for the Saxons. Police established in the empire. Small fleets stationed at the mouths of rivers.

810.

Pepin, that son of Charlemagne to whom his father had given the kingdom of Italy, dies of the plague, in the month of July, leaving a bastard called Bernard. The emperor, without difficulty, bestows Italy on this bastard, as the natural heir, according to the custom of the time.

811.

A fleet stationed at Boulogne in the channel. A light-house rebuilt at Boulogne. Wurtzburg built. The death of prince Charles destined for the empire.

813.

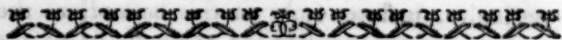
The emperor associates his son Lewis in the empire, in the month of March, at Aix-la-chapelle. All present are obliged to give their votes for this association. He gives the city of

* Why imitations? might not common sense and reflection point out the expedient to people who had never heard of the Chinese wall; which, in all probability, was the case with those barbarians?—We must also observe, that the Roman wall drawn across the North of England by Severus was as strong and effectual as the famous wall of China.

Ulm to the Monks, who treat the inhabitants like slaves. He gives lands to Eginard the supposed lover of his daughter Emma. The romances are full of fables worthy of archbishop Turpin *, concerning this Eginard and that pretended daughter of the emperor; but, unfortunately for the author, Charlemagne never had a daughter of that name.

814.

He dies of a pleurisy after seven days illness, January 28, at three in the morning. He had no physician near him who knew what a pleurisy was. Medicine, like almost all the other arts, was known to none but the Arabians and Greeks of Constantinople.



LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, OF THE WEAK.

SECOND EMPEROR.

814.

LEWIS hastens from Aquitaine to Aix-la-Chapelle, and puts himself in full possession of the empire. He was born in 778 to Charlemagne, by one of his wives, called Ildegarde, daughter of a German duke. He is said to have had beauty, strength, health, and address

* The fabulous history of Charlemagne and Orlando, which furnished the ground-work for the poems of Boyardo and Ariosto, was not written by archbishop Turpin, but by a monk who assumed the name of Turpin, in the eleventh century; whereas the archbishop of Rheims, to whom it has been falsely imputed, flourished in the eighth.

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at all his exercises, and to have understood Latin and Greek; but he was weak and unfortunate. His empire was bounded on the North by the Baltick and Denmark, the Ocean on the West, the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Pyrenees on the South, and the Vistula and Tæissa on the East. The duke of Beneventum was his feudatory, and paid him annually seven thousand crowns of gold for his duchy; a very considerable sum at that time. The territory of Beneventum extended much farther at that time than now, and constituted the boundary of the two empires.

815.

The first step that Lewis took, was to shut up all his sisters in convents, and all their lovers in jail, a measure for which he was not beloved either in his own family, or in the state; the second was to augment the privileges of all the churches; the third was to incense his nephew Bernard king of Italy, who came to take the oath of fidelity, and saw all his friends exiled.

816.

Stephen IV. is elected bishop of Rome and pope by the Roman people, without consulting the emperor; but he makes the people swear obedience and fidelity to Lewis, to whom he carries the oath in person to Rheims. He crowns the emperor and his wife Ermengarde; and returns to Rome in the month of October, with a decree importing that for the future the popes shall be elected in presence of the emperor's ambassadors.

817.

Lewis associates his eldest son Lotharius in the empire. This was being in a great hurry.

He

88 LEWIS THE WEAK.

He makes Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitaine; and erects Bavaria, with some neighbouring countries, into a kingdom for his youngest son Lewis. All three are dissatisfied; Lotharius, at being an emperor without power; the two others, with the smallness of their dominions; and Bernard, king of Italy, nephew to the emperor, more dissatisfied than all the rest.

818.

The emperor Lewis thought himself emperor of Rome, and Bernard grandson of Charlemagne, would have no master in Italy. It is plain that Charlemagne in his division had acted more like a parent than a politician, and laid the foundation of civil wars for his family. The emperor and Bernard had recourse to arms, and met at Chaalons sur Saone. Bernard, who was probably more ambitious than warlike, loses parts of his army without fighting; and submits to the mercy of Lewis the Debonnaire, who orders the eyes of his nephew Bernard and all his partisans to be put out. The operation was not expertly performed upon Bernard, who dies three days after he had undergone it. This custom of putting out the eyes of princes, was very much practised by the Greek emperors, unknown to the caliphs, and prohibited by Charlemagne.

819.

The emperor loses his wife Ermengarde, and hesitates whether he shall become a monk or marry again. He takes to wife one Judith daughter of a Bavarian count. He pacifies some troubles in Pannonia, and holds diets at Aix-la-chapelle.

820.

820.

His generals retake Carniola and Carinthia from the barbarians who had conquered these provinces.

821.

Several ecclesiastics inspire the emperor Lewis with remorse for the punishment he had inflicted upon his nephew king Bernard, and the monastierial captivity in which he held three of his own brothers, whose names were Drogon, Thierrri, and Hugues, contrary to the promise he had made to Charlemagne to take care of their fortune. Those ecclesiastics were in the right. It is a consolation to mankind, that there are every where men who can in the name of the Divinity inspire princes with remorse: but there they ought to stop, without persecuting and debasing them.

822.

The bishops and abbots impose a public penance on the emperor. He appears, in the assembly of Attigni, covered with hair-cloth. He gives archbishoprics and abbeys to his brothers whom he had made monks against their inclination. He implores forgiveness of God for the death of Bernard; this might have been done without hair-cloth and public penance, which rendered the emperor ridiculous.

823.

What were more dangerous circumstances, Lotharius, whom he had associated in the empire, caused himself to be crowned at Rome by pope Paschal; the empress Judith, his mother-in-law, brought him a brother; and the Romans neither loved nor valued the emperor. One of the great faults of Lewis, was his neglecting to

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fix the state of empire at Rome. Pope Paschal without remission put out the eyes of all those who preached up obedience to emperors; but afterwards he swore before God, that he had no share in these executions, and the emperor said not a word.

The empress Judith is delivered at Compeigne of a son who is called Charles. Lotharius was then returned from Rome. His father Lewis the emperor exacts of him an oath, importing that he would consent to give some kingdom to this child: a kind of oath, the violation of which he might have foreseen.

824.

Pope Paschal dies. The Romans will not allow him to be buried. Lotharius, at his return to Rome, causes informations to be taken against his memory. The process is dropt. Lotharius, as emperor and sovereign of Rome, makes laws for the protection of the popes; but in these very laws, he names the pope before himself; a very dangerous piece of inattention.

Pope Stephen II. takes the oath of fidelity to the two emperors, but there it is expressly said it was of his own free-will. The clergy and the Roman people swear they will never suffer a pope to be elected without the consent of the emperor. They swear fealty to their lords Lewis and Lotharius, but add, "saving the fidelity we have promised to our lord the pope."

It seems that in all the oaths of those times, there were clauses by which they were in effect annulled.

Armorica or Brittany would not then acknowledge the empire. Those people had no right, but that in common to all men, to be free; but
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in less than forty days they were obliged to yield to the stronger power.

825.

One Heriolt duke of the Danes comes to the court of Lewis to embrace the christian religion; but, this was because he had been expelled from his own dominions. The emperor sends Anscharius, a monk of Corbie, to preach Christianity in the deserts where Stockholm is now actually built. He founds the bishopric of Hamburgh for this Anscharius, and from Hamburgh the missionaries are to set out, in order to convert the North.

New Corbie is founded in Westphalia for the same purpose. The abbot, instead of being a missionary, is now a prince of the empire.

826.

While Lewis is employed at Aix-la-Chapelle, about the missions of the North, the Moorish kings of Spain send troops into Aquitaine, and war is carried on near the Pyrenees between the Mussulmans and the Christians; but it is soon terminated by agreement.

827.

The emperor Lewis causes councils to be held at Mentz, Paris, and Toulouse. He repents of this measure. The council of Paris writes to him and his son Lotharius: "We intreat your excellencies to remember, after the example of Constantine, that the bishops have a right to judge you, and that bishops cannot be judged by man."

Lewis bestows upon his young son Charles in the cradle, what was then called Germany, situate between the Maine, the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube; to this he added

Transjurane

Transjurane Burgundy, comprehending the country of Geneva and Swisserland.

The three other children of Lewis resent this partition, and at first excite the exclamations of the whole empire.

828.

Judith, mother of Charles, that infant king of Germany, governed her husband the emperor, and was governed by one Bernard count of Barcelona, her gallant, whom she had placed at the head of affairs.

829.

So many weaknesses gave birth to factions. An abbot, called Vala, a relation of Lewis, begins a conspiracy against the emperor. His three children, Lotharius associated by him in the empire, Pepin to whom he had given Aquitaine, and Lewis who had received Bavaria from his bounty, declared against their father.

An abbot of St. Dennis, who had at the same time St. Medard de Soissons and St. Germain, promises to levy troops for their service. The bishops of Vienna, Amiens, and Lyons, declare all those who will not join them, "rebels to God and the church." This was not the first time the world had seen civil war preached up in the name of God; but it was the first time any father had at one time seen three of his own children rebellious and unnatural in the name of God.

830.

Each of these rebellious sons had an army; and the father had but an handful of troops, with which he fled from Aix-la-Chapelle to Ricardy. He set out on Ash-Wednesday; a circumstance trifling in itself, but become eternally memorable.

memorable by its having been imputed to him as a crime equal to sacrilege.

At first a remnant of respect for the paternal and imperial authority, which had mixed with the rebellion, induces them to give Lewis the Weak the hearing in an assembly at Compiègne. There he promised to be ruled by the advice of his son king Pepin and that of the priests, and to make his wife a nun: but until a decisive resolution can be taken, Pepin, according to the custom of the times, puts out the eyes of Bernard, that gallant of Judith who thought himself secure; and his brother underwent the same fate.

Those who have a taste for the researches of antiquity, are of opinion, that Bernard preserved his eyes, and that his brother suffered for him. True knowledge does not consist in the investigation of these things; but in knowing the barbarous customs which prevailed at that time, the weakness of the government, the misery of nations, and the power of the clergy.

Lotharius arrives from Italy: he puts the emperor his father in prison, in the hands of monks. One of these, whose name was Gombaud, having more address than his fellows, serves the emperor with great dexterity, and effects his deliverance. Lotharius at length begs pardon of his father at Nimeguen. The three brothers are divided among themselves, and the emperor, at the mercy of those by whom he is governed, leaves the whole empire in confusion.

831.

Diets are assembled, and armies raised on all hands. The empire becomes an anarchy.
Lewis

Lewis of Bavaria enters the country called Germany, and makes his peace at the head of an army.

Pepin is made prisoner. Lotharius is taken into favour; and in every treaty a new rebellion is projected.

832.

The empress Judith takes the advantage of a lucky moment, to strip Pepin of the kingdom of Aquitaine, and give it to her son Charles, that is to herself in the name of her son. If the emperor Lewis the Weak had not given away so many kingdoms, he would have been able to keep his own.

Lotharius, under pretext of dethroning his brother Pepin, arrives from Italy with an army, and with that army brings Pope Gregory IV. to inspire more respect and excite more trouble.

833.

Some bishops attached to the emperor Lewis, particularly those of Germany, write to the Pope: "If thou art come to excommunicate, thou shalt return excommunicated." But the party of Lotharius, of the other rebellious sons, and the pope, prevailed. The rebel and papal army advances to the neighbourhood of Basil against the imperial army. The Pope writes to the Bishops: "Know that the authority of my chair is greater than that of the throne of Lewis." In order to prove that assertion, he negotiates with that emperor and deceives him. The field in which they negotiated, is called The field of deceit. He seduced the emperor's officers and soldiers. That unfortunate father surrenders himself to his rebellious sons Lotharius and Lewis of Bavaria, on this single condition,

tion, that they should not put out the eyes of his wife and son Charles who was with him.

The rebellious Lotharius sends his mother-in-law prisoner to Tortona; his father to the abbey of St. Medard, and his brother Charles to the monastery of Prum. He assembles a diet at Compiègne, and from thence adjourns to Soissons.

An archbishop of Rheims, called Ebbon, taken from a servile condition against the laws, and elevated to that dignity by Lewis himself, deposes his sovereign and benefactor. The monarch is compelled to appear before this prelate, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons and monks in the church of Notre Dame at Soissons. Lotharius is present at the humiliation of the father. An hair-cloth is spread before the altar. The archbishop commands the emperor to take off his baldrick, sword and habit, and prostrate himself upon this hair-cloth. Lewis, with his face towards the earth, implores of his own accord public penance, which he deserved but too well by this abject submission. The archbishop compels him to read aloud the list of his crimes, among which it is specified that he had ordered his troops to march on Ash-wednesday, and convoked a parliament on Holy Thursday. They constitute a verbal process of this whole transaction, a monument still extant of insolence and meanness. In this process they did not even deign to call Lewis by the name of Emperor.

Lewis the Weak continues shut up for the space of a year, in a cell of the convent of St. Medard at Soissons, cloathed in sack-cloth, without servants, without consolation. Had he
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had but one son, he would have been lost for ever; but his three children quarrelled about his spoils, and their dissensions soon restored liberty and the crown to their father.

At this time of anarchy, the Normans, that is an assemblage of Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Pomeranians and Livonians, infested the coasts of the empire. They burned the new bishopric of Hamburg, sacked and plundered Friesland, shewed by anticipation the miseries they would one day occasion, and there was no other way taken to expel them, but paying a sum of money, which invited them to return again.

834.

Lewis king of Bavaria, and Pepin king of Aquitaine, resolve to deliver their father, because they are dissatisfied with their brother Lotharius, who is forced to consent to his enlargement. The emperor is re-established at St. Denis near Paris, but he dares not resume the crown, till after he is absolved by the bishops.

835.

As soon as he is absolved, he is enabled to levy troops. Lotharius restores his wife Judith and his son Charles. An assembly at Thionville anathematizes that of Soissons. It costs the archbishop Ebbon no more than the loss of his see; besides, he was only deposed in the vestry; whereas the emperor had been degraded at the foot of the altar.

836.

This whole year is spent in fruitless negotiations, and marked by public calamities.

837.

Lewis the Weak is taken ill. A comet appears: "Fail not," said the emperor to his astrologer,

loger, to let me know what that comet signifies." The astrologer answers that it portended the death of a great prince. The emperor did not doubt but it was his own; prepares himself for death, and recovers. That same year the comet had its effect upon his son king Pepin. This was a new source of trouble.

838.

The emperor Lewis has now but two children to fear, instead of three. Lewis of Bavaria rebels again, and again begs pardon.

839.

Lotharius likewise begs pardon in order to have Aquitaine. The emperor makes a new partition of his dominions, takes every thing from the children of Pepin lately dead. To Italy possessed by the rebel Lotharius, he adds Burgundy, Lyons, Franche Comté, part of Lorraine, of the Palatinate, of Triers, Cologne, Alsace, Franconia, Nuremberg, Thuringia, Saxony, and Friesland. He gives to his beloved Charles the son of Judith, all that lies between the Loire, the Rhone, the Meuse, and the ocean. By this partition, he again finds the secret to disgust his children and grand-children. Lewis of Bavaria takes arms against him.

840.

Lewis the emperor dies at length of chagrin. Before his death he makes presents to his children. Some partisans of Lewis of Bavaria, ex-postulating with him on account of his having given nothing to that unnatural son, "I forgive him, said he, but let him know he is the cause of my death."

His will confirms the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome, which

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owes

owes every thing to the kings of the Franks. One is surprized in reading the charter called *Carta divisionis*, to find him adding Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily to those presents. Sardinia and Sicily were disputed between the Mussulmans and some Christian adventurers, which last had recourse to the popes, from whom they received bulls and charity. They consented to hold of the popes; but at that time, in order to acquire that right of fief or dependence, the popes ought to have demanded it of the emperors. It is not known whether or not Lewis the Weak actually ceded the superiority of Sardinia and Corsica. As for Sicily, it belonged to the emperors of the east.

Lewis expires June 20, 840.



L O T H A R I U S.

THIRD EMPEROR.

841.

IN a little time after the death of his son, Charlemagne's empire underwent the destiny of Alexander's, and of the greatness of the caliphs. Raised with precipitation, it tumbled all at once, and was divided by intestine wars.

It is not at all surprizing, that princes who had dethroned their father, should wish to exterminate each other. Every one vied in stripping his brother. Lotharius the emperor wanted to have the whole. Lewis of Bavaria and Charles the son of Judith united against him. They laid waste the empire, and drained it of soldiers.

soldiers. The two kings fought a bloody battle with their brother at Fonteney in the Auxerois. An hundred thousand men are said to have been lost on this occasion. Lotharius was victor. Then he exhibited to the world an example of policy, quite contrary to that of Charlemagne. The conqueror of the Saxons and Friellanders had subjected them to Christianity as a necessary check. Lotharius, in order to attach them to his interest, gives them free liberty of conscience, and one half of the country becomes idolatrous again.

842.

The two brothers, Lewis of Bavaria and Charles of Aquitaine, unite by that famous oath which is almost the only monument * extant of the language called Romance: *Pro Deo amur & pro Christian poblo, & nostra commun salvament dinst di in avant, in quant Deos savir & podir me dunat, &c.* This language is still spoken by the Grisons of the valley of Engadina.

843.

844.

An assembly is held at Verdun, for a treaty of partition between the three brothers. They fight and negotiate from the Rhine to the Alps. Italy waits in tranquility, until the fate of arms shall give her a master.

845.

While the three brothers tear in pieces the bosom of the empire, the Normans continue to lay waste the frontiers with impunity. At length the three brothers sign the famous treaty of par-

* Since the publication of these annals, other specimens of this language have been offered to the public, even by our author himself, as appears in the course of our translation.

tion, terminated at Coblentz by an hundred and twenty deputies. Lotharius remains emperor. He possesses Italy, part of Burgundy, the course of the Rhine, the Scheld and the Meuse. Lewis of Bavaria keeps all the rest of Germany. Charles, afterwards surnamed the Bald, is king of France. The emperor renounces all authority over these two brothers. Thus he is no more than emperor of Italy, without being master of Rome. All the great officers and noblemen of the three kingdoms, acknowledge by an authentic act, the division of the three brothers, and the succession entailed upon their children.

Pope Sergius II. is elected by the Roman people, and takes possession of the chair, without waiting for the confirmation of the emperor Lotharius. That prince is not powerful enough to revenge the affront, but sends his son Lewis to Rome to confirm the pope's election, in order to preserve his right, and that the youth may be crowned king of the Lombards or of Italy. He likewise procures a regulation at Rome in an assembly of bishops, importing that no pope shall be consecrated without the confirmation of the emperor.

Mean while, Lewis in Germany, is obliged to fight, sometimes with the Huns, sometimes with the Normans, and sometimes with the Bohemians. These Bohemians together with the Silesians and Moravians were idolatrous barbarians who made incursions upon the Christian barbarians with various success.

The emperor Lotharius and Charles *the bald* have still more to suffer in their dominions.
The

The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine no longer know whom to obey.

There is a faction raised in favour of a son of that unfortunate Pepin king of Aquitaine, who had been stripped by his father Lewis *the weak*. Several tyrants made themselves masters of several towns. Small battles were every where fought, and in these there was always a number of monks, abbots and bishops slain sword in hand. Hugues that son of Charlemagne, who was compelled to be a monk, afterwards abbot of St. Quentin, is killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Ferriere; two bishops are there made prisoners. The Normans ravage the coasts of France. Charles *the bald* makes no other opposition to them, but an obligation to pay them fourteen thousand silver marks, which was a sure way of inviting them to return.

847.

The emperor Lotharius no less unfortunate, cedes Friesland to the Normans, by the title of homage. This fatal custom of receiving enemies for vassals, paves the way for the settlement of those pirates of Normandy*.

848.

While the Normans ravaged the coasts of France, the Saracens entered Italy: make themselves masters of Sicily, advance towards Rome by the mouth of the Tiber, and plunder the rich church of St. Peter without the walls.

Pope Leo IV. in such a dangerous conjuncture assuming an authority which the generals

* Which pirates in a little time became a flourishing and a formidable people.

of the emperor Lotharius seemed to abandon, shews himself worthy in defending Rome to command as sovereign in that city. He had employed the riches of the church, in repairing the walls, building towers, and stretching chains across the Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the inhabitants of Naples and Gaietta to come and defend the coast of Ostia, without neglecting the wise precaution of taking hostages from them; well knowing that those who are powerful enough to succour us, have also the power to do us harm. He in person visited all the posts, and received the Saracens at their descent, not in the equipage of a warrior, like Goslin bishop of Paris, upon a still more pressing occasion; but as a pontif who exhorted a Christian people, and a king who watched over the safety of his subjects. In him the courage of the first ages of the republic revived in the age of cowardice and corruption, like a fair monument of old Rome, which is sometimes found in the ruins of the new.

The Arabians are defeated, and the prisoners employed in building a new wall round St. Peter's, and in aggrandising the city which they came to destroy.

Lotharius associates his son Lewis in his feeble empire. The Mussulmans are driven from Beneventum, but they remain in the Guarillan and in Calabria.

849.

New discord among the brothers, and among the bishops and noblemen, which renders the people still more unhappy. Some French and German bishops declare the emperor Lotharius has forfeited the empire. They had no right

to make this declaration, either as bishops, or Germans and Franks, seeing he was only emperor of Italy. It was therefore a fruitless outrage. Lotharius was happier than his father.

850. 851. 852.

A reconciliation is effected among the three brothers. The empire is harassed by new incursions of all the barbarians bordering upon the empire.

In the midst of these horrors, the missionary Ansharius bishop of Hamburg persuades one Eric, chief, or duke, or king of Denmark, to allow the Christian religion in his dominions. He obtains the same permission in Sweden. But the Swedes and Danes, nevertheless, make incursions upon the Christians.

853. 854.

Amidst these desolations of France and Germany, the weakness of Italy threatened by the Mussulmans, the misgovernment of Lewis of Italy, son of Lotharius, given up to debauchery at Pavia, and despised in Rome, the emperor of Constantinople negotiates with the pope for the recovery of Rome; but that emperor was no other than Michael still more debauched and despised than Lewis of Italy; and all these circumstances had no other effect than that of increasing the power of the pope.

855.

The emperor Lotharius, who had made his father Lewis *the weak* a monk, now makes himself a monk in his turn, induced by the troubles of his empire, the fear of death, and superstition. He takes the habit in the abbey of Prüm, and on the 18th of September dies like a simpleton, after having lived as a tyrant.

LEWIS II.

FOURTH EMPEROR.

856.

AFTER the death of this third emperor of the West, new kingdoms arose in Europe. Lewis of Italy, his eldest son, remains at Pavia, with the vain title of emperor of the West. The second son called Lotharius after his father, has the kingdom of Lotharinga afterwards called Lorrain, extended from Geneva to Strâstourg and Utrecht. The third, whose name was Charles, possessed Savoy, Dauphiny with part of Lionnois, Provence and Languedoc. These dominions composed the kingdom of Arles from the name of the capital, a city formerly opulent and embellished by the Romans, but then small and poor like all the other towns of this side of the Alps. In the flourishing times of the republic and in the reigns of the Cæsars, the Romans aggrandised and decorated the towns which they had subdued; but when left to themselves or to the barbarians, all of them went to wreck, and by their ruins attested the superiority of the Roman genius.

A barbarian called Solomon*, soon after made himself king of Britany, part of which was still pagan;

* This ruffian murdered his own cousin, Hantspogus duke of Britany, at the altar; usurped his dukedom, which he found means to raise into a kingdom, by the permission of Charles the Bald, to whom he did good service. But afterwards, quarrelling with his clergy, they excited a rebellion against him, and he fled to the altar for protection,

pagani; but all these kingdoms fell almost as fast as they were raised.

857.

Lewis the Germanic, begins by taking Alsace from the new king of Lorrain. He bestows privileges upon Strasbourg already a powerful city, when there was nothing but villages in that part of the world on the other side of the Rhine. The Normans desolate France. Lewis the Germanic takes that opportunity to come and overwhelm his brother, instead of assisting him against the barbarians. He defeats him near Orleans. The bishops of France in vain excommunicate him: he resolves to make himself master of France. The remains of the Saxons and other barbarians who invade Germany, oblige him to come and defend his own dominions.

From 858, to 865.

Lewis II. that phantom of an emperor in Italy, takes no share in all these troubles, leaves the popes to strengthen their own power, and dares not reside at Rome.

Charles the Bald of France and Lewis the Germanic make peace, because they could no longer make war. The most memorable event of that time relates to the amours of Lotharius king of Lorrain: that prince was willing to imitate Charlemagne, who repudiated his wives and married his concubines. He divorces his wife called Thietberge, daughter of a Burgun-

protection, where he found it not. Perceiving his death inevitable, he came forth, and was murdered by the insurgents. The people of Brittany, in the sequel, adore him as a saint.

dian nobleman. She is accused of adultery, and confesses the crime. He marries his mistress called Valdrade, who had been formerly promised to him as a wife : he procures the convocation of a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, which approves of his divorce from Thietberge. The decree of that council is confirmed by another at Metz, in presence of the pope's legates. Pope Nicholas I. annuls the councils of Metz and Aix-la-Chapelle, and exercises an authority hitherto unknown : he excommunicates and deposes some bishops who espouse the party of the king of Lorraine ; and, finally, that king is compelled to quit the wife whom he loves, and to take back the other whom he could not love.

It were doubtless to be wished, that there was a sacred tribunal to apprise sovereigns of their duty, and make them blush for their violences. But there does not seem to be any reason for a monarch's submitting the secrets of his marriage-bed to the authority of a stranger, and the orientals appear to have always maintained customs more conformable to nature, and more favourable for the domestic peace of families, in considering all the fruits of love as legitimate, and in rendering those amours impenetrable to the eyes of the public.

In those times the descendants of Charlemagne were always by the ears together, and their kingdoms were always attacked by the barbarians.

Young Pepin, great grandson of Charlemagne, son of the deposed Pepin king of Aquitaine, who died without dominions, having for some time led a vagrant and unhappy life,
joins

joins the Normans, renounces the Christian religion, and finishes his career in being taken and shut up in a convent, where he dies.

866.

It is to this year chiefly that we can fix the schism which still continues between the Greek and Roman churches. Neither Germany nor France intermeddled in the affair. The people were too miserable to mind those disputes, which are so interesting, during the leisure of peace.

Charles king of Arles dies without issue. The emperor Lewis and Lotharius divide his dominions.

It is, a destiny fixed to the house of Charlemagne, that the children should take arms against their fathers. Lewis the Germanic had two sons. Lewis, the younger, dissatisfied with his portion, endeavours to dethrone him: his rebellion produces no other consequence than that of his asking pardon.

867.

868.

Lewis king of Germany defeats the Moravians and Bohemians by the hands of his sons. These are not victories which augment a state and help it to flourish. This was nothing but repelling savages to their forests and mountains.

869.

The excommunicated king of Lorrain goes to visit the new pope Adrian at Rome, dines with him, promises to leave off living with his mistress, and dies on his return, at Placentia.

Charles the Bald seizes Lorrain, and even Alsace, in despite of the right of a bastard of Lotharius, to whom his father had given that province. Lewis the Germanic had taken Al-

face from Lotharius, but it was restored: Charles the Bald took, but did not restore it.

870.

Lewis of Germany wants to have Lorrain; Lewis of Italy, the emperor, has the same inclination, and engages pope Adrian in his interest. No regard is paid either to the emperor or pope. Lewis of Germany and Charles the Bald divide all the dominions comprehended under the name of Lorrain in two equal parts. The Western falls to the king of France, and the Eastern to the king of Germany. Pope Adrian threatens excommunication. They had already begun to make use of these arms; but they were despised: the emperor of Italy was not powerful enough to render them formidable.

871.

This emperor of Italy could scarce get the better of a duke of Beneventum, who being at the same time vassal of the empires of the East and West, would obey neither the one nor the other, and indeed kept the balance equal between them.

The emperor Lewis ventures to go to Beneventum, and is put in prison by the duke; the very same adventure that afterwards happened to Lewis XI. with the duke of Burgundy.

872.

873.

Pope John VIII. who succeeded Adrian II. seeing the precarious situation of the emperor's health, privately promises the imperial crown to Charles the Bald of France, and sells that promise for a good price. This is the same John VIII. who paid such respect to the patriarch Photius, suffering him to be named before himself in a council at Constantinople.

The

The Moravians, Huns, and Danes, continue to harraſs Germany; and that vaſt extent of dominion cannot as yet have the benefit of good laws.

874.

France was not more happy. Charles the Bald had a ſon called Carloman, whom he had ordered to be ſhaved in his infancy, and created a deacon againſt his own inclination. At length he fled for refuge to Metz, in the dominions of his uncle Lewis of Germany, where he levies troops; but being taken, his father orders his eyes to be put out, according to the new faſhion.

875.

The emperor Lewis II. dies at Milan. His brother Charles the Bald, king of France, paſſes the Alps, ſecures the paſſes againſt his brother Lewis of Germany, haſtens to Rome, lavishes away his money, is proclaimed king of the Romans by the people, and crowned by the pope.

If the Salique law had been in force in the family of Charlemagne, the empire muſt have belonged to the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Lewis the Germanic; but a number of troops, expedition, condeſcenſion, and a ſum of money, conſtituted the right of Charles the Bald, and thereby he debaſed his own dignity to enjoy it. Pope John VIII. conferred the crown as ſovereign; Charles the Bald received it as a vaſſal, acknowledging that he held every thing of the pope, leaving to the ſucceſſors of that pontif the power of beſtowing the empire, and promiſing to have always near him a vicar of the holy ſee, to determine all eccleſiaſtical affairs of conſequence. The archbiſhop of Sens

was in that quality, primate of Gaul and Germany; a title become altogether useless.

Affuredly the popes had reason to believe themselves vested with the right of bestowing the empire, and even of selling it, seeing they found people to ask and to purchase it of their hands, and seeing Charlemagne himself had received the title of emperor from pope Leo III. But we have likewise reason to say, that Leo III. in declaring Charlemagne emperor, had declared him his master; and that prince having taken the rights attached to his dignity, it was the privilege of his successors to confirm the popes, not to be elected by them. Time, occasion, custom, prescription, and power, are the foundation of all right.



CHARLES THE BALD.

FIFTH EMPEROR.

CHARLES causes himself to be crowned at Pavia, king of Lombardy, by the bishops, counts, and abbots of that country. "We elect you (it is said in that act) with unanimous consent, seeing you have been raised to the imperial throne by the intercession of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and their vicar John, sovereign pontif," &c.

876

Lewis of Germany falls upon France, in order to revenge himself upon his brother for having prevented him from buying the empire: but death

death overtook him in the execution of his vengeance.

The custom (which leads men by the nose) at that time, was for princes to weaken their dominions in sharing them among their children. Accordingly Lewis the Germanic divided his dominions among his three sons. To Carloman he gave Bavaria, Carinthia, and Pannonia; to Lewis, Friesland, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia; and Charles the Gross, or the Fat, afterwards emperor, had the half of Lorrain, with Suabia and the neighbouring countries, at that time called Germany.

877.

This division renders the emperor Charles the Bald more powerful; and he is resolved to seize that half of Lorrain which is not in his possession. Here follows an example of the excessive superstition at that time joined to rapaciousness and deceit. Lewis of Germany sends thirty men to the camp of Charles the Bald, to prove, in the name of God, that his part of Lorrain of right belongs to him. Ten of these thirty confessors take up ten rings and ten flints out of a cauldron of boiling water without being scalded; the same number carry each a red hot iron the space of nine feet without being burnt; and the last ten, being tied with cords, are thrown into cold water, and sink to the bottom; a sure proof of a righteous cause; for water expels those who are perjured, to the surface.

History is so full of those proofs, that we can hardly deny the whole as apocryphal. Custom, which made them common, rendered also those arts common which make the skin for some time

time insensible to the action of fire, such as oil of vitriol, and other corrosives *. With regard to the miracle of going to the bottom of the water into which they were thrown, it would have been a greater miracle, had they floated on the surface.

Lewis would not confine himself to this ceremony. He engaged near Cologne with the emperor his uncle, who being defeated, retired to Italy †, whither he was pursued by the conqueror.

Rome was then threatened by the Mussulmans, who were still cantoned in Calabria. Carloman, that king of Bavaria, leagued with his brother of Lorraine, pursues his uncle the Bald into Italy, who finds himself at one time hard beset by his nephew, by the Mahometans, and the intrigues of the Pope; and dies in October, at a village near Mount Cenis.

Historians say he was poisoned by his physician, a Jew, whose name was Sedecias. Cer-

* They are said to have besmeared their hands with a preparation of liquid storax, which defended them against the action of the fire; but, in all probability, the deception lay in the water and the iron; the first did not boil, and the other was not red hot.

† From what M. de Voltaire says here and a little after, one would imagine Charles the Bald fled to Italy immediately after the battle; but this was not the case. He first retired into France, in order to oppose the Normans, who had entered the Seine with a powerful fleet; then he fell dangerously ill, and was scarce recovered when the pope pressed him to march to his assistance. In the mean time he convened an assembly of the nobility and prelates, to concert measures for the defence of his dominions, declared his only son Lewis regent of the kingdom, and appointed a council to assist him to govern the state in his father's absence.

tain it is, the Christian part of Europe was then so ignorant, that kings were obliged to employ Jews or Arabians for their physicians.

It is in the reign of Charles the Bald that the great feudal government began, and all things went to decay. It was under him that many possessors of great military offices, duchies, marquisates, and countships, attempted to make these honours hereditary.

LEWIS III. or THE STAMMERER.

SIXTH EMPEROR.

878.

POPE John VIII. who thinks he has a right to nominate an emperor, can scarcely support himself in Rome. He promises the empire to Lewis the Stammerer, king of France, son of the Bald. He promises it to Carloman of Bavaria; and engages himself to one Lambert duke of Spoleto, a vassal of the empire.

This Lambert of Spoleto finding himself deceived by the pope, joins a marquis of Tuscany, enters Rome, seizes his holiness; but is afterwards obliged to release him. One Boson, duke of Arles, likewise pretends to the empire.

The Mahometans were nearer the conquest of Rome than all their competitors. The pope agrees to pay them an annual tribute of twenty thousand marks of silver. Anarchy prevails in Germany, France, and Italy.

Lewis the Stammerer dies at Compiègne on the 10th of April. He is put in the list of emperors, only because he was son of a prince who swayed the imperial sceptre.

CHARLES III. or THE GROSS.

SEVENTH EMPEROR.

879.

THE business was to make an emperor and a king of France. Lewis the Stammerer left two children of fourteen and fifteen years of age. It was not then a decided point whether or not an infant or minor could be king. Several new noblemen of France offered the crown to Lewis of Germany. He took no more than the Western part of Lorraine, which had been the share of Charles the Bald. Lewis and Carloman, the two sons of the Stammerer, are acknowledged kings of France, although they are not unanimously acknowledged as legitimate children; but Boson caused himself to be consecrated king of Arles, augments his territory, and claims the empire. Charles the Gross, king of the country still called Germany, presses the pope to crown him emperor. The pope answers that he will bestow the imperial crown upon him who shall first come to his assistance against the Christians and Mahometans.

880.

Charles the Gross, king of Germany, Lewis king of Bavaria and Lorraine, unite with the king of France against Boson the new king of Arles, and make war upon him. They besiege Vienne in Dauphiny; but Charles the Gross marches from Vienne to Rome.

881.

Charles is crowned and consecrated emperor by pope John VIII. in the church of St. Peter, on Christmas-day.

882.

882.

His brother Lewis, king of Bavaria, Pannonia, what was called Eastern France, and the two Lorrains, dies on the 20th of January in that same year, without issue. The emperor Charles the Gros was natural heir of his dominions; but the Normans presented themselves in order to share in them. These frequent troubles of the North render the imperial power very problematic in Rome, where antient liberty still thrust out new roots: It was not known who should reign in that antient capital of Europe, whether it should be the people, the bishop, or an emperor who was a stranger.

The pope sends him a branch of palm, according to custom; but it was the only palm he obtained.

The Normans penetrate as far as Metz; they go and burn Aix-la-Chapelle, and destroy all the works of Charlemagne. Charles the Gros can find no other way of being delivered from them, than that of seizing all the plate belonging to the churches, and giving them 4160 marks of silver, with which they went away to fit out new armaments.

883.

The empire was become so weak, that pope Martin II. who succeeded John VIII. begins with making a solemn decree, by which they were no longer to wait for the emperor's orders in electing popes. The emperor in vain complains of this decree. He had abundance of other affairs upon his hands.

A certain duke called Zwentibold laid waste Germany, at the head of the Moravian pagans. The emperor made peace with him as with the Normans.

Normans. It is not known whether or not he had money to give him; but he acknowledged him as prince and vassal of the empire.

884.

Great part of Italy is still laid waste by the duke of Spoleto and the Saracens, which last plunder the rich abbey of Monte Cassini, and carry off all its treasure; but a duke of Beneventum had been beforehand with them.

Charles the Gross marches into Italy to put a stop to these disorders. But scarce is he arrived when, hearing of the death of his two nephews, the young kings of France, he repasses the Alps in order to claim the succession.

885.

Behold then Charles the Gross, who reunites upon his head all the crowns of Charlemagne, which, however, he was not strong enough to bear.

A bastard of Lotharius, called Hugues, abbot of St. Denis, had for a long time laid a scheme for having Lorrain as his patrimony. He engages in a league with a Norman to whom Friesland had been ceded, and who marries his sister; and he calls other Normans to his assistance.

The emperor stifled this conspiracy. A count of Saxony called Henry, and an archbishop of Cologne, undertake to assassinate this Norman duke of Friesland in a conference. The abbot Hugues is apprehended in Lorrain on the same pretext, and the custom of putting out eyes is revived upon him.

He had better engaged the Normans with good armies. These, finding themselves attacked by perfidy alone, penetrate from Holland
into

into Flanders, pass the Somme and the Oise without resistance, take and burn Pontoise, and arrive at Paris by land and water. That city, which is now so immense, was then neither large, strong, nor populous. The tower of the great chatelet was not yet entirely built when the Normans appeared: they were obliged to finish it in a hurry with wood; so that the lower part was of stone, and the upper of carpenter's work.

The Parisians, who expected at that time an irruption of the Barbarians, did not abandon the city as heretofore. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whose valour afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the town in such order, as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, carried on the siege with obstinate fury, though not destitute of art. The Normans used the ram to batter the walls, effected a breach, and gave three assaults, which the Parisians sustained with unshaken courage: they had at their head not only count Eudes, but also their bishop Goslin, who every day, after having bestowed his benediction, posted himself at the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his belt, and fought in sight of the cross, which he planted on the rampart. This bishop seems to have had at least as much authority in the city as count Eudes, seeing it was to him that Sigefroi, chief of the Normans, first addressed himself for permission to enter Paris. This prelate died, of fatigue in the middle of the siege, leaving his memory respected and regretted; for tho' he armed those hands which

his

his religion reserved solely for the ministry of the altar, he armed them in defence of that very altar, and of his countrymen, in the justest of all causes; namely, necessary self-preservation, which is always above the laws.

His brethren were armed only in civil wars, and against Christians. Perhaps, if canonization is due to some men, it would have been better to raise that prelate to heaven, who fought and died for his country, than a great many obscure men, whose virtue, if they had any, was useless to the world.

886.

The Normans kept Paris besieged a whole year and a half. The Parisians experienced all the horrors attending famine and contagion in a long siege, and still were unshaken. At the end of that period, the emperor Charles the Gross, king of France, came at length to their relief, and appeared on the mount of Mars, now called Mont-Martre*; but he durst not attack the Normans: he came only to buy another shameful truce. Those Barbarians quit Paris to go and besiege Sens, and plunder Burgundy, while Charles goes to Germany to assemble those diets which deprived him of a throne of which he was so unworthy.

The Normans continue their devastations; but, although enemies of the Christian name, it never came into their minds to force any person whatever to renounce Christianity. They resembled the Franks, the Goths, the Alains, the Huns, the Heruli, who, in the fourth century, being in quest of new settlements, far

* In the neighbourhood of Paris.

from imposing their religion upon the conquered Romans, adopted with great ease the religion of the vanquished. Thus the Turks, while they plundered the empire of the caliphs, submitted themselves to the Mahometan religion.

887.

There was nothing wanting to Charles the Gros, but to be unhappy in his family: condemned in the empire, he was said to be likewise despised by his empress Richarda. She was accused of infidelity; and he repudiated her, although she offered to justify herself by the judgment of God. He sent her to the abbey of Andelau, which she herself had founded, in Alsace.

Charles was afterwards prevailed upon (contrary to the custom of the times) to adopt the son of his enemy Boson, that king of Arles. By that time his brain is said to have been affected, and certainly it was; seeing, that, although he possessed as many dominions as Charlemagne, he brought himself to such a pass as to lose all without making any resistance. He is dethroned in a diet near Mentz.

888.

The deposition of Charles the Gros is a spectacle which merits great attention. Was he deposed by those who had elected him? Could a few Thuringian, Saxon, and Bavarian nobleman, assembled in a village called Tribur, dispose of the Roman empire and the kingdom of France? No, sure; but they could renounce their allegiance to a prince, to a chief who did not deserve to reign. They therefore abandon the grandson of Charlemagne for a bastard of Carloman, son of Lewis the German: maine:

maine: this bastard, called Arnold, they declare king of Germany. Charles the Gros dies destitute near Constance, January 8, in the year 888.

The fate of Italy, France, and so many other states, was then uncertain.

The right of succession was every-where little regarded. Charles the Gros himself had been crowned king of France, to the prejudice of a posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer; and in contempt of the rights of that same son, the French noblemen chose for their king Eudes count of Paris.

One Rodolphus, son of another count of Paris, makes himself king of Transjurane Burgundy.

This son of Boson king of Arles, adopted by Charles the Gros, becomes king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother.

The empire was now no more than a phantom; nevertheless, they were desirous of seizing that phantom, which the name of Charlemagne still rendered venerable. This pretended empire, which took the appellation of Roman, ought to have been bestowed at Rome. One Gui duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli, disputed the name and rank of the Cæsars. Gui of Spoleto caused him to be crowned at Rome. Berengarius assumes the vain title of King of Italy, and by a singularity worthy of the confusion of those times, comes to Langres, in order to be crowned king of Italy, in Champagne.

It was in the midst of these troubles that all the noblemen cantoned themselves: every man fortified his own castle: great part of the towns
are

are altogether without government : troops of banditti scour the country from one end of Europe to the other ; and chivalry is established to restrain these robbers, and to defend ladies, or carry them off.

889.

Several bishops of France, and the archbishop of Rheims in particular, offer the kingdom of France to the bastard Arnold, because he was descended from Charlemagne ; and they hated Eudes, who had none of that blood, except by the female side.

Eudes king of France goes to wait upon Arnold at Worms ; cedes to him part of Lorraine, which was already in Arnold's possession ; promises to acknowledge him as emperor, and puts into his hands the crown and sceptre of France, which he had brought with him for that purpose. Arnold restores them, and acknowledges him king of France. This submission proves that the kings still considered themselves as vassals of the Roman empire. It likewise proves how much Eudes was afraid of the party which Arnold had in France.

890.

891.

The reign of Arnold in Germany is marked by unlucky events. The remains of the Saxons, intermingled with *Slaves* called Abodrites, inhabiting the districts towards the Baltick, between the Elbe and the Oder, ravage the North of Germany : the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other bodies of the *Slaves*, desolate the South, and defeat the troops of Arnold : the Huns make incursions ; the Normans renew their ravages ; yet no conquest is established by so many invasions. These, though transient de-

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vastations,

vastations, leave Germany in a very poor and miserable condition.

At length he in person defeats the Normans near Louvain; and Germany respire. The decay of Charlemagne's empire emboldens the feeble empire of the East. A patrician of Constantinople retakes the duchy of Beneventum with some troops, and threatens Rome: but as the Greeks were obliged to defend themselves against the Saracens, the conqueror of Beneventum could not march to the antient capital of the empire.

We have seen what reason Eudes king of France had to lay his crown at the feet of Arnold. It was his business to be well with all the world. The noblemen and bishops of France restore the crown to Charles the Simple, posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, whom they invite from England, whither he had fled for refuge.

893.

As in these divisions king Eudes had implored the protection of Arnold, Charles the Simple comes to implore it in his turn at the diet of Worms. Arnold takes no step in his favour; but leaves him to dispute the kingdom of France, and marches into Italy, there to dispute the name of emperor with Gui of Spoleto, Lombardy with Berengarius, and Rome with the Pope.

894.

He besieges Pavia, in which was that emperor of Spoleto, who betakes himself to flight. He secures Lombardy. Berengarius conceals himself; but even at that time we see how difficult it was for the emperors to make themselves

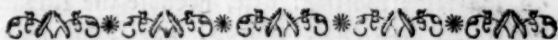
selves masters of Rome. Arnold, instead of marching to that capital, goes and holds a council at Mentz.

895.

Arnold, after this council, which was held with a view to conciliate the bishops, holds a diet at Worms, in order to procure fresh troops and money, and that his son Zuentibold might be crowned king of Lombardy.

896.

Then he returns towards Rome. The Romans no longer desire an emperor ; but they are incapable of defending themselves. Arnold attacks that part of the city called Leonini from the name of that famous pontif Leo IV. who had surrounded it with walls, and forces the place. The rest of the city, on the other side of the Tiber, surrenders ; and pope Formosa consecrates Arnold emperor in the church of St. Peter. The senators (for there was still a senate) next day take the oath of allegiance to him in the church of St. Paul. It was the old equivocal oath : “ I swear I will be faithful to the emperor, saving my fidelity to the Pope.”



A R N O L D.

EIGHTH EMPEROR.

896.

A WOMAN of great courage, called Agiltrude, mother of that pretended emperor Gui of Spoleto, who had in vain armed Rome against Arnold, defends herself still against him.

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He besieges her in the city of Fermo. Authors pretend that this heroine sent him a poisoned beverage, in order to soften his disposition, and that he was weak enough to drink it. It is incontestable that he raised the siege; that he was sick; that he repassed the Alps with the wreck of his army; that he left Italy in greater confusion than ever; and that he returned to Germany, where he had lost all his authority in his absence.

897. 898. 899.

Germany was then in the same anarchy as France: the noblemen had fortified themselves in Lorrain, Alsace, the country now called Saxony, Bavaria, and Franconia: the bishop and abbots seize the rights of regality: they maintain protectors or captains, who swear fealty to them, and have lands for their service, and these sometimes protect and sometimes plunder them*. They were formerly the advocates of the monasteries; and when the convents became principalities, the protectors became noblemen.

The bishops and abbots of Italy were never on the same footing: first, because the Italian noblemen had more address, the cities were more powerful, and richer than the hamlets of Germany and France; and, lastly, because the church of Rome, though very ill conducted, would not suffer the other churches of Italy to be powerful.

Chivalry and the spirit of chivalry spreads over all the West. There is hardly any suit

* The same sort of adventurers who were afterwards hired in Italy, under the name of *Condottieri*.

decided but by champions: the priests bless their arms; and they are always obliged to swear, before they engage, that their arms are not enchanted, and that they have not made any compact with the devil.

Arnold the emperor, destitute of power, dies in Bavaria in the year 899. Some authors make him die of poison, others of the lousy disease; but the lousy disease is a chimera*, and so is often the notion of poison.

900.

Confusion increases. Berengarius reigns in Lombardy, though in the midst of factions. That son of Boson made king of Arles by the intrigues of his mother, is by the same intrigues acknowledged emperor at Rome. Women then disposed of every thing: they made emperors and popes, who, however, had nothing but the name.

Lewis IV. is acknowledged king of Germany: to this he joins Lorraine after the death of his brother Zuentibold, and is very little stronger for the acquisition.

From 901 to 907.

The Huns and Hungarians reunited, come and ravage Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, where one would think there was very little more to be got.

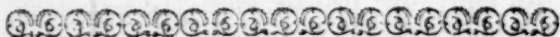
One Moimir, who had made himself duke of Moravia and a Christian, goes to Rome to demand bishops.

* We must beg our author's pardon; the *morbus pediculifus* is unhappily no chimera. It proceeds from a certain depravity of the juices, which peculiarly adapts them for the generation of this vermin.

One Adelbert, marquis of Tuscany, famous for his wife Theodora, is despotic in Rome. Berengarius strengthens himself in Lombardy; makes an alliance with the Huns, in order to hinder the new king of Germany from coming to Italy; makes war upon the pretended emperor of Arles; takes him prisoner; puts out his eyes; enters Rome, and compels pope John IX. to crown him emperor. The Pope, after having consecrated him, flies to Ravenna, and consecrates another emperor, called Lambert, son of the vagrant and needy duke of Spoleto, who assumes the title of Invincible and always August.

908. 909. 910. 911. 912.

Mean while Lewis IV. king of Germany, takes also the title of emperor: several authors give him the title; but Sigebert says, on account of the evils which in his time harrassed Italy, he did not deserve the imperial benediction; the true reason is, that he was not powerful enough to cause himself to be acknowledged emperor: he had no share in the troubles which harrassed Italy in his time.



L E W I S IV.

NINTH EMPEROR.

IN the reign of this strange emperor, Germany undergoes the most dismal desolation. The Huns, hired by Berengarius to come and ravage Germany, are afterwards hired by Lewis IV. to return to their own country. Two
factions

factious arise, headed by the dukes of Saxony and Franconia, and do more mischief than the Huns. All the churches are plundered: the Hungarians return to have a share of the pillage. The emperor Lewis flies to Ratisbon, where he dies in the twentieth year of his age. Thus ended the race of Charlemagne in Germany.



CONRAD I.

TENTH EMPEROR.

912.

THE German nobles assemble at Worms to elect a king. These were such as being the most interested in the choice of a prince, according to their mind, had power and credit enough to raise themselves to the rank of electors. The right of inheritance was, during this century, hardly acknowledged in Europe. Election, either free or influenced, prevailed almost every-where; witness those of Arnold in Germany, of Gui of Spoleto, of Berengarius in Italy, of Don Sancho in Arragon, of Eudes, Robert, Raoul, Hugues Capet in France, and of the emperors of Constantinople; for so many vassals and so many princes were desirous of having the right to choose a chief, and the hope of being chosen.

It is pretended that Otho duke of the new Saxony, was chosen by the diet, but that finding himself too old he himself proposed Conrad duke of Franconia, though he was his own

enemy, because he thought him worthy of the throne. This action is not at all in the spirit of those almost savage times. We find ambition, deceit and courage in this as in all ages; but to begin even from Clovis, we find not one action of magnanimity*.

Conrad was never acknowledged emperor either in Italy or France. The Germans only accustomed to see emperors in their kings since Charlemagne, gave him, it is said, that title.

From 913 to 919.

The reign of Conrad makes no alteration in the state of Germany. He has wars with his vassals, and particularly with the son of that duke of Saxony to whom he is said to have owed the crown.

The Hungarians still make war upon Germany, and he is wholly ingrossed in repulsing them. During this period the French make themselves masters of Lorrain. If Charles had made that conquest, he would not have deserved the name of Simple; but he had ministers and generals of another stamp. He creates a duke of Lorrain.

The bishops of Germany confirm themselves in the possession of their fiefs. Conrad dies in the year 919 in the little town of Weilbourg. It is pretended that before his death he named Henry duke of Saxony for his successor, to the prejudice of his own brother. It is not very likely that he should think he had a right to

* This is being too severe on human nature. Charlemagne, and others of that age, exhibited many proofs of magnanimity, which is not at all inconsistent with savage ferocity; but the milder virtues of humanity were not unfolded 'till long after this period.

HENRY THE FOWLER. 129

choose a successor, or that he would have chosen his own enemy.

The name of this pretended emperor was not known in Italy, during his reign. Lombardy became a prey to divisions, Rome to the most horrible scandal, and Naples and Sicily to the devastations of the Saracens.

It was at this time that the prostitute Theodora at Rome * raised to the Papal chair John X. who was as great a prostitute as herself.



HENRY THE FOWLER.

ELEVENTH EMPEROR.

920.

IT may be of consequence to observe, that in this time of anarchy, several hamlets of Germany began to enjoy the rights of natural liberty, after the example of the Italian cities. Some purchased these rights of their lords, others had supported them sword in hand. The deputies of these towns concur with the bishops and noblemen, in order to choose an emperor, and are in the rank of electors. Thus Henry I. surnamed the Fowler, duke of Saxony, is elected by the three estates. Nothing is more natural than that all those who are concerned

* This woman was so powerful, by means of the marquis of Tuscany, that she kept possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and raised John, who was her gallant, to the papacy.—Her Daughter Marosia equalled her mother in beauty, libertinism, and influence.

130 HENRY THE FOWLER.

in being well governed should concur in establishing the government.

From 921 to 930.

One of the rights belonging to the kings of Germany, as well as to the kings of France, was always to fill the vacant Bishopricks.

The emperor Henry has a short war with the duke of Bavaria, and puts an end to it by ceding to him the right of appointing bishops in his own dukedom.

These years produce very few events in which the fate of Germany is interested. The most important is the affair of Lorrain. It had been still undecided whether it should belong to Germany or France.

Henry the Fowler subdues all high and low Lorrain in the year 925, and wrests it from the hands of duke Gislebert, to whom it had been given by the kings of France. He afterwards restores it to that duke, that it might depend upon Germany. This Lorrain was no other than a dismembered part of the kingdom of Lotharingia. It was Brabant, part of the country of Liege, afterwards disputed by the bishop of Liege, with the lands between Metz and Franche Comté, disputed also by the bishop of Metz. This country in the sequel returned to France, from which it was afterwards separated again.

Henry enacts laws which are more interesting than the events and revolutions with which history is loaded. He extricates what could be extricated from the feudal anarchy. Vassals and under vassals consent to furnish soldiers and corn for their subsistence. He changes into cities the depopulated towns, which the Huns, Bohemians,

mians, Moravians and Normans had laid waste. He builds Brandenbourg, Misnia and Sleswick, where he settles marquises to guard the marches of Germany. He re-establishes the ruined abbeys of Herfort and Corbie; and plans several cities, such as Gotha, Herfort and Goslar.

The ancient Saxons, *Slaves*, Abodrites, and their neighbours the Vandals are repulsed. His predecessor Conrad had consented to pay a tribute to the Hungarians, and hitherto it was paid by Henry the Fowler, who, in a little time, freed Germany from that disgrace.

From 930 to 936.

It is said, that when the Hungarian deputies came to demand their tribute, Henry gave them a mangy dog. It was a punishment inflicted upon German knights, when they had committed crimes, to carry a dog for the length of a league. This coarse custom, worthy of those times, does not at all detract from the greatness of their courage; true it is, the Hungarians come and do more mischief than the tribute would have cost; but at length they are repulsed and defeated.

Then he causes the towns to be fortified, as a check upon the barbarians; and leaves the ninth man in some provinces with which these towns are garrisoned. He exercises the nobility in jousts and a kind of tournaments: in one of these near a thousand gentlemen are said to have entered the lists.

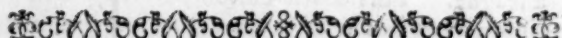
These tournaments had been invented in Italy, by the Lombard kings, and were called *Bataglie*.

Having provided for the defence of Germany, he resolves at length to go to Italy, after

the example of his predecessors, in order to receive the imperial crown.

The troubles and scandalous practices of Rome were increased. Marofia daughter of Theodora had raised to St. Peter's chair the young John XI. produced by her adultery with pope Sergius III. and governed the church in the name of her son. Of all the tyrants which overwhelmed Italy the Germans were most hated at Rome.

Henry the Fowler reckoning upon his forces, thought to have made his advantage of those troubles; but he died upon the road in Thuringia in the year 936. The only reason for calling him emperor, is because he was desirous of receiving the imperial throne, and it was the custom to give him that appellation.



O T H O I. surnamed T H E G R E A T.

T W E L F T H E M P E R O R.

936.

AT length we come to a true emperor. The dukes, counts, bishops, abbots, and all the powerful noblemen assembled at Aix-la-chapelle, elect Otho, son of Henry the Fowler. It is not mentioned that the deputies of the towns gave their votes. Perhaps the great noblemen having gained an acquisition of power, under Henry the Fowler, had deprived the towns of this right.

The archbishop of Mentz signifies this election to the people, consecrates the new emperor, and sets the crown upon his head. It may be

observed, that the prelates dine at the emperor's table; and that the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorrain, serve at table; the duke of Franconia, for example, in quality of steward, and the duke of Suabia as cub-bearer. This ceremony was performed in a wooden gallery, in the midst of the ruins of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been burnt by the Huns, and was not yet rebuilt.

The Huns and Hungarians come again to interrupt the festival. They advance to Westphalia, but are repulsed.

937.

Bohemia was then intirely barbarous, and but one half Christian. Luckily for Otho, it is embroiled in civil wars, of which he takes the advantage as soon as possible. He renders Bohemia tributary to Germany, and there establishes Christianity.

938. 939. 940.

Otho endeavours to make himself despotic, and the noblemen of the great fiefs to render themselves independent. This great quarrel, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, still subsists in the minds of men, after a series of eight hundred years, as well as the quarrel between Rome and the empire.

This struggle between royal power, which always seeks increase, and liberty, which will not yield, hath for a long time agitated all the Christian part of Europe. It subsisted in Spain as long as the Christians had to fight with the Moors, after which the sovereign authority got uppermost. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. This that has at length established

in England the mixed government to which she owes her greatness ; and this that hath cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the slavery of the people. The same spirit hath troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republicks of Swisserland and Holland : and the same cause hath every where produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refusing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to some allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of Count Palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Francs.

He bestows the same dignity upon a duke of Franconia. These palatines are at first supreme judges. They judge in the last appeal in the name of the emperor. This supreme resource of justice is, next to an army, the greatest support of sovereignty.

Otho disposes at pleasure of dignities and lands. The first marquis of Brandenburg dying without issue, he gives the marquisate to one count Gerard, who was not related to the defunct*.

The more Otho affects absolute power, the

* At the diet at Arensberg, held about this time, it was debated whether children could inherit the effects of their fathers, while their grandfathers were still alive ; as the point could not be determined any other way, it was referred to the combat trial : accordingly, an equal number of combatants being chosen on each side, entered the lists ; and the champions of the children, having obtained the victory, the process was determined in their favour.

more he is opposed by the noblemen of the great fiefs : and from that very time begins the custom of having recourse to France to support the fœdal Government in Germany against the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorrain and the prince of Brunswick address themselves to Lewis Ultramarine, king of France, who enters Lorrain and Alsace and joins the allies.

Otho anticipates the French king ; and upon the Rhine near Brisach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorrain, who are slain in battle.

He deprives the house of Franconia of the title of Palatine : settles it upon the house of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and castles. Thus was formed the present palatinate of the Rhine.

941.

As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their assistance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, solicit the assistance of Otho. He pursues Lewis Ultramarine through the whole country of Champagne ; but is recalled into Germany by conspiracies.

942. 943. 944.

The despotism of Otho alienates the minds of men to such a degree, that his own brother Henry duke of one part of Lorrain, had united with several noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, stifles the conspiracy, and pardons his brother, who was in all probability powerful enough to be intitled to that favour.

He augments the privileges of bishops and abbots, in order to oppose them to the noblemen.

men. He bestows the title of prince, with all the rights of regality, upon the bishop of Triers. He gives the dutchy of Bavaria to his brother Henry, who had conspired against him, and leaves the natural heirs quite destitute. This is the greatest proof of his absolute power.

945. 946.

At that time the race of Charlemagne, which still reigned in France, was reduced to the lowest state of degradation. They had in 912 ceded Neustria properly so called to the Normans, and even Brittany, which then became an under-fief of France.

Hugues, duke of the isle of France, of the blood of Charlemagne by the female line, father of Hugh Capet, son-in-law by his first marriage to Edward I. king of England *, and brother-in-law of Otho by his second marriage, was one of the most powerful noblemen in Europe, and the king of France at that time one of the most inconsiderable. This Hugues had recalled Lewis Ultramarine to crown and serve him, and was called Hugues or Hugh the Great, because he had made himself powerful at the expence of his master.

He was allied with the Normans who had made the unfortunate Ultramarine prisoner. That king, released from captivity, was left almost without towns or territory. He was likewise brother-in-law of Otho, whose sister he had married. He demands his protection,

* This Edward must not be confounded with *Long-Shanks*, commonly called Edward I. He was of the Saxon race, and son of the renowned Alfred, a prince not unworthy of such a father.

in consequence of ceding all his rights over Lorrain.

Otho marches to the neighbourhood of Paris, besieges Rouen, but being abandoned by the count of Flanders, returns to his own dominions after a fruitless expedition.

947. 948.

Otho, being unable to conquer Hugh the Great, causes him to be excommunicated. He convokes a council at Triers, where the pope's legate pronounces the sentence at the desire of Otho's chief almoner. Nevertheless Hugh continues master in France.

There was, we have seen, a margrave at Sleswick, in the Cimbrique Chersonesus, to check the incursions of the Danes. They kill this margrave. Otho hastens thither in person, retakes the town, secures the frontiers; and makes peace with Denmark on condition that Christianity should be preached in that country.

949.

From thence Otho goes to hold a council at Ingelheim, near Mentz. Lewis Ultramarine, who had no army, demanded this council of pope Agapetus; a poor resource against Hugh the Great.

There the German bishops and Marini the pope's legate appear as judges, Otho as protector, and Lewis of France as a suppliant. Lewis demands justice, and says: "I have been acknowledged king by the suffrages of all the noblemen. If it is pretended that I have committed some crime which merits the treatment I suffer, I am ready to take my trial before the council

council, according to Otho's order ; or I will maintain my innocence in single combat."

This miserable address proves the custom of duels ; the deplorable condition of the king of France, the power of Otho, and the election of kings. The right of blood seemed then no more than a recommendation to obtain votes. Hugh the Great is summoned to this vain council ; though nobody supposed he would appear.

950.

Otho gives the investiture of Suabia, Augsburg, Constance and Wirttemberg to his son Ludolphus, "saving the rights of the bishops."

951.

Otho returns to Bohemia ; defeats the duke Bol, who is called Boleslaus. The word *Slas* among these people signified chief. From hence they were at first called *Slaves*, which name in the sequel fell to those whom they had conquered. The emperor confirms the vassalage of Bohemia, and there establishes the Christian religion. All beyond was still pagan, except some marches of Germany. From that time he resolved to renew the empire of Charlemagne ; and a woman paved the way.

Adelaide *, sister of a petty king of transjuran Burgundy, widow of the king or usurper of the kingdom of Italy, being oppressed by another usurper Berengarius II. who besieges her in Canossa, calls Otho to her aid. Thither he marches, delivers, and being then a widower, marries this princess. He enters Pavia

* She is generally denominated *Alix*.

in triumph with Adelaide: but it required both time and diligence to subdue the rest of the kingdom, and especially Rome, which would by no means submit to him.

952.

He leaves his army to a prince called Conrad, his own son-in-law, whom he had made duke of Lorrain; and, what was very common in those times, goes to hold a council at Augsburg instead of pursuing his conquests. There were Italian bishops at that council: perhaps he had no other view in this, but to dispose people to receive him in Italy.

953.

His marriage with Adelaide, which ought to have secured him in the possession of Italy, was like to have made him lose it in a very little time.

His son Ludolphus, to whom he had given so many dominions, but who was afraid that his mother-in-law would give him a master; and his son-in-law Conrad, to whom he had given Lorrain, but from whom he had taken the command in Italy, conspire against him; an archbishop of Mentz, and a bishop of Augsburg join these confederates; he marches against his son, and, instead of making himself emperor at Rome, is obliged to maintain a civil war in Germany.

954.

His unnatural son calls the Hungarians to his assistance; and it costs him abundance of trouble to repel them from the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Cologne, whither they had advanced.

Otho

Otho had a brother called Bruno, an ecclesiastic, whom he procures to be elected archbishop of Cologne, and to whom he gives Lorrain.

955-

The arms of Otho prevail. His sons and their adherents ask pardon; the archbishop of Mentz returns to his duty. The king's son deviates from it again: at length he comes barefoot and throws himself at his father's feet. The Hungarians, whom he called in, far from following his example in asking forgiveness, lay waste the country. Otho gives them battle, and defeats them at Augsburg: he seems to have been strong enough to defeat, but not to pursue and destroy them; although his army was composed of legions formed after the model of the ancient Roman legions.

The fears of the son of Otho are realized. Adelaide is delivered of a prince, who is Otho II.

From 956 to 960.

The designs upon Rome ripen, but the affairs of Germany prevent their being disclosed. The *Slaves* and other Barbarians deluge the North of Germany, as yet but very ill secured in spite of all the cares of Otho. Inconsiderable wars towards Luxemburg and Hainault, which belonged to Lower Lorrain, continue still to employ his arms.

Ludolphus, that son of Otho who was sent into Italy against Berengarius, dies in that country, either of the plague or of poison.

Berengarius was then absolute master of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, though not

at

at Rome. But he necessarily had a thousand quarrels with her, like the ancient Lombard kings.

A son of Marosia, called Octavian Sporcò, was elected pope at the age of eighteen, by the credit of his family. He takes the name of John XII. in memory of his uncle John XI. This is the first pope who changed his name at his accession to the pontificate. He was not even in orders, when his family made him pontif. He was a young man who lived like a prince, and was a lover of arms and pleasure.

It is surprising, that, under so many scandalous popes, the Roman church lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions; but at that time almost all the other churches were governed in this manner. The bishops having always something to ask of Rome, either orders or favours, did not abandon their interest for a few scandalous practices more than usual; and it was their interest to be always united to the Roman church, because that union made them more respected by the people, and more considerable in the eyes of the sovereigns. The clergy of Italy might then despise the popes; but they revered the papacy the more, as they aspired to that exalted station: finally, in the opinion of mankind, the place was sacred even when the person was damnable.

The Italians at length call Otho to their assistance: they wanted (says Luitprand, a contemporary writer) to have two masters, that they might not have one in reality. This is one of the principal causes of the long miseries of Italy.

960.

Otho, before he sets out for Italy, takes care to have his son Otho, born of Adelaide, though but in the seventh year of his age, elected king of Germany. A new proof that the right of succession did not exist. He takes the precaution of causing him to be crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz and Triers, assembled for that purpose. The archbishop of Cologne performs the function first; this was Bruno, the brother of Otho.

961.

He passes the Alps of the Tirol; once more enters Pavia, which always falls to the first occupier; and receives the crown of Lombardy at Monza.

962.

While Berengarius flies with his family, Otho marches to Rome; and the gates are opened to him. John XII. crowns him emperor. He confirms the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Weak. He takes the pope's oath of allegiance on the body of St. Peter; and ordains that there shall be always commissaries of the emperor at Rome.

This instrument, written in letters of gold, subscribed by seven bishops of Germany, five counts, two abbots, and several Italian prelates, is still kept in the castle of St. Angelo. The date is of the 13th of February, in the year 962. Lotharius king of France, and Hugh Capet, afterwards king, are said to have been present at this coronation. These kings of France were indeed so weak, that they might have served as ornaments at the consecration of
an

an emperor; but the names of Lotharius and Hugh Capet are not found in the signatures of this act.

All that was then done at Rome concerning the churches of Germany, was to erect Magdeburg into an archbishop's see, and Mersburg into a bishopric, for the conversion of the Slaves, that is, the people who inhabited Moravia, part of Brandenburg, Silesia, &c.

Scarce had the pope given himself a master, when he repented of what he had done. He leagues with that same Berengarius who had fled for refuge among the Mahometans cantoned upon the coast of Provence, and solicits the Hungarians to enter Germany; this was the step he ought to have taken before.

963.

The emperor Otho having finished the conquest of Lombardy, returns to Rome. He assembles a council. Pope John XII. hides himself. He is accused in full council in the church of St. Peter of having committed fornication with several women, particularly with one called Etienetta, his father's concubine; of having conferred the bishopric of Lodi upon a child of ten years; of having sold ordinations and benefices, of having put out the eyes of his godfather, of having first castrated and then put to death a cardinal, and lastly of not believing in Jesus Christ, and of having invoked the devil; two articles that seem to contradict one another.

This young pontiff, who was then but seven and twenty, was said to be deposed for his in-cests and scandalous practices; but the true reason was his having endeavoured, like all the
Romans,

Romans, to destroy the German power in Rome.

A new pope, called Leo VIII. is elected in his room. Otho was not able to secure the person of John XII. or, if he was, he committed a great error.

964.

The new pope Leo VIII. if we may believe the discourse of Arnold bishop of Orleans, was neither an ecclesiastic, nor even a Christian.

John XII. a debauched pope, but an enterprising prince, excites an insurrection of the Romans, from the recesses of his retreat; and while Otho goes to besiege Camerino, the pontiff, assisted by his mistress, re-enters Rome. He deposes his competitor, orders the right-hand of cardinal John to be cut off, because it had written the deposition against him; opposes council to council, and enacts a statute, importing that "an inferior shall never have power to deprive his superior of his rank;" or, in other words, that no emperor shall ever have power to depose a pope. He flatters himself with the hope of driving the Germans from Italy; but, in the midst of his great design, he is assassinated in the embraces of one of his mistresses.

He had animated the Romans, and raised their courage to such a pitch, that even after his death they ventured to support a siege, and did not surrender to Otho until reduced to the last extremity.

Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, orders it to be declared in council, that "after the example of the blessed Adrian, who gave to Charlemagne the right of electing popes and investing
all

all bishops, the same rights were given to the emperor Otho." This title, still extant in Gratian's collection, is suspected ; but, that which is not suspected, is the great care the victorious emperor took to secure himself in the possession of all his rights.

After so many oaths, the emperors ought to have resided at Rome to enforce the observation of them.

965.

He returns to Germany. He finds all Lorrain in rebellion against his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who at that time governed in Lorrain. He is obliged to abandon Triers, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to their respective bishops. High Lorrain falls into the hands of a count of Bar, and this country alone is what we now call Lorrain. Bruno reserves no more than the provinces of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld. This Bruno was a learned man, as much detached from grandeur as his brother Otho the emperor was ambitious.

The house of Luxemburg takes that name from the castle of Luxemburg, which they receive in exchange from an abbot of St. Maximin in Triers.

The Poles begin to embrace Christianity.

966.

Scarce was the emperor Otho returned to Germany, when the Romans resolve to be free. They expel pope John XIII. who was attached to the emperor. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes, and the senate, think to revive the antient republic. But that which at one time was an enterprize of heroes, at another season becomes a seditious insurrection. Otho flies back

H

to

to Italy, and orders one half of the senate to be hanged. The prefect of Rome, who wanted to be another Brutus, was scourged in the public street, carried in procession naked upon an ass, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died in extreme misery. These executions do not at all recommend the German government to the Italians.

967.

The emperor sends for his young son Otho to Rome, and associates him in the empire.

968.

He negotiates with Nicephorus Phocas, emperor of the Greeks, a match between his own son and that emperor's daughter. The Greek deceives him; and Otho deprives him of Apulia and Calabria, by way of dower to the young princess Theophania, whom, however, he has not in his power.

969.

To this year almost all the chronologists place the adventure of Otho, archbishop of Mentz; who was besieged in a tower in the middle of the Rhine by an army of mice that swam the river and devoured him. Probably those who still load history with such childish trifles, have no other design than that of leaving upon record those antient monuments of weak superstition, to shew from what darkness Europe is scarce delivered.

970.

John Zimisses, who dethrones the emperor Nicephorus, sends at length the princess Theophania to Otho, for his son: almost all authors agree that Otho had Apulia and Calabria with that princess: but the learned and exact

Giannoni

Giannoni has proved that he never received that rich dower.

971, 972, 973.

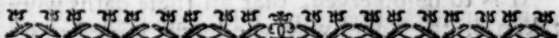
Otho returns victorious to Saxony, which was his native country.

The duke of Bohemia, vassal of the empire, invades Moravia, which becomes an appendage to Bohemia.

A bishop is established at Prague. He is nominated by the duke of Bohemia, and consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz.

At that time the archbishops of Magdebourg laid the foundation of their power. The title of metropolitan of the North, and their extensive territories were one day to make them great princes.

Otho dies at Minleben, May 7th, 973. with the glory of having re-established the empire of Charlemagne in Italy. But Charles was the avenger of Rome; Otho, the conqueror and oppressor; nor had his empire such vast and firm foundations, as that of Charlemagne.



O T H O II.

THIRTEENTH EMPEROR.

974.

IT plainly appears that emperors and kings were now made by election. Otho II. having been already elected emperor and king of Germany, contents himself with being proclaimed at Magdebourg by the clergy and no-

bility of the country, which composed a middling assembly.

The despotism of the father, the fear of absolute power, perpetuated in one family; but, above all, the ambition of Henry duke of Bavaria, Otho's cousin, induces one third of Germany to rebel.

Henry of Bavaria causes himself to be crowned emperor by the bishop of Frisingen. Poland and Denmark espouse his party, not as members of Germany and the empire, but as neighbours whose interest it was to disturb its peace.

975.

The party of Otho II. is the first that arms, and by this diligence he preserves the empire. His troops surmount the intrenchments which separated Denmark from Germany, and which serve no other purpose than that of demonstrating the weakness of that nation.

He enters Bohemia, which had declared for Henry of Bavaria; he marches to the duke of Poland, who is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to Otho as a vassal.

It is to be observed, that all these oaths were taken on the knee, with the hands joined together, and thus the bishops administered the oath to kings.

976.

Henry of Bavaria being abandoned, is imprisoned at Quidlembourg; and from thence exiled to Elrick, with the bishop of Augsbourg, who was his partisan.

977.

The limits of Germany and France were then very uncertain. There was no longer any mention made of Eastern and Western France. The kings

kings of Germany extended their territorial superiority as far as the confines of Champagne and Picardy. By territorial superiority we must not understand a direct dominion or possession of lands, but the superiority of the lands, the right of paramount, and of fine. In the sequel, this expression of territorial superiority hath, by meer ignorance of the terms, been applied to the actual possession of the Domains which hold of the empire, which is, on the contrary, a territorial inferiority.

The dukes of Lorrain, Brabant, and Hainault, had done homage for their lands to the last kings of Germany. Lotharius, king of France, revives his pretensions to these countries. The royal authority began to be a little vigorous in France at this time, and Lotharius took the advantage of the conjuncture to attack at once High and Low Lorrain.

978.

Otho assembles near sixty thousand men, ravages all Champagne, and penetrates even to Paris. At that time they neither knew how to fortify the frontiers, or make war in the open country. Military expeditions were no more than ravages.

Otho, in his return, is defeated in crossing the river Aine. Geoffroi, count of Anjou, surnamed Grifegonnelle, pursues him, without ceasing, in the forest of Ardenne, and proposes, according to the rules of chivalry, to decide the quarrel by single combat. The emperor refuses the challenge, either because he thought it was beneath his dignity to fight hand to hand with Grifegonnelle, or because, being cruel, he wanted courage.

979.

The emperor and king of France make peace, in consequence of which Charles, brother of Lotharius, receives Low Lorrain from the emperor, together with part of High Lorrain. He does homage to him on his knees, and this submission is said to have cost his posterity the kingdom of France; at least Hugh Capet made use of that pretext to make him odious.

980.

While Otho II. strengthened himself in Germany, the Romans had endeavoured to shake off the German yoke. One Cencius was declared consul, and he and his party had made a pope whose name was Boniface VII. A count of Toscanella, who was enemy to his faction, had elected another pope, and Boniface VII. had gone to Constantinople to invite the Greek emperors Basilus and Constantine to come and retake Rome. The Greek emperors were not strong enough for such an enterprize. To them the pope joined the Arabians of Africa, choosing to make Rome Mahometan rather than German. The Christian Greeks and Mussulman Africans unite their squadrons, and together take possession of the country of Naples.

Otho II. repairs to Italy, and marches to Rome.

981.

As Rome was divided, he found immediate admission. He lodges in the pope's palace, invites several senators, and the partisans of Cencius to dinner. Soldiers enter during the repast, and murder the guests. This was renewing the times of Marius, and this was all that remained of antient Rome. But is the fact really

true?

true? Geofroi of Viterbo relates it two hundred years after it is supposed to have happened.

982.

After this bloody feast it is necessary to march into Apulia, to fight the Greeks and Saracens, who came to revenge and serve the city of Rome. He had a number of Italian troops in his army, and they were good for nothing but treason.

The Germans are intirely defeated. The bishop of Augsburg and abbot of Fuld are killed, fighting in the field of battle. The emperor escapes in disguise, and embarks as a passenger in a Greek vessel. This vessel sails near Capua; the emperor throws himself into the sea, swims ashore, and takes refuge in Capua.

983.

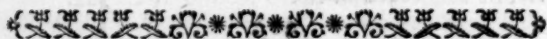
Things were now on the brink of a great revolution. The Germans had well nigh lost all Italy; the Greeks and Mussulmans were going to quarrel about Rome; but Capua is still fatal * to the conquerors of the Romans. The Greeks and Arabians cannot agree: their army is inconsiderable: they give Otho time to re-assemble the wreck of his troops, and to declare his son Otho, who was but ten years old, emperor at Verona.

One Otho duke of Bavaria had been killed in the battle. Bavaria is given to his son. The emperor marches by Rome with his new army.

After having sacked the infidel Beneventum, he causes his chancellor of Italy to be elected

* Alluding to the conduct of Hannibal, who instead of besieging Rome, immersed himself in the delights of Capua.

pope. One would imagine he would have marched against the Greeks and Arabians. No such matter: he holds a council. All these circumstances plainly shew that his army was weak, that the conquerors were as weak, and the Romans weaker than either. Instead of going to fight, therefore, he confirms the erection of Hamburg and Bremen into an archbishop's see: he makes regulations for Saxony; and dies in Rome, September 7, without glory, though he leaves his son emperor. The Greeks and Saracens retreat, after having ruined Apulia and Calabria, made as bad a figure in war as Otho, and raised the whole country against them.



O T H O III.

FOURTEENTH EMPEROR.

983.

HOW should Germany acknowledge an emperor and king of the Romans, who was but ten years old, acknowledged only at Verona, and whose father was defeated by the Saracens. That same Henry of Bavaria who had disputed the crown with the father, escapes from the prison of Maestricht, in which he was confined; and under pretence of acting as tutor to his cousin, the young emperor Otho III. secures his person, and conducts him to Magdebourg.

984.

Germany is divided into two factions. Henry of Bavaria is supported by Bohemia and Poland; but

but the greatest part of the lords of the great fiefs, and the bishops, hoping to be more their own masters under a prince of ten years of age, oblige Henry to set the young Otho at liberty, and acknowledge him as emperor; in consideration of which he is at last reinstated in the possession of Bavaria.

Otho III. is then solemnly proclaimed at Weissenstadt.

He is served at dinner by the great officers of the empire: Henry of Bavaria performs the office of steward, count palatine of great cup-bearer, the duke of Saxony of great master of the horse, the duke of Franconia of great chamberlain: the dukes of Bohemia and Poland are present as great vassals.

The education of the emperor is committed to the care of the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Ildeſheim.

During these troubles, Lotharius king of France attempts to retake High Lorraine, and makes himself master of Verdun.

986.

After the death of Lotharius, Verdun is restored to Germany.

987.

Lewis V. the last king in France, of the race of Charlemagne, dying in the second year of his reign, Charles duke of Lorraine, his uncle and heir of blood, in vain pretends to the crown of France: Hugh Capet, by his power and address, proves that the right of election was then in force.

988.

The abbot of Verdun obtains at Cologne permission to go without a sword, and refuses to

command in person the soldiers he owes when the emperor raises forces.

Otho III. confirms all the privileges of the bishops and abbots: their privilege and their duty was then to wear the sword, seeing the abbot of Verdun had occasion to sue for a particular dispensation.

989.

The Danes choose this opportunity to enter by the Elbe and the Weser. They now began to perceive in Germany the necessity of negotiating with Sweden against Denmark; and the bishop of Sleswick is charged with this negotiation.

The Swedes defeat the Danes at sea. The north of Germany has a little respite.

990.

The rest of Germany becomes a prey to feuds between private noblemen; and these feuds, which the sovereigns cannot appease, shew that they had more right than power. The case is still worse in Italy.

Pope John XV. son of a priest, at that time possessed the chair, and was favourable to the emperor Crescentius, the new consul, son of the consul Crescentius; whose father was John X. had a mind to maintain the shadow of the antient republic, and expelled the Pope from Rome. The empress Theophania, mother of Otho III. had come with troops, under the command of the marquis of Brandenburg, to maintain the imperial authority in Italy.

While the marquis of Brandenburg is at Rome, the *Slaves* seize his marquifate.

From 991 to 996.

The *Slaves*, with a crew of other Barbarians, besiege

besiege Magdebourg: they are repulsed with difficulty: they retire to Pomerania, and cede some villages of Brandenburg, which extend the marquissate.

Austria was then a marquissate also, and no less unhappy than Brandenburg, being the frontier of the Hungarians.

The emperor's mother had returned from Italy, without having been able to appease the troubles of that country, and died at Nimeguen. The cities of Lombardy did not acknowledge the emperor.

Otho III. levies troops; besieges Milan, where he is crowned; elects his relation * pope Gregory V. as he had elected a bishop of Spire; and is consecrated in Rome by his kinsman, together with his empress Maria, daughter of Don Garcia, king of Arragon and Castile.

997.

It is strange that the modern authors, Maimbourg, and so many others, should still relate the fable of the amours of this empress with a count of Modena, and the punishment of the gallant and his mistress. It is pretended that the emperor, being more incensed against the mistress than the gallant, ordered his wife to be burnt alive, and only condemned his rival to lose his head; and that the count's widow, having proved her husband's innocence, had four fine castles by way of indemnification. This fable had already been invented upon one Andaberta, wife of the emperor Lewis II. These are romances, the falsity of which is proved by the sage and learned Muratori.

* Whose name was Bruno.

The emperor, acknowledged at Rome, returns to Germany; finds the *Slaves* masters of Bernbourg; and deprives the archbishop of Magdebourg of the government of that country, because he had allowed himself to be defeated by the *Slaves*.

998.

While Otho III. is employed against the Barbarians of the North, the consul Crescentius at Rome expels Gregory V *. by whom he is excommunicated at Pavia; and Otho repairs to Italy, in order to punish the consul.

Crescentius sustains a siege in Rome, which, however, he surrenders in a few days, and retires into Adrian's Mole, then called The Mole of Crescentius, and now The Castle of St. Angelo. There he dies fighting, though the manner of his death is not known; but he seems to have deserved the name of Consul, which he bore. The emperor takes his widow for a mistress; and by his orders the pope, nominated by Crescentius, has his tongue and eyes pulled out. But, indeed, Otho and his mistress are said to have done penance, to have gone in pilgrimage to a monastery, and even to have lain upon a rush mat.

999.

He makes a decree by which the Germans only shall have the right to elect a Roman emperor, and the popes shall be obliged to crown him. Gregory V. his relation, did not fail to

* He likewise elevated another person to the papacy by the name of John XVI. whom Otho caused to be thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his nose cut off.

sign this decree, and the following popes to reject it.

1000.

Otho returns to Saxony, and passes into Poland: he bestows the title of king upon the duke, but not upon his descendants. We shall see, in the sequel, that the emperors created kings and dukes by breviate. Boleslaus receives the crown from him, does homage to the empire, and obliges himself to pay a slight annual service.

Pope Sylvester II. some years after conferred the same title upon him, pretending that none but the Pope had a right to bestow it. It is very strange that one sovereign should demand a title from another; but custom makes every thing familiar. Historians say, that Otho, going afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, ordered the tomb of Charlemagne to be opened, and found that emperor still undecayed, sitting upon a throne of gold, with a crown of precious stones upon his head, and a great golden sceptre in his hand. If Charlemagne had been interred in this manner, the Normans, who destroyed Aix-la-Chapelle, would not have left him upon his throne of gold.

1001.

The Greeks then abandoned the country of Naples; but the Saracens often repeated their visits. The emperor repasses the Alps, in order to put a stop to their progress, and that of the defenders of the Italic liberty, more dangerous than the Saracens.

1002.

The Romans besiege his palace in Rome; and all he can do is to fly with the Pope and his

his mistress the widow of Crescentius: he dies at Paterno, a small town of the Campagna of Rome, near thirty years of age. Several authors say he was poisoned by his mistress, because he would not make her empress; others, that he was poisoned by the Romans, who wanted no emperor. This fact may be probable, but it is not at all proved. His death left as undecided as ever that long struggle of the papacy against the empire, of the Romans against both, and of the Italian liberty against the German power. This is what keeps Europe always attentive; this is the clue that conducts us through the labyrinth of the History of Germany.

Those three Othos, who re-established the empire, have all three besieged Rome, and filled the streets with blood, and Arnold had sacked it before their time.

1003.

Otho III. left no children. Twenty noblemen pretend to the empire: one of the most powerful was Henry duke of Bavaria, and the most obstinate of his rivals was Eckard marquis of Thuringia. The marquis is assassinated to facilitate the election of the Bavarian, who, at the head of an army, causes himself to be consecrated at Mentz, July 19.

HENRY

H E N R Y II.

FIFTEENTH EMPEROR.

1003.

SCARCE is Henry of Bavaria crowned, when he causes Herman duke of Suabia and Alsace, who was his competitor, to be declared an enemy to the empire. He engages Strasbourg in his interest : it was already a powerful city. He ravages Suabia ; marches into Saxony ; exacts the oath of allegiance from the duke of Saxony, the archbishops of Magdebourg and Bremen, the counts palatine, and even Boleslaus king of Poland. He is acknowledged by the *Slaves* who inhabit Pomerania.

He marries Cunegonda, daughter of the first count of Luxembourg : he makes a progress through the provinces ; receives the homage of the bishops of Liege and Cambray, who take the oath upon their knees. At last he is acknowledged by the duke of Saxony, who like the rest takes the oath.

The efforts of the Italian weakness against the German government are incessantly renewed. A certain marquis de Ivrea, called Ardouin, attempts to make himself king of Italy. He is elected by the noblemen, and takes the title of Cæsar : then the archbishops of Milan began to pretend that a king of Lombardy could not be made without their consent, as the popes pretended that an emperor could not be made without theirs. Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, addresses himself to king Henry ; for it was
always

always the Italians who invited the Germans, whom they could neither bear with, nor be without.

Henry sends troops to Italy under Otho duke of Carinthia. King Ardouin defeats these troops near the Tirol. The emperor Henry could not leave Germany, where he was detained by troubles of another nature.

1004.

The new Christian king of Poland takes advantage of the weakness of Boleslaus duke of Bohemia; makes himself master of his dominions, and puts out his eyes, conforming himself to the practice of the Christian emperors of the East and West: he takes all Bohemia, Misnia, and Lusatia. Henry II. contents himself with demanding that he will do him homage for the dominions he has invaded. The king of Poland laughs at the demand, and engages in an alliance with several princes of Germany against Henry, who therefore is resolved to preserve Germany, before he goes to oppose the new Cæsar of Italy.

1005.

He reconciles himself to the bishops; negotiates with the noblemen, levies soldiers, and disconcerts the association.

The Hungarians began to embrace Christianity through the care of the missionaries, whose sole aim is to extend their religion, while that of princes is to extend their dominions.

Stephen, chief of the Hungarians, who had married the sister of Henry the emperor, becomes a Christian about this time; and, luckily for Germany, makes war with his Christian Hungarians against the idolatrous Hungarians.

The

The church of Rome, which had allowed itself to be anticipated by the emperors, in the nomination of a king of Poland, is before-hand with them in regard to Hungary. Pope John XIX. confers upon Stephen of Hungary the title of king and apostle, with the right of having the cross carried before him like the archbishops ; and Hungary is divided into ten bishoprics much better filled with idolaters than with Christians.

The archbishop of Milan presses Henry II. to come to Italy against his king Ardouin. Accordingly Henry sets out for that country by the way of Bavaria, the states or parliament of which are then electing a duke : and Henry of Luxembourg, the emperor's brother-in-law, is unanimously chosen. An important fact which shews the rights of the people were reckoned of some consideration.

Henry, before he passed the Alps, leaves his wife Cunegonda in the hands of the archbishop of Magdebourg. It is pretended, that he had made a vow of chastity with her : a vow of imbecillity in an emperor.

He is no sooner in the neighbourhood of Verona, than the Cæsar Ardouin betakes himself to flight. We always see the kings of Italy when the Germans are not there ; but as soon as these set foot in Italy, the kings are seen no more.

Henry is crowned at Pavia : There they conspire against his life. He stifles the conspiracy, and after abundance of bloodshed pardons the conspirators.

He does not go to Rome, but, according to the

the custom of his predecessors, quits Italy with all possible dispatch.

1006.

It is always the fate of the German princes to be recalled by troubles at home, when they might secure their dominions in Italy.

He goes to defend the Bohemians against the Poles. Being received in Prague, he gives the investiture of the duchy of Bohemia to Jaromir. He passes the Oder, pursues the Poles into their own country, and makes peace with them.

He builds Bamberg, and there founds a bishopric; but he gives the feudal lordship to the pope: He is said to have reserved to himself no more than the right of lodging in the castle.

He assembles a council at Frankfort upon the Main, solely on account of this new bishopric of Bamberg, which the bishop of Wurtzburg opposes as a dismembring of his bishopric. The emperor prostrates himself before the bishops: they discuss the rights of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, without coming to any agreement.

1007.

The Prussians or Borussians begin to be talked of. They were barbarians who lived upon horses blood: inhabiting latterly the deserts between Poland and the Baltick. They are said to have worshipped serpents. They frequently plundered the territories of Poland. There must have been something to be got amongst them, seeing the Poles also made incursions into their country.

1008,

1009.

Otho duke of Low-Lorraine, the last known descend-

descendant of Charlemagne, being dead, Henry II. gives that duchy to Godfrey count of the Ardennes. This donation is productive of troubles. The duke of Bavaria takes the advantage of them to disturb Henry, but is expelled from Bavaria.

1010.

Herman, son of Eckard of Thuringia, receives from Henry II. the marquissate of Misnia.

1011.

War is still carried on with Poland. It is only since she is become a feudatory to Germany, that Germany has wars with her.

Glogau already existed in Silesia, and is besieged: The Silesians were united with the Poles.

1012.

Henry, fatigued with all these troubles, is desirous of being made canon of Strasbourg. He makes a vow to that purpose, and in order to accomplish his vow founds a canonate, the possessor of which is called *King of the Choir*. Having laid aside the design of being a canon, he goes to fight the Poles, and calms the troubles in Bohemia.

At this period is placed the adventure of Cunegonda, who being accused of adultery, after having made a vow of chastity, proves her innocence by handling red hot iron. This tale must be ranked with the funeral pile of the empress Mary of Arragon.

1013.

As soon as the emperor quitted Italy, Ardouin repossessed himself of it, and the archbishop of Milan incessantly intreats Henry II. to come and reign.

Henry

Henry repasses the Alps of Tyrol a second time ; and the *Slaves* seize that very conjuncture to renounce the little Christianity they knew, and ravage the whole territory of Hamburgh.

1014.

As soon as the emperor is in the Veronais, Ardouin betakes himself to flight. The Romans are ready to receive Henry. He comes to Rome to be crowned with Cunegonda. Pope Benedict VIII. changes the form. He first asks him on the steps of St. Peter's: "Will you be faithful in all things to me and my successors?" This was a kind of homage which the cunning of the pope extorted from the simplicity of the emperor.

The emperor goes to subdue Lombardy. He passes through Burgundy, visits the abbey of Clugni, and desires to be associated in the community. He afterwards repairs to Verdun, and desires to become a monk in the abbey of St. Vall. It is pretended that the abbot being wiser than Henry, said to him: "Monks owe obedience to their abbots: I order you to continue emperor."

1015, 1016, 1017, 1018.

These years produce nothing but petty wars in Bohemia and on the frontiers of Poland. All that part of Germany from the Elbe, is more barbarous and miserable than ever. Every nobleman who could arm a few peasants (*serfs*,) made war upon his neighbour: and when the possessors of the great fiefs had wars of their own to maintain, they obliged their vassals to leave their own particular quarrels to come and serve them. This was called The Law of Truce.

How

How could the emperors choose to live in the midst of such barbarity, instead of going to reside at Rome? because, in order to be acknowledged by the Romans, it was necessary to be powerful among the Germans.

1019, 1020, 1021.

The emperor's authority was strengthened in Lombardy by his lieutenants. But the Saracens still continued their depredations upon Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, and this year fell upon Tuscany. But their incursions in Italy were like those of the *Slaves* and Hungarians in Germany. They were no longer in a condition to make great conquests, because they were divided and weakened in Spain. The Greeks still possessed great part of Apulia and Calabria governed by a Catapan. One Millo prince of Bari and a prince of Salerno took arms against this Catapan.

Then appeared, for the first time, those Adventurers of Normandy, who afterwards founded the kingdom of Naples. They served Millo against the Greeks. Pope Benedict VIII. and Millo, being equally afraid of the Greeks and Saracens, go to Bamberg to demand succour of the emperor.

Henry II. confirms the donations of his predecessors to the see of Rome, reserving to himself the sovereign power. He confirms a decree made at Pavia, by which the clerks are restricted from having either wives or concubines.

1022.

There being a necessity for opposing the Greeks and Mahometans in Italy, he goes thither in the Spring. His army is chiefly composed

composed of bishops at the head of their own troops. This holy emperor, who would not suffer an under-deacon to have a wife, allowed the bishops to wallow in human blood : inconsistencies too frequent among men.

He sends troops towards Capua and to Apulia, but does not make himself master of the country : and it was but an indifferent conquest to seize the abbot of Monte Cassini who had declared against him, and cause another to be elected in his room.

1023.

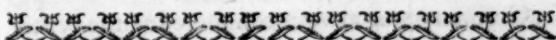
He very soon repasses the Alps according to the maxim of his predecessors, never to stay long from Germany. He agrees with Robert, king of France, to have an interview in a boat upon the Meuse between Sedan and Mouson. The emperor anticipates the king of France by frankly going to the camp. This was rather a visit of friends, than a conference of kings ; an example which hath been seldom imitated.

1024.

The emperor afterwards makes the tour of great part of Germany in profound peace, leaving every where marks of justice and generosity.

He felt his end approaching, although he was but two and fifty years of age : and historians write, that before his death he said to the parents of his wife : " You gave me her a virgin, and I restore you her a virgin : " a very strange declaration from an husband, and still more strange from a crowned husband. He died July 14, and his body is carried to Bamberg, which was his favourite town. The canons of
Bamberg

Bamberg canonized him an hundred years after his death.



CONRAD II.

Surnamed THE SALIC.

SIXTEENTH EMPEROR.

1024.

ONE cannot sufficiently wonder at the prodigious number of dissertations upon the seven pretended electors who were supposed to be instituted at this time. Be this as it will, there never had been a greater assembly than that in which Conrad II. was elected. They were obliged to hold it in the open fields, between Worms and Mentz. The dukes of Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Suabia, Franconia, of High and Low Lorrain, together with a prodigious number of counts, bishops and abbots, gave their votes. It must be observed that the magistrates of the towns were present, though they did not give their suffrages. They incamped six weeks in the field of election, before it was determined.

At length the choice fell upon Conrad surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the river Sal. He was a nobleman of Franconia, whom they derived from Otho the Great by the female line. In all probability he was chosen as the least dangerous of all the pretenders. Indeed, we find no great towns belonging to him; and he is no more the chief of powerful

powerful vassals, every one of whom is as powerful as himself.

1025,

1026.

Germany was always considered as the center of the empire ; and the name of the emperor seems to have been confounded with that of the king of Germany. The Italians snatched all opportunities to separate these two titles.

The deputies of the great fiefs in Italy, come and offer the empire to Robert, king of France ; at that time, it was the present of an unsubstantial title, and of substantial wars : therefore Robert wisely refuses the proffer. They address themselves to the duke of Guienne, a peer of France, who accepts it, because he had less to lose. But pope John XX. and the archbishop of Milan, bring Conrad the Salic into Italy. First of all his son Henry must be elected and crowned king of Germany. It was then the custom of France, and of every other nation.

He is obliged to besiege Pavia. He undergoes seditions at Ravenna. Every German emperor though invited to Italy, meets with a bad reception.

1027.

Scarce is Conrad crowned at Rome, when he finds himself no longer in safety. He returns to Germany, where he finds a faction against him. These are the causes of the frequent journeys of the emperors.

1028, 1029, 1030.

Henry, duke of Bavaria, being dead, Stephen, king of Hungary, his relation by his mother, demands Bavaria, to the prejudice of the last duke's son. A proof that the rights of blood

were not yet thoroughly established : indeed, nothing was. The emperor gives Bavaria to the son. The Hungarians attempt to take it by force of arms. They fight, and then peace is made ; and, after the death of this Stephen, the emperor has credit enough to raise one Peter, a kinsman of Stephen, to the throne of Hungary : he has moreover power enough to exact homage, and extort a tribute from the said Peter, whom the incensed Hungarians call Peter the German. The popes, who still believed they had erected Hungary into a kingdom, would not have wished to hear him called Peter the Roman.

Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had taken arms against the emperor, is put to the ban of the empire. Ban, at first, signified Banner, afterwards Edict, or proclamation, and then Banishment. This is one of the first examples of that proscription. The form was : " We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans, and we send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth."

1031, 1032.

At this time the sovereigns of Silesia began to be known. They are neither under the yoke of Bohemia nor of Poland. Poland insensibly detaches itself from the empire, which it will no longer acknowledge.

1032, 1033, 1034.

If the empire loses one vassal in Poland, it acquires an hundred in the kingdom of Burgundy.

Rhodolphus, the last king, who had no children, leaves at his death his dominions to Conrad the Salic. This was but a very small

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extent

extent of dominion, with the territorial superiority, or at least pretensions to the superiority, that is, right of paramount over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche Comte, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiny. From hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still called the Lands of the empire. All the noblemen of those cantons, who formerly held of Rhodolphus, now hold of the emperor.

Some bishops were likewise erected into feudatory princes. Conrad gave them all the same rights. The emperors still raise the bishops in order to oppose them to the noblemen; for they were always at ease when those two bodies were divided, and very much disturbed when they were united.

The sees of Lyons, Besançon, Ambrun, Vienna, Lausanne, Geneva, Basil, Grenoble, Valence, Gap, and Die, were imperial fiefs.

Of all the feudatories of Burgundy, one only lays the foundations of a durable power. That is Humbert, with the white Hands, from whom the dukes of Savoy are descended. He had no more than the Morienne, when the emperor gave him the Chablaie, the Valais, and St. Maurice: in the same manner, from Poland to the Scheld, and from the Saone to Garillan, the emperors every where created princes, and looked upon themselves as lords paramount of almost all Europe.

From 1035 to 1039.

Italy, still involved in troubles, recalls Conrad. That same archbishop of Milan, who had crowned the emperor, was for that very reason against him; because his rights and pretensions were augmented by it. Conrad causes him to be

HENRY III.

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be apprehended with three other bishops. He is afterwards obliged to besiege Milan, which, however, he could not take. There he loses part of his army, and of consequence, his credit at Rome.

He goes to make laws at Beneventum and Capua; but, in the mean time, the Norman adventurers make conquests in that country.

At length he re-enters Milan by means of negotiations, and returns to Germany, according to custom.

He is taken ill, and dies at Utrecht *, June 4, 1039.



HENRY III.

SEVENTEENTH EMPEROR.

From 1039 to 1042.

HENRY III. surnamed *the Black*, son of Conrad, already crowned while his father was alive, is acknowledged without difficulty. He is crowned and consecrated a second time by the archbishop of Cologne. The first years of his reign are signalized by wars with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, which however, produce no great event.

He bestows the archbishopric of Lyons, and

* Leaving behind him the reputation of a just, generous and magnanimous Prince. A gentleman, who had lost his leg in his service, was gratified with as many pieces of gold as one of his boots could contain, which the emperor told him, were given to defray the expence of his cure,

invests the archbishop, by the cross and ring, without any contradiction; two circumstances very remarkable, which prove that Lyons was an imperial town, and that the kings possessed the right of investing bishops.

From 1042 to 1046.

Rome and Italy were involved as usual in great confusion.

The house of Toscanella had always the chief authority in Rome. It had purchased the pontificate for a child of twelve years of age belonging to that family. Two others having purchased it at the same time, these three pontiffs shared the revenues equally among them, and agreed to live peaceably, leaving all political affairs to the chief of the house of Toscanella.

This singular triumvirate continued as long as they had money to consult their pleasures; and when they had no more, each sold his part of the papacy to the deacon Gratian, whom father Maimbourg calls An Holy Priest, a man of quality, very rich. But as young Benedict XI. had been elected a long time before the other two, he by a solemn agreement was allowed to enjoy the tribute which England then paid to Rome, under the appellation of St. Peter's Pence; and to which the kings of England had long submitted.

This Gratian, who took the name of Gregory VI. and who is reckoned to have conducted himself wisely, enjoyed the pontificate in peace, when the emperor Henry III. came to Rome.

Never emperor exercised more authority in that place. He deposed Gregory VI. as having been

been guilty of simony, and nominated to the papacy his own chancellor, Suidger *, bishop of Bamberg, without any person's daring to murmur.

The chancellor, become pope, consecrates the emperor and his wife, and promises all that the popes have at any time promised to the emperors, when these last happened to be the stronger.

1047.

Henry III. bestows the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and almost all the Beneventine, except the town of Beneventum, and its territory, upon the Norman princes, who had conquered these countries from the Greeks and Saracens. The popes did not, at that time, pretend to give these dominions. The town of Beneventum then belonged to the Pandolphi of Toscanella.

The emperor returns to Germany, and fills all the vacant sees.

1048.

The duchy of Mosellanic Lorrain is given to Gerard of Alsace, and that of Low-Lorrain to the house of Luxembourg. The house of Alsace, since that time, is known only by the titles of marquises and dukes of Lorrain.

The pope being dead, we again find the emperor giving a pope to Rome, just as he gave away any other benefice. Henry III. sends a Bavarian called Popo, who is immediately acknowledged as pope, under the name of Damasus II.

* Alias Heidegger.

1049.

Damasus dying, the emperor, in the assembly of Worms, nominates Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the papacy, and sends him to take possession. This is pope Leo IX. the first who kept his own bishopric together with that of Rome. It is not surprising that the emperors should thus dispose of the holy see. Theodora and Marosia had accustomed the Romans to this submission, and without Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. the pontificate would have been always dependent. Their feet would have been kissed, and they themselves would have been slaves.

1050, 1051, 1052.

The Hungarians kill their king Peter, renounce the Christian religion, and the homage they had done to the empire. Henry III. makes war upon them unsuccessfully * ; and cannot put an end to it any other way, but by giving his daughter in marriage to Andrew the new king, who was a Christian, although his subjects were not.

1053.

Pope Leo IX. comes to Worms, to complain to the emperor that the Norman princes were become too powerful.

Henry III. resumes the feodal rights of Bamberg, and gives the pope the town of Bene-

* So says Heiss; but the Saxon Chronicles affirm that he defeated Andrew in a bloody battle, deprived him of great part of his dominions, and obliged him to accept of peace, on condition that he should pay a large yearly tribute in money, and furnish him with a certain number of fighting men,

ventum in exchange. He could give the pope no more than the town, as the Norman princes had done homage to the empire for the rest of the dutchy : but the emperor furnished the pope with an army to expel these new conquerors, who were become too near neighbours to Rome.

Leo IX. marches against them with this army, one half of which is commanded by ecclesiastics.

Humfroid, Richard, and Robert Guiscard, or Guichard, those Normans so famous in history, cut in pieces the pope's army, though three times as numerous as their own. They take the pope prisoner, prostrate themselves before him, and lead him captive to the town of Beneventum.

1054.

The emperor affects absolute power. The duke of Bavaria being at war with the bishop of Ratisbon, Henry III. espouses the bishop's cause, summons the duke of Bavaria to appear before his privy council, strips him of his dominions, and gives Bavaria to his own son Henry, about three years of age. This is the famous Henry IV.

The duke of Bavaria takes refuge among the Hungarians, whom he in vain endeavours to interest in his revenge.

The emperor proposes to the noblemen, who are most attached to his interest, to secure the empire to his son, who was an infant. He is accordingly declared king of the Romans, in the castle of Tribur near Mentz. This was not a new title. It had been assumed by Ludolphus, the son of Otho I.

1055.

He makes a treaty of alliance with Contarini duke of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful ; though it did not coin money 'till after the year 950 ; and was not enfranchised 'till after 998, from the acknowledgment of a mantle of cloth of gold, the only tribute which it had paid to the emperors.

Genoa was its rival in power and commerce. She was already in possession of Corsica, which she had taken from the Arabians ; but her trade was much more advantageous than the possession of Corsica, which the Pisans disputed with her.

There were no such towns in Germany ; all beyond the Rhine was poor and wretched. The people of the North, and those of the East, still poorer, continued to ravage these countries.

1056.

The *Slaves* make another irruption ; and desolate the dutchy of Saxony.

Henry III. dies near Paderborn, in the arms of pope Victor II. who before his death consecrates his son Henry emperor, in the sixth year of his age.



HENRY IV.

EIGHTEENTH EMPEROR.

1056.

A Woman governs the empire. She was French, daughter of a duke of Guienne, peer of France, called Agnes, mother of the young

young emperor Henry IV. She, who had by right of guardianship the patrimonial estates of her son, had that of the empire, because she was possessed of courage and address.

From 1057 to 1069.

The first years of the reign of Henry IV. are obscure times of trouble.

Private noblemen make war upon one another in Germany. The duke of Bohemia, still vassal of the empire, is attacked by Poland, which will no longer be a member of it.

The Hungarians, so long formidable to Germany, are at length obliged to solicit succours of the Germans against the Poles, become dangerous, and notwithstanding that succour they are defeated. King Andrew and his queen fly for refuge to Ratisbon.

No policy or great design seems to have influenced these wars, which are produced from the slightest causes; sometimes they are derived from the spirit of Chivalry, by this time introduced into Germany. A count of Holland, for example, goes to war against the bishops of Cologne and Liege, on account of a quarrel that happened in a tournament.

The rest of Europe takes no share in the affairs of Germany, there is no war with France, no influence in England and the North, and very little at that time in Italy, though Henry IV. was both king and emperor of that country.

The empress Agnes finds it difficult to maintain her regency.

At length, in 1061, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of Henry IV. the archbishop of Cologne, and other princes, carry off the em-

peror from his mother, who is accused of sacrificing every thing to the bishop of Augsbourg, her minister and gallant. She flies to Rome, and there takes the veil; and the noblemen remain masters of the emperor, and of Germany during his minority.

Mean while, after abundance of troubles in Italy, still excited on account of the pontificate, pope Nicholas II. in 1059, had decreed in a council of an hundred and thirteen bishops, that for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, who should afterwards be presented to the people, to have the election confirmed. "Saying, added he, the honour and respect due to our dear son Henry, now king, who, if it pleases God, shall be emperor, according to the right which we have already conferred upon him."

Thus advantage was taken of the minority of Henry IV. to establish the rights and pretensions which the pontiffs of Rome always maintained when they could.

At that time a custom was established, which the dread of the rapaciousness of a thousand petty tyrants of Italy had introduced. A man gave his lands to the church under the title of Oblata, and continued feudatory possessor for a slight acknowledgment. This is the origin of the superiority of Rome, over the kingdom of Naples.

The same pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman conquerors, made protectors and vassals of them, and those who were feudatories of the empire, and less afraid of the popes than of the emperors, do homage for their lands to pope Nicholas, in the

council

council of Melphi, in the year 1059. The popes in the beginning of their power resembled the caliphs in the decay of their dominions; they bestowed the investiture on the strongest competitor.

Robert receives of the pope the ducal crown of Apuglia and Calabria, and is invested by the standard. Richard is confirmed prince of Capua; and the pope, moreover, gives them Sicily, in case they expel the Saracens from that island.

In effect, Robert and his brothers make themselves masters of Sicily in 1061, and thereby do the greatest service to Italy.

It was not till long after this period that the popes got possession of Beneventum, left by the Norman princes to the Pandolphi of the house of Toscanella.

1069.

Henry IV. being now of age, frees himself from the captivity in which he was detained by the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria.

Every thing was then in the most horrible confusion. This may be judged by the right of ransoming travellers; a right which all the noblemen from the Maine and the Weser to the country of the Slaves, reckoned among their feudal prerogatives.

The right of pillaging the emperor seemed likewise very natural to the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, and the marquis of Thuringia, who form an association against him.

1070.

Henry IV. assisted by the rest of the empire, dissipates this association.

Otho of Bavaria is put to the ban of the empire. He was the second sovereign of that du-

chy who underwent this disgrace. The emperor gives Bavaria to Guelfe, son of Azo marquis of Italy.

1071, 1072.

The emperor, though young and addicted to pleasure, makes a progress through Germany, to establish some sort of order.

The year 1072 is the first æra of the famous quarrel about the investitures.

Alexander II. had been elected pope without consulting the imperial court, in spite of which he had maintained his station. Hildebrand, born at Soanne in Tuscany, of parents unknown, a monk of Clugni under the abbot Odilo, and afterwards cardinal, governed the pontificate. He is well known by the name of Gregory VII. a man of an enterprizing genius, turbulent, and fiery, but artful, even in the midst of his impetuosity; the most insolent of men, and the most zealous of priests. He had already by his councils established and reinforced the authority of the church.

He persuades pope Alexander to summon the emperor to his tribunal. This would seem to have been a ridiculous piece of rashness; but if we consider the situation of the emperor, it was not. Saxony, Thuringia, and great part of Germany, had then declared against Henry IV.

1073.

Alexander II. dying, Hildebrand has credit enough to be elected by the people, without asking the votes of the cardinals, or waiting for the emperor's consent. He writes to that prince, that he had been elected against his will, and was ready to resign. Henry IV. sends his chan-

cellor to confirm the election of the pope, who having nothing further to fear, takes off the mask.

1074.

Henry continues to make war upon the Saxons, and the association formed against him. Henry IV. is conqueror.

1075.

The Russians began to be Christians, and to be known in the West.

One Demetrius (for the Greek names had penetrated even to that part of the world) expelled from his dominions by his brother, comes to Mentz, and implores the assistance of the emperor; and what is still more remarkable, sends his son to Rome to prostrate himself at the feet of Gregory VII. as the judge of the Christians. The emperor was counted the temporal, and the pope the spiritual chieftain of Europe.

Henry totally destroys the association, and restores peace to the empire.

He seems to have been afraid of new revolutions; for he writes a very humble letter to the pope, in which he accuses himself of debauchery and simony; and we must believe his word. His confession gives Gregory the right of rebuking him. This is the fairest of all rights: But it does not give him that of disposing of crowns.

Gregory VII. writes to the bishops of Bremen, Constance, the archbishop of Mentz, and others, and orders them to come to Rome. "You have permitted clerks, says he, to keep concubines, and even to take new ones;—we order

order you to appear at the first council in Rome."

It was also necessary to settle the affair of tythes, which the bishops and abbots of Germany disputed with one another.

Gregory VII. is the first who proposes a crusade. He writes on that subject to Henry IV. he pretends that he himself will go and deliver the holy sepulchre at the head of fifty thousand men, and desires the emperor to come and serve under him. The then prevailing spirit divests this idea of the pope of the air of madness, and leaves nothing but that of greatness.

The design of commanding the emperor, and all the kings, seems no less chimerical, yet this is what he undertakes, and not without some success.

Salomon, king of Hungary, driven from part of his dominions, and being master of no more than what lies between Presburg and Austria, comes to Worms, and renews the homage of Hungary to the empire.

Gregory VII. writes to him, "You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church. Learn that you will incur the indignation of the holy see, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of it, and not of the king of Germany."

The pope exacts of the duke of Bohemia an hundred marks of silver, an annual tribute, and gives him, by way of recompence, the right of wearing the mitre.

1076.

Henry IV. always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving the investiture

vestiture by the cross and the ring. This right he had in common with almost all princes. It naturally belongs to the people to choose their own pontiffs and magistrates; and it is but just that their choice should concur with the royal authority; but this authority had usurped the whole. The emperors filled vacant bishoprics, and Henry IV. sold them. Gregory, in opposing this abuse, maintained the natural liberty of mankind; but in opposing the concurrence of the imperial authority, he introduced a still greater abuse. Then broke out the divisions between the empire and the church.

The predecessors of Gregory VII. had sent legates to the emperors, for no other purpose but to intreat their succour, and desire them to come and be crowned in Rome. Gregory sends two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent.

The legates, at their arrival at Goslar, are abandoned to the insults of the servants. By way of answer, a diet is held at Worms, at which almost all the noblemen, bishops, and abbots of Germany are present.

There a cardinal, called Hugh, demands justice for all the crimes he imputes to the pope. Gregory is deposed by a majority of voices; but there ought to have been an army to go and support that judgment at Rome.

The pope, on his side, deposes the emperor by a bull. "I forbid him, says he, to govern the Teutonic kingdom and Italy, and release all his subjects from their oath of allegiance."

Gregory, more cunning than the emperor, well knew that these excommunications would be decodced by civil wars. He brings over the

German

German bishops to his party. These bishops engage the noblemen. They are joined by the Saxons, Henry's old enemies. The excommunication of Henry IV. serves them as a pretext.

That same Guelfe to whom the emperor had given Bavaria, arms himself against him by means of his own bounty, and supports the malecontents.

At length, the majority of the bishops, and even of the princes who had deposed Gregory VII. subject their emperor to the judgment of that pope. They desire that the pope will come and judge the emperor definitively at Augsburg.

1077.

The emperor would fain prevent this fatal judgment of Augsbourg, and in consequence of an unheard of resolution, goes, attended by a few domestics, to implore absolution of the Pope.

The Pope was then in the fortress of Canossa, upon the Appennine, with the countess Mathilda, the emperor's own cousin.

The countess Mathilda is the true cause of all the wars between the emperors and the popes, which have so long ravaged Italy. She possessed, in her own right, great part of Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost the whole of what is now called The Patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvietta, part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the march of Ancona. She was called The Great Countess, sometimes Duchess. There was not then any form of titles used in Europe. People said to kings, "Your excellency, your serenity, your grandeur, and your grace,

grace," indifferently. The title of Majesty was rarely given to the emperors, and was rather an epithet than a name of honour attributed to the imperial dignity. There is still extant the patent of a donation of Mathilda to the bishop of Modena, which begins thus: "In presence of Mathilda, by the grace of God, duchess and countess." Her mother, who was sister of Henry III. and very ill treated by her brother, had brought up this powerful princess in an implacable hatred to the house of Henry. She was submissive to the Pope, who was her director, and, as his enemies say, her gallant. Her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred to the Germans, she carried to such a length as to make a donation of all her territories to the Pope.

It was in presence of this countess Mathilda, that the emperor, in the month of January, 1077, barefoot and in hair-cloth prostrated himself at the Pope's feet, swearing that he would be submissive to him in all things, and go and wait his decree at Augsbourg.

All the noblemen of Lombardy now began to be more dissatisfied with the Pope than the emperor. Mathilda's donation filled them with alarm: they promise to succour Henry IV. if he will break the shameful treaty he has made. Then the world saw, what had never been seen before, a German emperor assisted by Italy and abandoned by his own country.

The noblemen and bishops assembled at Forcheim in Franconia, animated by the Pope's legates, depose the emperor, and reunite their suffrages in favour of Rodolphus of Rhinfeld, duke of Suabia.

1078.

Gregory then behaves like the supreme judge of kings: he has deposed Henry IV. but still it is in his power to pardon that monarch: he takes it amiss that they did not wait for his precise order to consecrate him, who was newly elected at Mentz: he declares from the fortress of Canossa, where he was blocked up by the noblemen of Lombardy, that he will acknowledge for emperor and king of Germany him of the competitors who shall obey him the most implicitly.

Henry IV. returns to Germany, reanimates his party, and levies an army. Almost all Germany is, by means of the two factions, involved in blood and flames.

1079.

All the bishops are in arms in this war. A bishop of Strasbourg, one of Henry's partisans, goes and plunders all the convents which had declared for the Pope.

1080.

While they fight in Germany, Gregory VII. escapes from the Lombards, excommunicates Henry a-new, and by his bull of the 7th of March, "We give, says he, the Teutonic kingdom to Rodolphus, and we condemn Henry to be vanquished."

He sends to Rodolphus a crown of gold, with this wretched verse, so well known:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

Henry IV. on his side, assembles thirty bishops, with some German and Lombard noblemen at Brixen, and deposes the Pope for the second time, as ineffectually as at first.

Bertrand

Bertrand count of Provence withdraws himself from his obedience to the emperors, and does homage to the Pope. The town of Arles continues faithful to Henry.

Gregory VII. fortifies himself with the protection of the Norman princes, and gives them a new investiture, on condition that they shall always defend the popes.

Gregory encourages Rodolphus and his party, and promises that Henry shall die within the year: but, in the famous battle of Mersbourg, Henry IV. assisted by Godfrey of Bouillon, retorts the Pope's prediction upon his competitor. Rodolphus, who is mortally wounded by Godfrey's own hand*.

1081.
Henry revenges himself upon Saxony, which then becomes the most miserable of all countries.

Before his departure for Italy, he gives his daughter Agnes in marriage to Frederick baron of Stauffen, who, as well as Godfrey of Bouillon, had helped him to gain the decisive battle of Mersbourg. The duchy of Suabia is her dower. This is the origin of the illustrious and unfortunate house of Suabia.

Henry, being conqueror, marches into Italy. The places belonging to the countess Mathilda make resistance. He carries along with him a

* Rodolphus perceiving his end approaching, caused his hand which was cut off to be brought to him; and addressing himself to the officers that were present, "Behold, said he, the hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to Henry, which I have violated at the instigation of Rome, in perfidiously aspiring at an honour which was not my due."

Pope

Pope of his own making, called Guibert: but this very circumstance hinders him at first from being received in Rome.

1082.

The Saxons set up the shadow of an emperor, one count Herman, scarce known in the world.

1083.

Henry besieges Rome. Gregory proposes to him to come once more and demand absolution, and promises to crown him on these terms. Henry, instead of answering, takes the city, and the Pope shuts himself up in the castle of St. Angelo.

Robert Guiscard comes to his assistance, although he had, some years before, had his share of the excommunications which Gregory so liberally bestowed. A negotiation is set on foot, and the Pope promises to crown Henry.

Gregory proposes to keep his promise by lowering down the crown with a rope, from the walls of the castle of St. Angelo, upon the emperor's head.

1084.

Henry is not satisfied with the pleasant ceremony: he exalts his antipope Guibert, and is solemnly crowned by his hands.

Mean while Robert Guiscard, having received a reinforcement of troops, compels the emperor to retire *, releases the Pope from the castle of St. Angelo, becomes at once his protector and master, and carries him to Salerno, where Gregory continues till his death the pri-

* While Henry repaired upon some very urgent affairs to Lombardy, Guiscard came to Rome, and delivered Gregory.

soner of his deliverers ; but still talking as the master of kings, and martyr of the church.

1085.

The emperor returns to Rome, where he causes himself and his Pope to be acknowledged, and retreats with great haste to Germany, like all his predecessors, who seem to have come and taken Rome merely by way of ceremony. He is recalled by the divisions of Germany ; and there is a necessity for crushing the anti-emperor, and taming the Saxons : but he never could raise great armies ; consequently his success could never be compleat.

1086.

He subdues Thuringia ; but Bavaria, debauched by the ingratitude of Guelfe, and half Suabia, which would not acknowledge his son-in-law, declare against him ; and a civil war rages through all Germany.

1087.

Gregory VII. being dead, Didier, abbot of Monte Cassini, is Pope, under the name of Victor III. The countess Mathilda, still faithful to her hatred of Henry IV. furnishes this victor with troops to expel the emperor's garrison and his pope Guibert from Rome. Victor dies, and Rome continues subject to the imperial authority.

1088.

The anti-emperor Hernan, having now neither money nor troops, comes and throws himself on his knees before Henry IV. and dies at last in oblivion.

1089.

Henry IV. marries a Russian princess, widow of a marquis of Brandenburg, of the house of Staden.

Staden. This was by no means a political match.

He gives the marquissate of Misnia to the count of Lansberg, one of the most antient Saxon noblemen: from this marquis of Misnia is the whole house of Saxony descended.

Having pacified Germany, he repairs again to Italy. The greatest obstacle he there finds, is still that countess Mathilda, lately remarried to young Guelfe, son of that ungrateful Guelfe to whom Henry IV. had given Bavaria.

The countess maintains the war in her dominions against the emperor, who returns to Germany, without having done any thing to purpose.

This Guelfe, Mathilda's husband, is said to have been the first origin of the faction of the Guelfs; by which name the party of the popes in Italy was afterwards called. The word Ghibelin was long after applied to the faction of the emperors, because Henry son of Conrad III. was born at Ghibeling. This derivation of these two words of war, is as probable and as uncertain as the others.

1090.

The new pope Urban II. author of the crusades, pursues Henry IV. with no less rancour than that of Gregory VII.

The bishops of Constance and Passau excite an insurrection of the people. His new wife Adelaide of Russia, and his son Conrad, born of Bertha, revolt against him. Never was emperor, husband, or father, more unfortunate than Henry IV.

1091.

The empress Adelaide and her son-in-law
Conrad

Conrad pass into Italy. The countess Mathilda furnishes them with troops and money, Roger duke of Calabria gives his daughter in marriage to Conrad.

Pope Urban, having made this powerful league, does not fail to excommunicate the emperor.

1092.

The emperor, when he last departed from Italy, had left a garrison in Rome: he was still master of the palace of the Lateran, which was pretty strong, and in which his pope Guibert had taken refuge.

The commandant of the garrison sells both garrison and palace to the Pope. Jeffrey, abbot of Vendome, who was then at Rome, lends Urban money to make this bargain, and Urban reimburses him with the title of Cardinal, which he settles upon him and his successors. Pope Guibert betakes himself to flight.

1093,

1094,

1095.

During these years, the minds of men in Europe are engrossed by the idea of Crusades which the famous Peter the hermit preached up every where, with an enthusiasm which spread like contagion from town to town.

A great council, or rather a prodigious assembly is held at Placentia in 1095. There were above forty thousand men, and the council was held in the open field. There the pope proposes the crusade.

There the empress Adelaide and the countess Mathilda solemnly demanded justice of the emperor Henry IV.

Conrad comes and kisses the feet of Urban II. takes the oath of fidelity to him, and leads his horse

horse by the bridle. Urban promises to crown him emperor on condition that he will renounce the right of investiture. He afterwards kisses him on the face, and dines with him in Cremona.

1096.

The crusade having been preached in France with more success than at Placentia, Walter Lack-Means, Peter the hermit, and a German monk called Godescald, take their march through Germany, at the head of an army of vagabonds.

1097.

As these vagabonds wore the cross and had no money, and the Jews who carried on all the trade of Germany had a great deal, the Crusards began their expeditions with them at Worms, Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and several other cities. They are massacred and burnt. Almost the whole city of Mentz is reduced to ashes by these disorders.

The emperor Henry represses these excesses as much as he can, and leaves the Crusards to take their route through Hungary, where they are almost all murdered.

Young Guelfe quarrels with his wife Mathilda. There is a separation between them, and this quarrel contributes a little to the re-establishment of the emperor's affairs.

1098.

Henry holds a diet at Aix-la-chapelle, where he causes his son Conrad to be declared unworthy to reign.

1099.

He causes his second son Henry to be elected and crowned, never dreaming that he would have

have greater cause of complaint against the younger than against the elder.

1100.

The emperor's authority is absolutely destroyed in Italy, but re-established in Germany.

1101.

The rebellious Conrad dies suddenly at Florence. Pope Paschal II. to whom the emperor's impotent lieutenants in Italy had in vain opposed Antipopes, excommunicates Henry IV. after the example of his predecessors.

1102.

The countess Mathilda having quarrelled with her husband, renews her donation to the Roman Church.

Bruno archbishop of Triers, primate to the Gauls of Germany, having been invested by the emperor, goes to Rome, where he is obliged to ask pardon for having received the investiture.

1104.

Henry IV. promises to go to the Holy-land. This was the only way at that time of conciliating the affections of his subjects.

1105.

But at the same time, the archbishop of Mentz and the bishop of Constance, the pope's legates, perceiving the emperor's crusade was no more than a feint to excite his son Henry against him, they release him from the excommunication which (say they) he has incurred 'By being faithful to his father.' The pope encourages him; and several Saxon and Bavarian noblemen are gained over.

The partizans of young Henry assemble a council and an army: and in this council wise laws are made. There they confirm what is

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called

called God's Truce; a monument of the horrible barbarity which prevailed in those times. This truce was an edict forbidding the noblemen and barons who were at open war, to slay one another on Sundays and holidays.

Young Henry protests in the council, that he is ready to submit to his father; if his father will submit to the pope. The whole council cried *Kyrie eleyson**, which was the prayer used in armies and councils.

Mean while this rebellious son engages the marquis of Austria in his party, together with the duke of Bohemia. The dukes of Bohemia sometimes took the title of king, since the pope had given them the mitre.

His party grows stronger and stronger. The emperor in vain writes to pope Paschal, who will not listen to his proposals. A diet is summoned at Mentz in order to appease so many troubles.

Young Henry feigns a reconciliation with his father, asks pardon of him with tears in his eyes, and having allured him into the castle of Bingenheim in the neighbourhood of Mentz, causes him to be apprehended and detained in prison.

1106.

The diet of Mentz declares for this perfidious son against the unfortunate father. The emperor receives an intimation that he must send the imperial ornaments to young Henry. They are taken from him by force and carried to Mentz, where the unnatural usurper is crowned. But he protests with a sigh, it is

* Two Greek words signifying, *Lord have mercy.*

against

against his own inclination, and that he will restore the crown to his father, as soon as Henry IV. shall be obedient to the pope.

We find in the constitutions of Goldast a letter from the emperor to his son, in which he conjures him to allow the bishop of Liege to grant him an asylum at least. "Allow me," says he, "to continue at Liege, if not as emperor, at least as refugee. Let it not be said to my shame, or rather to yours, that I am forced to beg lodgings in Easter-time. If you grant me what I ask I shall be greatly obliged to you: if you refuse me, I will go and rather live as a poor cottager in a foreign country, than wander thus from one disgrace to another in an empire which was once my own."

What a letter is this from an emperor to his son! The hypocrisy and inflexible cruelty of this young prince restored some partizans to Henry IV. The new elected emperor in attempting to violate his father's asylum at Liege, was repulsed. He went to exact the oath of allegiance in Alsace; and all the homage the Alsatians did was to beat the troops by which he was accompanied, so that he was compelled to betake himself to flight. But this slight check served only to incense him, and aggravate the miseries of his father.

The emperor was protected by the bishop of Liege, the dukes of Limburg and Low-Lorraine. The count of Hainault was against him. Pope Paschal wrote to the count of Hainault; "Persecute without ceasing Henry chief of the heretics, and his fautors: you cannot offer more agreeable sacrifices to God."

Henry IV. at length being almost quite destitute of relief, and on the brink of being forced in Liege, writes to the abbot of Clugni, and seems to have meditated a retreat in that convent. He dies at Liege, August 7. overwhelmed with grief, and crying aloud "O God of vengeance ! thou wilt revenge this parricide." It was an opinion equally ancient and vain, that God fulfilled the curses of dying men, especially those of parents : an error which would be very useful if it could terrify those who deserve such curses.

The unnatural son of Henry IV. comes to Liege, orders his father's body to be dug up from the church, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, and to be put in a vault at Spire.



HENRY V. NINETEENTH EMPEROR.

THE lords of the great fiefs then began to fortify themselves in the right of sovereignty. They assumed the name of *Caimperantes*, looking upon themselves as sovereigns in their fiefs and vassals of the empire, not of the emperor. They indeed received of him the vacant fiefs ; but the same authority that bestowed them could not take them away. Thus in Poland the king confers the palatinates ; but the republic alone has the right of destitution. In effect one may receive through favour, but he ought not to be dispossessed but by justice. Several vassals of
the

the empire had already intitled themselves dukes and counts "By the grace of God."

This independence which the noblemen confirmed to themselves, and which the emperors endeavoured to reduce, contributed at least as much as the popes, to the troubles of the empire, and the rebellion of children against their own fathers.

The power of the grandees derived growth from the impotence of the throne. This feudal government was nearly the same in France and Arragon. There was no longer any kingdom in Italy. All the noblemen there fortified themselves separately. Europe was wholly roughened with castles and covered with banditti. Barbarity and ignorance prevailed. The inhabitants of the country were slaves, the burghers of the town were despised and racked with impositions, and some trading towns in Italy excepted, Europe from one end to the other was nothing but a theatre of misery.

The first thing done by Henry V. after his coronation, is to maintain the same right of investiture against which he had taken arms to dethrone his father.

Pope Paschal being come to France goes as far as Chaalons in Champagne, to confer with the German princes and bishops who come thither in the emperor's name.

That numerous embassy at first refuses to make the first visit to the pope. At length, however, they go to his lodgings. Bruno archbishop of Triers supports the right of the emperor. It would have been much more natural for an archbishop to exclaim against those investitures and homages of which the bishops

made such loud complaints ; but private interest always overbalances that of the public.

1107, 1108, 1109, 1110.

These four years are almost wholly employed in wars against Hungary and part of Poland ; wars without cause, and without any great success on either side, which ended in the weariness of all parties, and left things exactly as they were.

1111.

The emperor at the end of this war marries the daughter of Henry I. king of England, second son and successor of William the conqueror. It is pretended that his wife had for dower, a sum amounting to about nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. This was equal to above five millions of German crowns, as they are now valued, or to twenty millions of France. All the historians fail in point of exactness in recording such facts, and the history of those times is too often a heap of exaggerations.

At length the emperor turns his thoughts upon Italy and the imperial crown ; and pope Paschal II. in order to disturb him, renews the quarrel of the investitures.

Henry V. sends ambassadors to Rome, followed by an army. In the mean time he promises by a writing still preserved in the Vatican to renounce the investitures, and to leave the popes in possession of all they had received from the emperors ; and what is strange enough, after these submissions he promises not to kill or mutilate the sovereign pontiff.

Paschal II. by the same act promises to order the bishops to abandon to the emperor all their
fiefs

fiefs holding of the empire; by this agreement the bishops lost a great deal; but the pope and emperor were considerable gainers.

All the bishops of Italy and Germany, who were at Rome, protesting against this agreement, Henry V. in order to appease them, proposes that they shall farm the lands of which they were formerly in possession. But the bishops will by no means consent to be farmers.

Henry V. wearied with all these contests, declares he will be crowned and consecrated without any condition at all. This whole dispute passed in the church of St. Peter during mass, which being ended the emperor ordered his guards to take the pope into custody.

There is an insurrection in Rome in favour of the pope. The emperor is obliged to make his escape; but returns immediately with troops; fights a bloody battle in Rome, kills abundance of Romans, and especially priests, and carries off the pope prisoner with some cardinals.

Paschal was more complaisant in prison than at the altar; he does every thing that the emperor desires. At the end of two months Henry V. reconducts the holy father to Rome at the head of his troops. The pope crowns him emperor April 13th, and at the same time gives him the bull by which he is confirmed in the right of the investitures. It is remarkable that in this bull he gives him no other title but that of *dilection*. But it is still more so, that the emperor and pope should communicate of the same host, and that the pope should say, when he gave the half of the host to the emperor, "As this part of the sacrament is divided from the other, so may the first of us two, who shall

break the peace, be separated from the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

Henry V. finishes the farce by asking the Pope's permission to bury his father in consecrated ground, assuring him he died penitent: then he returns to Germany to perform the obsequies of Henry IV. without having established his power in Italy.

1112.

Paschal II. is not displeased to find his cardinals and legates in all kingdoms disavowing his condescension for Henry V.

He assembles a council in the basilic of St. John of Lateran, where, in presence of three hundred prelates, he asks pardon for his weakness, offers to resign the pontificate, cancels and annuls all he had done, and debases himself in order to exalt the church.

1113.

Perhaps Paschal II. and his council would not have taken this step, if they had not depended upon one of those revolutions, which have always followed the consecration of the emperors. In effect, there were troubles in Germany about the imperial treasury; another source of civil wars.

1114.

Lotharius duke of Saxony, afterwards emperor, is at the head of the faction against Henry V. That emperor having occasion, like his father, to fight the Saxons, is like him defended by the house of Suabia. Frederick de Staufen, duke of Suabia and father of the emperor Barbarossa, prevents Henry V. from sinking in these troubles.

1112.

1115.

The most dangerous enemies of Henry V. are three priests; the Pope in Italy, the archbishop of Mentz, who sometimes defeats his troops, and Erlang bishop of Wirtzburg, who, being sent by him to the confederates, betrays his master, and espouses their cause.

1116.

Henry V. being conqueror, puts Erlang bishop of Wirtzburg to the ban of the empire. The bishops of Wirtzburg pretended they were direct lords of all Franconia, although they were dukes of that country, and the duchy itself belonged to the imperial house.

The duchy of Franconia is given to Conrad nephew of Henry V. At present there are no dukes, either of this great province, or of Suabia.

Bishop Erlang defends himself for a long time in Wirtzburg, disputes the ramparts sword in hand, and makes his escape when the town is taken.

The famous countess Mathilda dies, after having renewed the donation of all her estate to the Roman church.

1117.

The emperor Henry V. disinherited by his cousin, and excommunicated by the Pope, goes to Italy to take possession of Mathilda's lands, and be revenged upon his Holiness: he enters Rome, and the Pope flies for shelter among the Norman princes, the new vassals and protectors of the church.

The first coronation of the emperor appearing equivocal, a second is performed, which is still more so. An archbishop of Braga in Por-

tugal, a Limoufin by birth, called Bourdin, takes it in his head to consecrate the emperor.

1118.

After the ceremony Henry goes to secure Tuscany. Paschal II. returns to Rome with a small army belonging to the Norman princes: he dies, and the army goes home again, after having taken care to see itself well paid.

The cardinals of themselves elect Caietan, Gelasus II. Cincio consul of Rome, marquis of Frangipani, devoted to the emperor, enters the conclave sword in hand, seizes the Pope by the throat, knocks him down, and takes him prisoner. This brutal ferocity throws Rome into combustion. Henry V. goes thither; Gelasus retires to France, and the emperor gives the pontificate to his Limoufin Bourdin.

1119.

Gelasus being dead at the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, the cardinals who were at that council, conjunctly with the Roman bishops, and even the laity who were present, elect Guy of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, son of a duke of Burgundy, and of the blood royal of France. This is not the first prince elected Pope. He takes the name of Calixtus II.

Lewis the Gros, king of France, takes upon himself the office of mediator in that grand affair of the investitures between the empire and the church. A council is assembled at Rheims. The archbishop of Mentz arrives at that city with five hundred men at arms on horseback, and the count de Troye goes to receive him with the like number at the distance of half a league from town.

The

The emperor and Pope repair to Mouzon : they are on the very brink of accommodation, when a dispute upon words sets them more than ever at variance. The emperor quits Mouzon, and is excommunicated by the council.

1120, 1121.

As there were in this council several German bishops who had excommunicated the emperor, the other bishops of Germany will no longer allow the emperor to bestow the investitures.

1122.

At length, in a diet at Worms, the peace of the empire and of the church is established. It is found that this long quarrel was founded on a misunderstanding. The question was not to know if the emperors conferred the bishopric, but if they could invest with the imperial fiefs those bishops who were canonically elected at their recommendation. It was decided, that the investitures for the future should be conferred, not by the crook, but by the sceptre and ring: but, what was much more important, the emperor, in express terms, renounces the right of nominating to benefices those whom he was bound to invest. *Ego Henricus, Dei gratia, Romanorum imperator concedo in omnibus ecclesiis fieri electionem & liberam consecrationem.* This was an irreparable breach in the imperial authority.

1123.

Domestic troubles in Bohemia, Hungary, Alsace, and Holland. At this miserable period there was nothing but discord in the church, civil wars among the great, and slavery among the common people.

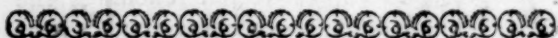
1124.

This is the first time that the affairs of England were intermingled with those of the empire. Henry I. king of England, and brother of the duke of Normandy, is already involved in wars with France on account of that duchy.

The emperor levies troops and advances towards the Rhine. We likewise see that even then all the German noblemen did not second the emperor in such quarrels: several noblemen refuse to assist him against a power, which, by its situation, ought to be naturally the protector of the German lords of the great fiefs against the sovereign paramount, just as the kings of England afterwards joined the great vassals of France.

1125.

The miseries of Europe were crowned with a pestilential disease, which attacks Henry V. who dies at Utrecht May 22, with the reputation of an unnatural son, a hypocrite in religion, a turbulent neighbour, and a bad master.



L O T H A R I U S II.

TWENTIETH EMPEROR.

1125, 1126, 1127.

THIS is a very singular æra. France, for the first time since the decay of Charlemagne's family, intermeddles in the election of an emperor in Germany. The famous monk Suger abbot of St. Dennis, and minister of state to Lewis the Gross, goes to the diet of Mentz with

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with the retinue of a sovereign, to oppose at least the election of Frederick duke of Suabia. He succeeds, either by intrigue or good fortune. The diet, being divided, chooses ten electors. These ten princes are not named. They elect Lotharius duke of Saxony, and the lords then present elevate him upon their shoulders.

Conrad duke of Franconia, of the house of Stauffen-Suabia, and Frederick duke of Suabia, protest against this election. The abbot Suger was the first of the ministers of France who excited civil wars in Germany. Conrad causes himself to be proclaimed king at Spire; but, instead of supporting his faction, he goes to make himself king of Lombardy at Milan: his towns in Germany are taken from him, but he acquires others in Lombardy.

1128, 1129.

Seven or eight wars rage at one time in Denmark, Holstein, Germany, and Flanders.

1130.

At Rome the people still pretended to elect popes in spite of the cardinals, who had reserved that right to themselves; and persisted in refusing to acknowledge the person elected as their sovereign, though they consented to own him as their bishop. Rome was totally divided into two factions; one elects Innocent II. the other chooses the son or grandson of a Jew called Leo, who takes the name of Anacletus. The Jew's son, as being richest, drives his competitor from Rome. Innocent II. takes refuge in France, which is now become the asylum of oppressed popes. This Pope goes to Liege; engages Lotharius II. in his interest; crowns

him emperor, together with his wife ; and excommunicates his competitors.

1131, 1132, 1133.

Conrad of Franconia the anti-emperor; and Anacletus the anti-pope, have a great faction in Italy. The emperor Lotharius and pope Innocent go to Rome. The two popes submit to the decision of Lotharius, who decides in favour of Innocent. The anti-pope retires to the castle of St. Angelo, which is still in his possession. Lotharius causes himself to be consecrated by Innocent II. according to the then established customs. One of these was, that the emperor should first take an oath to preserve the Pope's life and limbs. But he made the same promise to the emperor.

The Pope cedes the profits of the lands of the countess Mathilda to Lotharius and his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, for their lives only, in consideration of an annual service to the holy see.

This was sowing wars for their successors.

To facilitate the donation of these profits, Lotharius II. kissed the Pope's feet, and led his mule some paces. Lotharius is supposed to be the first emperor who performed that double ceremony.

1134, 1135.

The two rivals of Lotharius, Conrad of Franconia, and Frederick of Suabia, being abandoned by their parties, reconcile themselves to the emperor, whom they acknowledge.

A celebrated diet is held at Magdeburg. The Greek emperor and the Venetians send thither ambassadors to demand justice against Roger king of Sicily ; and there the ambassadors of the

the duke of Poland take the oath of fidelity to the empire, in all probability to preserve Pomerania, of which they had made themselves masters.

1136.

Order and police are re-established in Germany. Inheritance and customs of fiefs and under-fiefs are settled. Magistracy, burgomasters, mayors, and provosts, are subjected to the feudal lords. Privileges of churches, bishoprics, and abbeys, are confirmed.

1137.

The emperor's journey to Italy. Roger duke of Apulia and new king of Sicily, espoused the party of the antipope Anacletus, and threatened Rome. War is made upon Roger.

The city of Pisa was then very considerable in Europe, even above Venice and Genoa. These three trading towns furnished almost the whole West with all the delicacies of Asia. They had erected themselves quietly by liberty and commerce, while the desolation of the feudal government filled almost every other place with misery and servitude. The Pisans of themselves equipped a fleet of forty galleys to assist the emperor, and without these he could not have stood his ground. It is reported that the first copy of the digesta was then found in Apulia, and presented to the city of Pisa by the emperor.

Lotharius II. dies near Trent, in passing the Alps of the Tirol.

CONRAD III.

TWENTIETH AND FIRST EMPEROR.

1138.

HENRY, duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Proud, who possessed Saxony, Misnia, Thuringia, Verona, Spoleto, and almost the whole estate of Mathilda, seized the imperial ornaments, and imagined his great power would raise him to the imperial throne; but this was the very circumstance that prevented his success.

All the noblemen unite in favour of Conrad, the same who had disputed the empire with Lotharius II. Henry of Bavaria, who seemed so powerful, is the third of that name who is put to the ban of the empire. He must have been still more imprudent than proud, seeing he could scarce defend himself, notwithstanding his great power.

As the name of that prince's family was Guelph, those who espoused his party were called *Guelphs*, and this name was afterwards usually given to the enemies of the emperors.

1139.

Saxony, which belonged to the Guelphs, is given to Albert of Anhalt, surnamed the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg; and Bavaria is given to the marquis of Austria. But Albert the Bear, finding himself unable to take possession of Saxony, this affair is accommodated. Saxony remains with the house of the Guelphs, and Bavaria continues with the house of Austria; but that whole disposition hath since been changed.

1140.

1140.

Henry the Proud dies, leaving Henry the Lion in the cradle. His brother Guelph supports the war, towards the maintenance of which Roger king of Sicily gives him a thousand marks of silver. We see that the Norman princes are no sooner become powerful in Italy, than they endeavour by all possible means to block up the emperor's road to Rome. Frederic Barbarossa, Conrad's nephew, so famous in the sequel, already signalizes himself in this war.

From 1140 to 1146.

No period ever appeared more favourable for the emperors, to come and establish at Rome that power which was always the object of their ambition, and always contested.

Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, a man of an enthusiastic disposition, preached thro' all Italy against the temporal power of the popes and the clergy, and persuaded all those whose interest it was to be persuaded, especially the Romans.

In 1144, under the short pontificate of Lucius II. the Romans make another attempt to re-establish the antient republic; they augment the senate, elect as patrician a son of the anti-pope Peter of Lyons, called Jordani, and confer upon him the tribunitial power. Pope Lucius marches against them, and is killed at the foot of the capitol.

Mean while, Conrad III. neglects going to Italy, either being detained by a war which the Hungarians carried on against the marquis of Austria, or because the epidemical passion for the crusades had already taken possession of his mind.

1146.

1146.

St. Bernard, abbot of Clervaux, having preached the crusade in France, goes and preaches it again in Germany; but in what language did he preach it then? he did not understand the Teutonic, and he could not speak Latin to the people. He worked abundance of miracles. Perhaps he did: but he did not add the gift of prophecy to these miracles; for he promised in the name of God that the enterprise would be crowned with the greatest success.

The emperor takes the cross at Spire, together with a good number of noblemen.

1147.

Conrad III. makes preparations for the crusade, in the diet of Frankfort. Before his departure he causes his son Henry to be crowned king of the Romans. The imperial council of Rotwell* is established to try causes in the last appeal. This council was composed of twelve barons. The precedence was given as a fief to the house of Schults, that is, on condition of

* This council, which is still in force at Rotwell, an imperial town in Suabia, though deprived of its former authority, is composed of twelve gentlemen; or, in default of gentlemen, the members are chosen from among the citizens of Rotwell, and the president is the count de Schultz, to whose family that honour belongs in fief. Its jurisdiction extends over the provinces of Suabia, Franconia, Austria, and the Rhine. Nevertheless, the archbishops of Triers and Cologne, the archdukes of Austria, the knights of the Teutonic order, and of the order of Malta, the subjects of the duke of Deux-ponts, and of the duke of Wirtemberg, the abbot of St. Blaire, the counts of Hanau, and some others, have a right to decline pleading before this tribunal.

Med. Univ. Hist.

fealty,

fealty, homage, and acknowledgment. These kind of fiefs begin to be introduced.

The emperor embarks upon the Danube, with the celebrated bishop of Frisingen, who has written the history of this period, together with those of Ratibon, Passau, Basil, Metz, and Toul. Frederic Barbarossa, the marquis of Austria, Henry duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Montferrat, are the chief of those princes by whom he was accompanied.

The Germans were the last who came to these expeditions which were at first so splendid, and soon after so unfortunate. The little kingdom of Jerusalem was already erected; the states of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli in Syria, were formed. The counts of Joppa, and the marquises of Galilee and Sidon were created; but the greatest part of these conquests was lost.

1148.

Intemperance destroys part of the German army. Hence arose the report that the Greek emperor had poisoned the fountains, in order to destroy the crusards.

Conrad and Lewis the Young, king of France, join their weakened armies near Laodicea. After some battles against the Mussulmans, he goes in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of making himself master of Damascus, which he afterwards besieges in vain*. He returns almost without an army, in vessels belonging to his brother-in-law Manuel Comnenus, and goes

* The besieged made a furious sally, and were bravely opposed by the emperor in person, who with one stroke cleft a Turk through the middle, to the astonishment and terror of the enemy, who at sight of this exploit fled with great precipitation.

ashore in the gulph of Venice, not daring to go to Italy, much less to present himself at Rome for his coronation.

1148, 1149.

The loss of those prodigious armies of crusards, in the country where Alexander had with forty thousand men subdued an empire much more powerful than that of the Arabians and Turks, proves to demonstration; that in these enterprizes of the Christians there was some radical vice by which they were necessarily ruined; this was the feudal government, the independence of the chiefs, attended of course by disunion, disorder, and indiscretion.

The only reasonable crusade of those times was that of some Flemish and English noblemen, but chiefly consisting of a number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, the Main, and the Weser, who embarked for the relief of Spain, still usurped by the Moors. This was a real danger, which called aloud for assistance; and it was certainly more reasonable to assist Spain against usurpers, than to go to Jerusalem, to which they had no pretension, and where there was nothing to be got. The crusards took Lisbon, and gave it to king Alphonso.

There was another crusade raised against the Pagans of the North; for the spirit of the Christians of those times, was to go and fight those who were not of their religion. The bishops of Magdebourg, Halberstadt, Munster, Merseburg, and Brandenburg, together with several abbots, excited this crusade. They march with an army of sixty thousand men to convert the *Slaves*, who inhabited Pomerania, Prussia, and
the

FREDERICK I. 213

the coasts of the Baltick. This crusade was set on foot without consulting the emperor, and even turns against him.

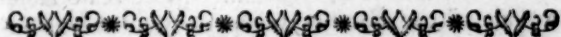
Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, whom Conrad had divested of Bavaria, was at the head of the crusade against the Pagans, whom, however, he soon left in tranquillity, to go and attack the Christians, and retake Bavaria.

1150.

All the fruit then that the emperor reaped from his travels to Palestine, was a civil war, which at his return he found in Germany under the name of The holy war. He finds it very difficult, with the assistance of the Bavarians and the rest of Germany, to restrain Henry the Lion and the Guelphs.

1151.

Conrad III. dies at Bamberg, February 15, without having been able to receive the crown in Italy, or leave the kingdom of Germany to his son.



FREDERICK I.

Surnamed BARBAROSSA.

TWENTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1152.

FREDERICK I. is elected at Frankfort by the unanimous consent of all the princes. His secretary Amandus, in his annals, extracts of which are still preserved, reports that on this occasion several noblemen of Lombardy gave their

their votes in these terms: "O you officiates, (*officiati*) if you consent, Frederick shall have the force of his empire."

Those *officiates* were then six in number; the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, were the three chancellors. There was the great master of the horse, the great steward, the great chamberlain; and since that time they have added the great cup-bearer. It plainly appears that those *officiati* were the first who acknowledged the elected emperor, who signified the election to the people, and took charge of the ceremonial.

The Italian noblemen were present at this election of Frederick. Nothing is more natural. At Frankfort they thought the Roman empire was given, when they gave the crown of Germany; although the king was not called emperor, till after he was crowned at Rome. Barbarossa's predecessor had possessed no authority either in Rome or in Italy; and it was for the interest of the person elected, that the great vassals of the Roman empire should add their suffrages to the votes of the Germans.

The archbishop of Cologne crowns him at Aix-la-chapelle; and all the bishops give him to understand that he does not possess the empire by right of inheritance. This advertisement was superfluous; the son of the last emperor, whom they abandoned, was a sufficient proof that the empire was not hereditary.

His reign begins with an action of great imposition. Two competitors, Sueno and Canute, had long disputed the kingdom of Denmark; Frederick makes himself umpire, and compels Canute to relinquish his right. Sueno does

homage to the empire for Denmark in the city of Mersburg. He takes the oath of allegiance, and is invested by the sword. Thus, in the midst of so many troubles, we see the kings of Poland, Hungary, and Denmark, at the feet of the imperial throne.

1153.

The marquissate of Austria is erected into a dutchy, in favour of Henry Jasamergot, who is scarce known, and whose posterity is extinct in about one century after this period.

Henry the Lion, that duke of Saxony of the house of Guelph, obtains the investiture of Bavaria, which he had almost wholly reconquered, and becomes as zealous a partizan of Frederick Barbarossa, as he had been an inveterate enemy to Conrad III.

Pope Eugenius III. sends two legates to prosecute the archbishop of Mentz, who is accused of having dissipated the revenue of his church, and the emperor permits the process.

1154.

In return for which condescension, Frederick Barbarossa repudiates his wife Mary of Voburg or Vohenburg, without incurring the displeasure of pope Adrian IV. who then filled the chair at Rome.

1155.

Frederick resumes the designs of his predecessor upon Italy. He reduces several towns of Lombardy, which wanted to become republics; but Milan resists all his power.

He, in the name of his ward, Henry, son of Conrad III. seizes the lands of the countess Mathilda, is crowned at Pavia, and sends deputies to desire Adrian IV. to crown him in Rome.

This

This pope is a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune; born an Englishman, son of a mendicant, a long time a mendicant himself, strolling from country to country, before he could be received as a servant among the monks in Dauphiny, at length raised to the pinnacle of greatness, he had so much the more elevation of spirit, as he had raised himself from the most abject condition. He was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master. The preceding troubles had introduced a custom, that when the emperor came to be consecrated, the pope and people fortified themselves, and the emperor began by swearing that his holiness should be neither killed, mutilated, nor despoiled.

The holy see was protected, as we have seen, by the king of Sicily and Naples, who was become a dangerous neighbour, though a vassal.

The emperor and pope are aware of each other. Adrian, shut up in the fortress of Citta di Castello, agrees to the coronation, as one capitulates with his enemy. A knight, armed at all points, comes and swears to him on the evangelists, that his life and limbs shall be safe; and the emperor delivers into his hands that famous Arnold of Brescia, who had excited the Roman people against the pontificate, and well nigh established the Roman republic. Arnold is burned at Rome as an heretic; and a republican sacrificed by two sovereigns, who pretended to despotic power.

The pope visits the emperor, who, according to the new ceremonial, was to kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead his white mule for
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the space of nine Roman paces. The emperor made no scruple to kiss the feet: but he refused to take hold of the bridle. Then the cardinals fled to the Cita di Castello, as if Frederick Barbarossa had given the signal for a civil war. He was given to understand that Lotharius II. had accepted of this ceremonial of Christian humility: to which at length he submits, and mistaking the stirrup, says he had not yet learned the business of a groom.

The deputies of the Roman people, being more emboldened, since so many towns in Italy had sounded the trumpet of liberty, come and say to Frederick: "We have made you our citizen and prince, stranger as you are, &c." Frederick commands them to be silent, and replies: "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you, I am your master, &c."

Frederick is consecrated emperor in St. Peter's, June 18.

The nature of the empire was so little known, and all the pretensions were so contradictory, that, on one hand, the Roman people took to arms, and a great deal of blood had been shed, because the pope had crowned the emperor without the order of the senate and people: and, on the other hand, pope Adrian wrote in all his letters, that he had conferred upon Frederick the benefice of the Roman empire, *beneficium imperii Romani*. The word *beneficium* then signified a fief.

He moreover exposes in public a picture representing Lotharius II. on his knees before Alexander II. holding his hands clasped between those of the pontif, the distinguishing

mark of vassalage. The inscription of the picture was thus,

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores :
Post, homo fit papæ ; sumit, quo dante, coronam.*

“The king comes to the door, previously swearing he will maintain the honours of the city : then he becomes the vassal of the pope, from whose bounty he receives the crown.”

1156.

We see Frederick already very powerful in Germany : for, at his return, he caused the count Palatine of the Rhine to be condemned in a diet for misdemeanours. According to the new law of Suabia, the penalty was, that the delinquent should carry a dog upon his shoulders a German mile. The archbishop of Mentz is condemned to the same ridiculous punishment : but they are spared the mortification. The emperor causes several small castles belonging to banditti to be demolished. He marries at Wirtzburg the daughter of a count of Burgundy, that is of Franche Comté, and by this match becomes direct lord of that country holding of the empire.

1157.

The Poles refuse to pay their tribute, which was then fixed at five hundred marks of silver. Frederic marches towards Poland. The duke of Poland gives his brother as hostage, submits to the tribute, and pays the arrears.

Frederick repairs to Besançon, now become his own demesne, and there receives the pope's legates, together with ambassadors from almost all the princes. He complains to the legates,
with

with great haughtiness, of the term *Benefice*, used by the court of Rome in mentioning the empire; and of the picture, in which Lotharius II. was represented as a vassal of the holy see. This haughtiness was justified by his glory and his power, as well as by his right. One of the legates having said: "If the emperor does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom then does he hold it?" the count Palatine, by way of answer, would have put them to death: however, the emperor sends them back to Rome.

The rights of regality are confirmed to the archbishop of Lyons, acknowledged by the emperor, as primate of the Gauls. The archbishop's jurisdiction is, by this memorable act, extended over all the fiefs of Savoy. The original patent is still extant. The seal is in a little bull or box of gold. It is from this manner of sealing, that the name of bull has been given to constitutions.

1158.

The emperor grants the title of king to Uladislaus, duke of Bohemia, for his life. The emperor then conferred titles for life, even that of monarch; and a person was king by the emperor's favour, although his dominions were not a kingdom; so that in these beginnings we sometimes find kings, and sometimes dukes of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.

He marches into Italy; and, at first, the count Palatine, and the emperor's chancellor, who must not be confounded with the chancellor of the empire, go and receive the oaths of several towns, which oaths were conceived in these terms: "I swear I will always be faithful to

my lord the emperor Frederick against all his enemies, &c." As he was then at variance with the pope, on account of the adventure of the legates at Besançon, these oaths seem to have been exacted against the holy see.

It does not appear, that the popes were then sovereigns of the lands given by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Otho I. The emperor's commissaries exercise all the rights of sovereignty in the march of Ancona.

Adrian IV. sends new legates to the emperor at Augsburg, where he assembles his army. Frederic marches to Milan. This was already the most powerful town of Lombardy, in comparison with which Pavia and Ravenna were but inconsiderable. It had made itself free since the time of the emperor Henry V. and was enriched by the fruitfulness of its territory, but, above all things, in consequence of the liberty it enjoyed.

At the emperor's approach it sent to offer him money for the preservation of its liberty. But Frederick wanted both money and submission. The town is besieged, and defends itself. The consuls, in a little time, capitulate. It is deprived of the privilege of coining, and all the rights of regality. The inhabitants are condemned to build a palace for the emperor, and pay 9000 marks of silver. All the citizens take the oath of allegiance. Milan, without a duke or a count, was governed as a conquered town.

Frederick begins to build the new Lodi, on the river Adda. He enacts new laws in Italy, and begins by decreeing, that every town convicted of transgressing these laws shall pay 100 marks of gold,

gold, a marquis shall pay 50, a count 40, and a lord of the manor 20. He likewise ordains that no fief shall be divided : and as the vassals, in doing homage to the lords of the great fiefs, swore to serve them, without distinction, against every person whatsoever ; he decrees, that in these oaths the emperor shall always be excepted. A law wisely contrived, and contrary to the feudal customs of France, by which a vassal was obliged to serve his lord in war, even against the king.

The Genoese and Pisans had long ago wrested Corsica and Sardinia from the Saracens, and still disputed the possession with each other. A proof that they were very powerful. But Frederick, more powerful than they, sends commissaries to these two cities, and because he is thwarted by the Genoese, makes them pay a fine of a thousand marks of silver, and hinders them from continuing to fortify their city.

He re-establishes order in the fiefs of the countess Mathilda, no part of which was possessed by the popes ; and gives them to one Guelph, cousin to the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His own nephew, the emperor Conrad's son is forgot. At this period, the university of Bologna, the first of all the European universities, began to be established, and the emperor bestows privileges upon it.

1159.

Frederick I. began to be more master in Italy, than Charlemagne or Otho had been. He weakens the pope by supporting the prerogatives of the Roman senators, and still more

by putting troops in winter quarters in his dominions.

Adrian IV. the better to preserve his temporalities, attacks Frederick Barbarossa with spiritual weapons. The question is no longer about investitures performed with a crooked or straight staff, but about the oath, which the bishops take to the emperor. He treats that ceremony as sacrilege, and, in the mean time, inflames the people by underhand insinuations.

The Milanese take this opportunity to recover a small share of liberty. Frederick orders them to be proclaimed rebels and enemies to the Empire; and, by an ordinance, their effects are given up to plunder, and their persons to slavery; an ordinance, which resembles an order of Attila, rather than the constitution of a Christian emperor.

Adrian IV. snatches this opportunity of trouble, to re-demand all the fiefs of the countess Mathilda, the dutchy of Spoleto, together with Sardinia and Corsica. The emperor will give him nothing. He besieges Crema, which had taken part with Milan; it is taken and plundered. Milan has some respite, and for some time enjoys the happiness of owing its liberty to its own courage.

1160.

After the death of Adrian IV. the cardinals are divided. One half elects cardinal Rolando, who takes the name of Alexander III. a declared enemy to the emperor: the other chooses Octavian his partisan, who calls himself Victor. Frederick Barbarossa, by virtue of his rights as emperor, summons a council at Pavia, to decide

side between the two competitors. Alexander refuses to acknowledge that council. Victor appears, and the council decides in his favour. The emperor kisses his feet, and leads his horse, as he had before behaved to Adrian.

Alexander III. retires to Agnani, excommunicates the emperor, and absolves his subjects of their oath of allegiance. It plainly appears that the pope depended upon the assistance of the kings of Naples and Sicily.

1161.

The Milanese take advantage of these divisions. They have the courage to attack the imperial army at Carentia, a few miles from Lodi, and obtain a great victory. If the other towns of Italy had seconded Milan, this was the moment to deliver that fine country for ever from a foreign yoke.

1162.

The emperor repairs his army and his affairs. The Milanese, being blocked up, are in want of provisions, and capitulate. The consuls and eight knights come to Lodi, and lay their swords at the emperor's feet. He revokes the decree, by which the citizens were condemned to servitude, and their town to plunder; but as soon as he enters it, on the 27th of March, he orders the gates, ramparts, and all the public edifices, to be demolished, and the ruins to be sowed with salt. Neither Huns, Goths, nor Lombards, had treated Italy in this manner.

The Genoese, who pretended to be free, come and take the oath of allegiance; and while they protest they will not pay annual tribute, give him 1200 marks of silver: they promise to equip a fleet to assist the emperor in conquering

Sicily and Apulia ; and Frederick gives them as a fief what is called The Riviera of Genoa, from Monaco to Porto-venere.

He marches to Bologna, which was confederate with Milan ; and, though he protects the colleges, orders the walls to be dismantled. Every thing submits to his power.

Mean while the empire makes conquests in the North. The duke of Saxony conquers Mecklenburg, the country of the Vandals, and transplants thither German colonies.

To make the triumph of Frederic Barbarossa complete, his enemy pope Alexander III. flies from Italy and retires to France. Frederick goes to Besançon, in order to intimidate the king of France, and detach him from Alexander's party.

It is in the zenith of his power, that he summons the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary, to come at his order, and give their votes in a diet against a Pope. Waldemar I. king of Denmark, obeys and repairs to Besançon, where he is said to have taken the oath of fidelity only for the rest of Vandalia, which was abandoned to his conquests. Others alledge he renewed the homage for Denmark. If that was the case, he was the last king of Denmark who did homage for his kingdom to the empire. By this circumstance the year 1162 becomes a very important æra.

1163.

The emperor goes to Mentz, where the people, excited by the monks, had murdered the archbishop : he orders the walls of the town to be razed, and they were not rebuilt for a long time.

1164.

1164.

Erfort, the capital of Thuringia, a town which the archbishop of Mentz pretended to be lord of since Otho I. is surrounded with walls, at the very time when those of Mentz are destroyed.

The establishment of the society of hans-towns. This union had begun by Hamburg and Lubeck, which carried on some trade in imitation of the maritime towns of Italy: they soon became useful and powerful in furnishing at least the necessaries of life to the North of Germany; and since that time, when Lubeck, which belonged to the famous Henry the Lion, by whom it was fortified, was declared an imperial town by Frederick Barbarossa, and the first of the maritime towns: when it had the privilege of coining money, that money was the best coined in all that country, where till that time none had been struck, but of a very base alloy. Hence the money called Sterling, or Esterling, is supposed to have been derived; and hence London counted by pounds sterling, when it was associated with the hans-towns.

The same thing happens to the emperor which had happened to all his predecessors. Leagues are formed against him in Italy, while he himself is in Germany. Rome leagues with Venice by means of Alexander III. Venice, impregnable by its situation, is formidable for its wealth: it had acquired great riches in the crusades, in which the Venetians had hitherto no share, except as dextrous merchants.

Frederick returns to Italy and ravages the Veronese, which belonged to the league: his pope Victor dies; he causes another to be con-

secrated by a bishop of Liege in contempt of all laws. This usurper takes the name of Paschal.

Sardinia was then governed by four bailiffs: one of these, who had amassed wealth, comes and demands the title of King from Frederick, and actually receives it: he trebles the taxes every-where, and returns to Germany with money enough to render him formidable.

1165.

A diet at Wurtzburg against Alexander III. The emperor exacts an oath from all the princes and bishops, that they would not acknowledge Alexander. This diet is famous by the deputies of England, who come to give an account of the rights of the king and people against the pretensions of the church of Rome.

Frederick, in order to make his pope Paschal more considerable, causes him to canonize Charlemagne. Aix-la-Chapelle takes the title of Capital of the Empire, though in effect it was not so. It obtains the privilege of coining money.

1166.

Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, having prodigiously augmented his dominions, the emperor is not sorry to see a confederacy in Germany against that prince. A bold and enterprising archbishop of Cologne joins with several other bishops, together with the count palatine, the count of Thuringia, and the marquis of Brandenburg. A bloody war is carried on against Henry the Lion. The emperor leaves them to fight it out, and repairs again to Italy.

1167.

1167.

The Pisans and Genoese plead at Lodi before the emperor for the possession of Sardinia, which neither obtains.

Frederick goes and lays the Pentapolis under contribution, although it had been solemnly ceded to the popes by so many emperors, and was incontestably the patrimony of the church.

The league between Venice and Rome, and the hatred inspired by Frederick's despotic power, engage Cremona, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, and other towns, to unite with the Milanese. All these towns and the Romans took arms at the same time.

The Romans attack part of the imperial army near Tusculum: it was commanded by an archbishop of Mentz, very famous in those days, called Christiern, and by the archbishop of Cologne. It was a strange spectacle to see these two priests thundering out a German song to animate their troops to battle.

But what strongly denoted the decay of Rome, the Romans were entirely defeated, though ten times more numerous than the Germans.

Frederick then marches from Ancona to Rome, which he attacks: he burns the town Leonini, and the church of St. Peter is almost consumed.

Pope Alexander flies to Beneventum. The emperor causes himself to be crowned with the empress Beatrice, by his anti-pope Paschal, in the ruins of St. Peter.

From thence Frederick marches back with great expedition against the confederate towns. The plague, by which his army is desolated for some time, contributes to their safety. The

German troops, though victorious over the Romans, were often vanquished by intemperance and the heat of the climate.

1168.

Alexander III. finds the secret of engaging at once in his party Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, and William king of Sicily, natural enemy of the Greeks; so much did they think it was for their common interest to unite against Barbarossa.

In effect, these two powers send money and some troops to the Pope. The emperor, at the head of an army very much diminished, sees the Milanese rebuild their walls under his very nose, and almost all Lombardy in a conspiracy against him: he retires towards the country of Morienne: the Milanese, emboldened, pursue him to the mountains: he escapes with great difficulty, and retreats to Alsace, while he is excommunicated by the Pope.

Italy breathes again in consequence of his retreat. The Milanese fortify themselves; and build, at the foot of the Alps, the town of Alexandria, in honour of the Pope.

This year Lunenburg begins to be a town.

The bishop of Wirtzburg obtains civil jurisdiction in the duchy of Franconia. It was in consequence of this grant that his successors have had the direction of the circle of that name.

Guelph, cousin-german of the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, on his death-bed, leaves to the emperor the duchy of Spoleto and the marquise of Tuscany, with his right to Sardinia, a country claimed by so many

many competitors, abandoned to itself and its bailiffs, one of whom called himself King.

1169.

Frederick causes his eldest son Henry to be elected king of the Romans, while he himself is on the brink of losing Rome and Italy for ever.

Some months after, he causes his second son Frederick to be elected duke of Germany, and secures to him the duchy of Suabia. Foreign authors have imagined that Frederick had given all Germany to this son; but it was no more than antient Germany, properly so called. There was no other king of Germany than the emperor.

1170.

Frederick is no longer recognisable. Instead of going to fight, he negotiates with the Pope. His armies and his treasure were then diminished.

The Danes take Stetin. Henry the Lion, instead of assisting the emperor to recover Italy, takes the cross with his Saxon knights, in order to go and fight in Palestine.

1171.

Henry the Lion, finding a truce established in Asia, returns by the way of Egypt. The sultan had a mind to astonish Europe by his magnificence and generosity: he loads the duke of Saxony and Bavaria with presents, and, among other things, gives him fifteen hundred Arabian horses.

1172.

At length the emperor convenes a diet at Worms, and demands assistance from Germany to reduce Italy under his power.

He

He begins by sending a small army commanded by that same archbishop of Mentz, who had defeated the Romans.

The towns of Lombardy were confederated, but jealous one of another. Lucca was a mortal enemy of Pisa; Genoa hated Pisa and Florence; and by these divisions Italy was lost.

Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, dextrously succeeds in detaching the Venetians from the league; but Milan, Pavia, Florence, Cremona, Parma, and Bologna, are unshaken, and Rome supports them.

Mean while Frederick is obliged to go and appease the troubles in Bohemia, where he deposes Ladislaus, and gives the regency to the son of that prince. He could not be more absolute than he was in Germany, or more impotent than he was at that very time on the other side of the Alps.

1174.

At length he passes Mount Cenis; besieges that Alexandria which was built in his absence, and the name of which was odious to him; and begins by signifying to the inhabitants, that, if they would have the presumption to defend themselves, he would spare neither age nor sex.

1175.

The Alexandrians, assisted by the confederate towns, make a sally upon the Imperialists, whom they defeat, in imitation of the Milanese. The emperor's disgrace is completed by his being abandoned by Henry the Lion, who retires with his Saxons, very ill disposed towards Barbarossa, who kept for himself the lands of Marchilda.

Italy

Italy then seemed to be upon the eve of being freed for ever.

1176.

Frederick receives reinforcements from Germany. The archbishop of Mentz is at the other end of Italy, in the march of Ancona, with his troops.

The war is pushed with great vivacity on both sides. The Milanese infantry, armed with pikes, defeats the whole imperial household troops. Frederick escapes with difficulty from the pursuit of the conquerors: he conceals himself, and at length takes shelter in Pavia.

This victory * was the signal of the liberty of the Italians for several years: they could then be hurt by none but themselves. The haughty Frederick anticipates at last, and solicits pope Alexander, who had retired long ago to Anagni, equally afraid of the Romans, who would have no master, and of the emperor, who wanted to be master.

Frederick offers him his assistance to retrieve his authority in Rome, to restore the patrimony of St. Peter, and give him part of the lands of the countess Mathilda. A congress is assembled at Bologna.

* About the same time he was defeated at sea by the Venetians, and his eldest son Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Pope, in honour of this victory, sailed out into the open sea, accompanied by the whole senate; and after having pronounced a thousand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring, as a mark of his gratitude and affection. This is the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of espousing the Adriatic sea,

1177.

The Pope causes the congress to be transferred to Venice, where he arrives in the ships of the king of Sicily. The ambassadors of Sicily, and the deputies of the Lombard towns, are the first who go thither. Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, goes to conclude the peace.

It is difficult to explain how that peace, which ought to have secured the repose of the popes, and the liberty of the Italians, was no more than a truce for six years with the Lombard towns, and of fifteen with Sicily. There was no question about the lands of the countess Mathilda, which had been the basis of the treaty.

Every thing being concluded, the emperor repairs to Venice. The duke conducts him in his gondola to St. Mark. The Pope waited for him at the gate, with the tiara upon his head. The emperor, without his cloak, conducts him to the chair, with a beadle's staff in his hand. The Pope preaches in Latin, which Frederick did not understand. After sermon, the emperor comes and kisses the Pope's feet, takes the communion from his hand, leads his mule in the square of St. Mark, when he comes from church; and Alexander III. cries aloud, "It hath pleased God that an old man and a priest should triumph over a powerful and terrible emperor." All Italy looks upon Alexander III. as its deliverer and father.

The peace was sworn upon the evangelists by twelve princes of the empire. These treaties were hardly ever written at that time. There were few clauses. The oaths were sufficient. Few of the German princes could read, or sign their

their names, and the pen was seldom used but at Rome. This period resembles those savage times called heroic.

Nevertheless, they exact from the emperor a particular act, sealed with his own seal, by which he promises not to disturb the towns of Italy for six years.

1178.

How durst Frederick Barbarossa, after that, pass through Milan, the people of which had defeated him, after he had treated them as slaves? thither he went, however, on his return to Germany.

Other troubles harrassed that vast, warlike, powerful, and unfortunate country, in which there was not then one town comparable to any of the middling towns of Italy.

Henry the Lion, master of Saxony and Bavaria, still made war upon several bishops, as the emperor had warred against the pope.

He sunk like him, and even by means of the emperor himself.

The archbishop of Cologne, assisted by one half of Westphalia, the archbishop of Magdeburg, and a bishop of Halberstadt, were oppressed by Henry the Lion, and did him all the mischief in their power. Almost all Germany embraced their party.

1179.

Henry the Lion is the fourth duke of Bavaria that was put to the ban of the empire in the diet of Goslar. A powerful army was required to execute this decree. That prince was more powerful than the emperor. He at that time commanded from Lubeck to the middle of Westphalia. He had besides Bavaria, Stiria and Carinthia.

rinthia. His enemy, the archbishop of Cologne, is charged with the execution of the ban.

Among the vassals of the empire who bring troops to the archbishop of Cologne, we see one Philip count of Flanders, as well as a count of Hainault, a duke of Brabant, &c. This circumstance might make one believe, that what is properly called Flanders, always considered itself as a member of the empire, although a part of France; such uncertainty attends the feudal right.

Duke Henry defends himself in Saxony, takes Thuringia and Hesse, and defeats the army of the archbishop.

The greatest part of Germany is ravaged by that civil war; the natural effect of the feudal government. It is even strange that it did not oftener produce this effect.

1180.

After various successs, the emperor holds a diet in the castle of Gelnhausen near the Rhine. There the proscription of Henry the Lion is renewed and confirmed. There Frederick gives Saxony to Bernhard d'Anhalt, son of Albert the Bear, marquis of Brandenburg. He gives him likewise part of Westphalia. The house of Anhalt must then have become the most powerful in Germany.

Bavaria is granted to Otho count of Vitelsbach, chief of the emperor's court of justice. From this Otho Vitelsbach are descended the two electoral houses of Bavaria, which after so many misfortunes still subsist. They owe their greatness to Frederick Barbarossa.

As soon as those noblemen were invested, each falls upon Henry the Lion, and the emperor puts himself at the head of the army.

1181.

They take from duke Henry Lunenburg, of which he was master; they attack Lubeck, of which he was protector; and Waldemar king of Denmark assists the emperor in the siege.

Lubeck, which was already rich, dreading to fall under the power of Denmark, surrenders to the emperor, who declares it an imperial town, capital of the towns upon the Baltic, with permission to coin money.

Duke Henry being no longer able to resist, goes and throws himself at the feet of the emperor, who promises to maintain him in possession of Brunswick and Lunenburg, the remains of so many dominions which are taken from him.

Henry the Lion goes to London with his wife to his father-in-law king Henry II. She brings him a son called Otho, who was afterwards emperor, under the name of Otho IV. and from a brother of this Otho IV. are descended the princes who now reign in England. So that the dukes of Brunswick, the kings of England, and the dukes of Modena, are all derived from one common origin, and that origin is Italian.

1182.

Germany is then quiet. Frederick abolishes several barbarous customs; among others, that of plundering the moveables of the dead; an horrible right, which all the citizens of the towns exercised at the decease of a burgher, at the expence of his heirs; and which always produced bloody quarrels, though moveables at that time were of small importance.

All the cities of Lombardy enjoy a profound peace, and respire new life.

The

The Romans still persist in the notion of withdrawing themselves from the power of the popes, as well as from that of the emperors. They expel from Rome pope Lucius III. the successor of Alexander.

The same Christiern, archbishop of Mentz, still the emperor's general, marches with an army to the assistance of the pope, but dies at Tusculum.

The senate lords it in Rome. Some clerks, supposed to be spies from Pope Lucius III. are sent back to him without their eyes. A piece of inhumanity unworthy of the Roman name.

1183.

Frederick I. declares Ratisbon an imperial town. He detaches Tirol from Bavaria, and likewise dismembers it of Stiria, which he erects into a duchy.

The celebrated congress held at Placentia, April 30, between the emperor's commissaries and the deputies of all the towns in Lombardy. Even those of Venice were present. They agree that the emperor may exact the oath of fidelity from his vassals of Italy; and that they are obliged to march to his assistance, in case he should be attacked in his journey to Rome, which is called the Roman expedition.

They stipulate that the towns and the vassals shall furnish the emperor in his passage with nothing but ordinary forage, and provisions for the month.

The emperor grants them the right of having troops, fortifications, and tribunals, without appeal, in causes to the amount of fifty marks of silver, and that no cause shall ever be reheard in Germany.

If

If in these towns the bishop has the title of count, he shall preserve the right of electing consuls in his episcopal town; and if the bishop is not in possession of that right, it is reserved to the emperor.

This treaty, which made Italy free under a chief, has been long considered by the Italians as the foundation of their public right.

The marquis of Malaspina and the counts of Crema are therein specially named, and the emperor transacts with them as with the other towns. All the lords of the fiefs in general are therein comprehended.

In all probability the deputies of Venice signed this treaty only for the fiefs they possessed on the continent; as for the city of Venice, it would not put its liberty and independence upon any such compromise.

1184.

A great diet at Mentz, where the emperor again causes his son Henry to be acknowledged king of the Romans.

He knights his two sons Henry and Frederick: he is the first emperor who thus knighted his sons with the ceremonies then used. The new knight watched his arms; afterwards he was put in the bath; then he came to receive the kiss and cuff in a tunic: his spurs were buckled on by knights: he dedicated his sword to God and the saints: he was cloathed with an epitoge or loose robe: but what was the most whimsical part of the farce, he was served at dinner without being allowed to eat or drink.

The emperor goes to Verona, whither Lucius III. had retired on his expulsion from Rome, and there a small council was held.

The question was not to re-establish Lucius at Rome. The subject of debate was the great quarrel about the lands of the countess Mathilda, and nothing was agreed upon. The Pope likewise refused to crown young Henry emperor.

The emperor goes and causes him to be crowned king of Italy at Milan, to which place the iron crown was removed from Monza.

1185.

The pope, who had already quarrelled with the Romans, is imprudent enough to quarrel with the emperor, upon the subject of that dangerous inheritance of Mathilda.

A king of Sardinia commands the troops of Frederic. The king of Sardinia is the son of that bailiff who had bought the title of king. He seizes some towns, of which the popes were still in possession. Lucius III. almost stripped of every thing, dies at Verona; and Frederic, tho' the pope's conqueror, cannot be sovereign in Rome.

1186.

The emperor, at Milan Feb. 6, marries his son king Henry to Constance of Sicily, daughter of Roger II. king of Naples and Sicily, and granddaughter of Roger I. of that name. She was presumptive heiress of that fine kingdom; and this marriage was productive of the most tedious and dreadful misfortunes.

This year ought to be famous in Germany for the custom which one Bertrand bishop of Metz introduced, of having archives in every town to register the deeds and writings of private estates. Before that time, every thing was proved by evidence only, and almost all disputes were decided by combat.

1187.

1187.

Pomerania, which after having belonged to the Poles, became vassal of the empire, and paid a slight tribute, is subdued by Canute king of Denmark, and becomes a vassal to the Danes. Sleswick formerly holding of the empire, becomes a duchy of Denmark. Thus did that kingdom, which itself formerly held of Germany, deprive the empire at once of two provinces.

Frederick Barbarossa, heretofore so great and powerful, had nothing now but the shadow of authority in Italy, and saw the power of Germany greatly diminished.

He retrieves his reputation, in preserving the crown of Bohemia to a duke or king whom his subjects had deposed.

The Genoese build a fort at Monaco, and make the acquisition of Gavi.

Great troubles in Savoy. The emperor Frederic declares against the count of Savoy, detaches several fiefs from that country, and among others, the bishoprics of Turin and Geneva. The bishops of these towns become noblemen of the empire. Hence proceed perpetual quarrels between the bishops and counts of Geneva.

1188.

Saladin the greatest man of his time, having retaken Jerusalem from the Christians, pope Clement III. causes a new crusade to be preached over all Europe.

The zeal of the Germans took fire; we can scarce conceive the motives that determined the emperor Frederic to march towards Palestine, and at the age of sixty-eight renew an

enterprize concerning which a wise prince ought to have been by this time disabused: What strongly marks the character of the times, he sends a count of the empire to Saladin to demand in a formal manner, Jerusalem and the true cross.

We here see a remarkable example of the spirit of the times. It was to be feared that Henry *the Lion* in the emperor's absence, would make an attempt to recover the dominions of which he had been despoiled. He is obliged to swear that he will make no attempt during the holy war. He swears, and his oath is believed.

1189.

Frederick Barbarossa with his son Frederick duke of Suabia, marches through Austria and Hungary with above a hundred thousand crusards. If he could have led such an army of volunteers to Rome, he would have been emperor indeed. The first enemies he finds are the Christian Greeks of the empire of Constantinople. The Greek emperor and the crusards had always found subject of complaint against one another.

The emperor of Constantinople was Isaacus Angelus. He refuses to give the title of Emperor to Frederick, whom he regards as king of Germany only, and he signifies to him that if he had a mind to obtain a passage, he must give hostages. We see in the constitutions of Goldast the letters of these two emperors. Isaacus Angelus gives Frederick no other title than that of advocate of the Roman church. Frederick by way of answer calls Angelus a dog. Yet after this, we are astonished at the epithets given

given to one another by Homer's heroes in times still more heroic!

1190.

Frederick having opened the passage sword in hand defeats the sultan of Iconium, takes his city, passes Mount Taurus, and dies of the plague* after his victory, leaving a reputation famous for inequality and greatness, and a memory much more dear to Germany than to Italy.

He is said to have been buried in Tyre, but we do not really know what place contains the ashes of an emperor who made so much noise in his life-time. His success in Asia must have been much less solid than shining; for his son Frederick of Suabia had no more than an army of about seven or eight thousand fighting men left out of above an hundred thousand who arrived in those parts.

The son soon died of the plague like his father; and nobody remained in Asia but Leopold duke of Austria with a few knights. Thus terminated every crusade.

* Barre says expressly, that he was drowned in the river Cydnus, and that his body was buried at Tyre. This is the same river into which Alexander the Great, plunging when he was warm, was seized with a sudden chillness, which produced a dangerous fever: In all probability Barbarossa owed his death to the same cause; being an expert swimmer, he ventured to bathe in the river while warm, and the extreme coldness of its water, (for which it is remarkable) suddenly checking the perspiration, excited a fever, which proved fatal, because perhaps, he had not a physician equal in skill to Philip the Macedonian.

M. in 100 HENRY

H E N R Y VI.

T W E N T Y - T H I R D E M P E R O R .

1190.

HENRY VI. already twice acknowledged and crowned during his father's life, does not renew that ceremony, but reigns in full right and power.

Henry *the Lion*, the old duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who possessed so many towns, had very little regarded the oath he took to abstain from all attempts to recover his fortune. He had already entered Holstein, and his party was espoused by the bishops, particularly the bishop of Bremen.

Henry VI. gives him battle near Verden, and is conqueror. At last peace is made with that prince, who was so often proscribed and so often in arms. He is left in possession of Brunswick after it is dismantled. He divides with the count of Holstein the title of lord of Lubeck, which still continues a free town under its lords.

The emperor Henry VI. having secured Germany by this victory and peace, turns his thoughts towards Italy. There he might have been more powerful than Charlemagne and the Othos, as being direct possessor of the lands of Mathilda, king of Naples in right of his wife, and lord paramount of all the rest.

1191.

He was obliged to look after this inheritance of Naples and Sicily. The noblemen of the country were not at all desirous of seeing that king-

kingdom, which had become flourishing in so little a time, a subjected province of Germany. The blood of those French gentlemen who had by their courage become their kings and countrymen, was very dear to him. They elected Tancred, son of prince Roger, and grandson of their good king Roger. This prince Tancred was not born of a marriage deemed legitimate. But how many bastards have before him inherited the greatest kingdoms? Besides, the will of the people and election seem the first of all rights.

The emperor treats with the Genoese about furnishing a fleet with which he may go and dispute Apuglia and Sicily. Merchants are able to do that which the emperor could not do of himself. He confirms the privileges of the towns of Lombardy, to engage them in his favour. He behaves respectfully to Pope Celestin III. an old man turned of fourscore, who, tho' not priest, had been elected.

The ceremony of the exaltation of popes, in those days, was performed in this manner; as soon as they were nominated, they were clothed with a red cope. They were conducted to a stone pulpit through which there was a hole, called *Stercorarium*: then to a pulpit of porphyry, where they were presented with two keys, that of the church of the Lateran, and that of the palace, the origin of the pope's arms; from thence to a third pulpit, where he was presented with a silken girdle, and a purse with twelve stones, in imitation of the ephod of the high priest of the Jews. It is not known at what period these customs be-

gan. Thus was Celestin exalted before he was a priest.

On the emperor's arrival at Rome, the pope caused himself to be ordained priest on Easter-eve, next day he is consecrated bishop, and the day after, consecrates Henry VI. with the empress Constance.

Roger de Hoveden, an Englishman, is the only author who relates that the pope kicked down the crown with which the emperor was to be adorned, and that it was set up again by the cardinals. He mistakes an accident for a ceremony*. It has been likewise supposed to be a mark of pride, equally brutal and ridiculous. Either the pope doted, or the adventure is not true.

The emperor, in order to render the pope favourable to him in his expedition of Naples and Sicily, restores to him the ancient town of Tusculum. The pope gives it to the Roman people, whose municipal government still subsisted. The Romans demolished it entirely: in this particular they seem to have adopted the destructive spirit of the Goths and Heruli who settled among them.

Nevertheless, old Celestin III. as Paramount of Naples and Sicily, dreading a powerful vassal, who would not yield obedience, forbids the emperor to attempt that conquest: a prohibition as ridiculous as kicking the crown, seeing

* Who told M. de Voltaire that this was an accident? It was such an instance of insolence as cardinal Pandulpho afterwards exhibited to John, king of England, at Dover, with a view to demonstrate the dependence of that kingdom on the see of Rome,

He could not hinder the emperor from marching to Naples.

Diseases always destroy the German troops in hot and fruitful countries. One half of the imperial army dies upon the way to Naples.

Constance the emperor's wife is at Salerno delivered to king Tancred, who generously sends her back to her husband.

1192.

The emperor postpones his enterprize upon Naples and Sicily, and goes to Worms. He makes Conrad, one of his brothers, duke of Suabia. He gives to Philip another brother, who was afterwards emperor, the duchy of Spoleto, which he takes from the house of the Guelphs.

The establishment of the knights of the Teutonic order, destined at first for the service of the sick in Palestine, and since become conquerors. The first house they have in Germany, is built at Coblentz.

Henry *the Lion* renews his pretensions, and resumes his arms. He makes no attempt upon Saxony, or Bavaria, but falls again upon Holstein, and looses all that he had left elsewhere.

1193.

At that time Saladine the great, drove all the Christians from Syria. Richard *cœur de Lion*, king of England, after having performed exploits equally admirable and ineffectual, returns like the rest*. He was upon bad terms with the

* Richard's generosity in this expedition was equal to his valour; for, in order to compromise the difference between Guy de Luzignan and Conrad, who disputed the crown of Jerusalem, he presented the first with the kingdom of Cyprus, which he had conquered in his voyage to

the emperor, and upon worse with Leopold duke of Austria, on account of a childish quarrel about a point of honour, which had happened between them in the unfortunate wars of the East. He passes through the duke's territories; and that prince puts him in irons, contrary to the oath of all the Crusaders, contrary to the respect due to royalty, and contrary to the honour and law of nations.

The duke of Austria delivers his prisoner to the emperor. Eleonora wife of Richard *Cœur de Lion*†, finding herself unable to revenge, offers to ransom her husband. This ransom is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver. That is about two millions of German crowns; and considering the scarcity of money and the price of provisions, that sum would be equivalent to forty millions of crowns in our time*. Historians perhaps have

Palestine. Being, after many signal exploits, deserted by Philip Augustus, and other European allies, he concluded a truce for three years with Saladin, on condition that Ascalon should be demolished, that the Christians should fortify Joppa, and occupy all the places on the sea-coast.

† She was his mother.

* Computing the mark at eight ounces of silver, and each ounce at five shillings, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand marks, amounts to three hundred thousand pounds sterling. That the ransom of Richard could not be less than this sum, may be judged from the following circumstances. Every military tenant was, by the feudal law, and the nature of his tenure, obliged to give aid for the ransom of his lord from captivity. This socage was raised in England, together with a tallage or hydage upon cities, boroughs, and manors, belonging to the crown, or in the king's hands, by escheat. Besides these, great sums were raised from the voluntary contributions of the people, zealous for their king's release. The parochial clergy granted

one

have taken one hundred and fifty thousand marks, (*marcas*) for an hundred and fifty thousand marks, which were no more than half livres. These mistakes are but too common.

Whatever the ransom was, the emperor Henry VI. who had no other right to it than that of banditti, received it as basely, as he had unjustly detained Richard. It is likewise said that he compelled him to do homage for the kingdom of England. Vain homage indeed ! Richard would have been far from deserving the signame of *Cœur de Lion*, if he had stooped to such abject submission.

A bishop of Prague is made duke or king of Bohemia. He purchases his investiture from Henry VI. for a sum of money.

Henry the Lion now seventy years of age, marries his son, who bears the title of count of Brunswick, to Agnes daughter of Conrad count Palatine the emperor's uncle. Agnes loved the count of Brunswick ; this marriage, to which the emperor consents, reconciles him to the old duke, who dies soon after, leaving Brunswick at least to his descendants.

It is probable that the emperor Henry VI. ransomed king Richard, and invested the episcopal king of Bohemia, on purpose to hay-
wherewithal to conquer Naples and Sicily.

one tenth of their tythes ; the bishops, abbots, and nobility, freely parted with a fourth of their income ; the cister-tians gave up all their revenue of wool for one year ; the parishes melted down their sacred chalices ; the cathedrals and monasteries sold their plate and treasures to the amount of thirty thousand marks, on promise of being reimbursed after the king's return.

Tancred, his competitor, dies. The people choose his son William, though an infant, in his room; a plain proof that it was not so much Tancred as the nation which disputed the throne of Naples with the emperor.

The Genoese furnish Henry with the fleet they had promised, and to this the Pisans add twelve galleys. The emperor with these forces furnished by the Italians to enslave Italy, appears before Naples, which surrenders; and, while he is besieging Palermo and Catanea in Sicily, Tancred's widow, being shut up in Salerno, capitulates, and yields up the two kingdoms, on condition that her son William shall have the principality of Tarentum. Thus, an hundred years after Robert and Roger had conquered Sicily, the fruit of the toils of the French knights falls into the hands of the house of Suabia.

The Genoese demand of the emperor the execution of the treaty he had made with them; the restitution of some lands, as therein stipulated, and the confirmation of their privileges in Sicily granted by king Roger. Henry VI. answers to this effect: "When you shall have convinced me that you are really free, and do not owe me a fleet in quality of vassals, I will keep the promise I have made." Then, joining the most atrocious cruelty to perfidy and ingratitude, he orders Tancred's body to be dug up and decapitated by the hands of the hangman: he orders William, the son of Tancred, to be castrated and sent prisoner to Caire, where his eyes are put out. The queen his mother and her daughters are conducted to Germany, and shut up in a convent of Alsace.

Henry.

Henry carries off part of the treasure which had been amassed by the kings. And mankind allow such men to rule them!

1195.

Henry of Brunswick, son of the Lion, obtains the palatinate after the death of the Palatine Conrad his father-in-law.

A new crusade is published at Worms. Henry VI. promises to go and fight for Jesus Christ.

1196.

The zeal of those ultramarine voyages increased by misfortune, just as religions have been strengthened by persecution. A sister of Philip Augustus king of France, widow of Bela king of Hungary, puts herself at the head of the German crusards, and goes to Palestine to experience the fate of all those who had gone before her. Henry VI. orders another part of the crusard army to march into Italy, where it could be more useful to him than at Jerusalem.

1197.

This is one of the most curious and interesting points of history. The great Belgic chronicle relates, that Henry not only caused his son Frederic II. a child in the cradle, to be elected by two and fifty noblemen or bishops; but likewise declared the empire hereditary, and decreed that Naples and Sicily should be incorporated for ever with the empire. If Henry VI. could make such laws, he made them without doubt; and he was formidable enough to make them without contradiction. Certain it is, his epitaph at Panormia imports, that he reunited Sicily to the empire: but the popes soon rendered that reunion ineffectual; and at his death

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it plainly appeared that the right of election was still dear to the noblemen of Germany.

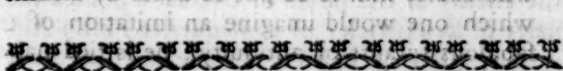
Mean while Henry VI. marches to Naples over land: all the noblemen of that country were incensed against him, and a general insurrection was to be feared: he strips them of their fiefs, which he bestows upon the Germans or Italians of his own party. Despair forms the conspiracy which the emperor wanted to prevent. One count Jordani, of the house of the Norman princes, puts himself at the head of the people: he is delivered up to the emperor, who causes him to be put to death by a torture which one would imagine an imitation of the fabulous tyrants of antiquity: he is tied naked on a chair of red hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same metal burning hot, nailed to his head.

1198. Then the emperor allows the rest of the German crusards to depart. They land in Cyprus. The bishop of Wurtzburg, by whom they are conducted, gives the crown of Cyprus to Emeri de Lusignan, who chose rather to be a vassal of the German than of the Greek empire.

This same Emeri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, marries Isabella daughter of the last king of Jerusalem; and from hence comes the title of king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, which several sovereigns have disputed in Europe.

The German crusards meet with various fortune in Asia. In the mean time Henry VI. remains in Sicily with a small number of troops; and this security is the cause of his ruin: they conspire at Naples and in Sicily against the tyrant: his own wife Constance is

the soul of the conspiracy. They betake themselves to arms on all hands. Constance forsakes her cruel husband, and puts herself at the head of the conspirators. All the Germans found in Sicily are murdered. This is the first stroke of the Sicilian vespers, afterwards tolled under Charles of France. Henry is fain to capitulate with his wife; he dies, and, it is said, of poison which his wife gave him; a crime perhaps excusable in a woman who revenged her family and country, if poisoning, and especially poisoning a husband, can ever be justified.



PHILIP I.

TWENTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1198.

AT first the noblemen and bishops assembled at Arnberg, in Thuringia, grant the administration of Germany to Philip duke of Suabia, uncle to Frederick II. a minor, who had been already acknowledged as king of the Romans. Thus the true emperor was Frederick II. but other noblemen, being incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, choose another king at Cologne; and elect the least powerful, in order to be powerful under his name. This pretended king or emperor called Bertold, duke of a small part of Switzerland, soon renounced the vain honour which he could not maintain. Then the assembly of Cologne elect Orto duke of Brunswick, son of Henry

the Lion. The electors were the duke of Lorraine, a count of Kuke, the archbishop of Cologne, the bishops of Minden, Paderborn, the abbot of Corbie, and two other abbots, who were Benedictine monks.

Philip must likewise be nominated emperor, and is elected at Erfort. Here are four emperors in one year, but not one of them an emperor indeed.

Otho of Brunswick was in England; and Richard king of England, who had been so unworthily treated by Henry VI. and was justly the enemy of the house of Suabia, espoused the party of Brunswick; of consequence Philip Augustus, king of France, declares for the other emperor Philip.

Here was another opportunity for the towns of Italy to shake off the German yoke: they became daily more and more powerful; but even that power creates divisions among them. Some held for Otho of Brunswick, and others for Philip of Suabia. Pope Innocent III. remains neuter between the competitors. Germany suffers all the mischiefs of a civil war.

1199,

1200.

In these intestine troubles of Germany, nothing is seen but change of party, agreements made and infringed, and weakness on all sides: nevertheless Germany is still called the Roman Empire.

The empress Constance stays in Sicily with her son prince Frederick. There she was in peace; there she was regent; and nothing could more plainly prove that she had conspired against her husband Henry VI. than her retaining, in obedience to her son, those very people
who

who had taken arms against the father. Naples and Sicily, in young Frederick, loved the son of Constance, and the blood of their own kings. They did not even regard this Frederick II. as the son of Henry VI. and, in all probability, he really was not; seeing his mother, when she demanded for him the investiture of Naples and Sicily of pope Celestin III. had been obliged to swear that Henry VI. was his father.

The famous pope Innocent III. son of a count of Segni, having taken possession of the papal chair, a new investiture was required. Here begins a very singular quarrel, which, after the lapse of above five hundred years, continues still undetermined.

We have seen those knights of Normandy, who became princes and kings of Naples and Sicily, holding at first of the emperors, and afterwards doing homage to the Pope. When Roger, as yet no more than count of Sicily, gave new laws to that island, which he at one time won from the Mahometans and Greeks, when he restored so many churches to the Roman communion, pope Urban II. solemnly granted him the power of the legates à latere, and of legates born of the holy see. These legates judged all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal, conferred benefices, and levied tithes. Since that time the kings of Sicily were in fact legates and vicars of the holy see, and really popes in their own kingdom: they had in reality the power of the two swords. This sole privilege, which so many kings might have arrogated to themselves, was no-where known but in Sicily. The successors of pope Urban II. had confirmed this prerogative, either by good-will or compulsion.

pulsion. Celestin III. had not contested it ; but Innocent III. opposed it ; treated the legation of the kings of Sicily as having been surreptitiously obtained ; and demanded that Constance would renounce it in the name of her son, and do liege, pure and simple homage for Sicily.

Constance dies before this order is obeyed, and leaves to the Pope the tutelage of king and kingdom.

1201.

Innocent III. will not own Philip for emperor ; but acknowledges Otho, to whom he writes : " By the authority of God derived to us, we receive you, and order you to be obeyed as king of the Romans ; and, after the usual preliminaries, we will give you the imperial crown."

Philip Augustus king of France, partizan of Philip of Suabia, and enemy to Otho, writes to the Pope in favour of Philip ; and Innocent III. answers : " Either Philip must lose the empire, or I lose the pontificate."

1202.

Innocent III. publishes a new crusade, in which the Germans have no concern. It was in this crusade that the Christians of the West took Constantinople, instead of assisting the Holy Land ; it was this that extended the power and dominions of Venice.

1203.

The northern parts of Germany become weak in these troubles. The Danes make themselves masters of Vandalia, which is part of Russia and Pomerania. It is difficult to ascertain its limits. Were there any limits then in those barbarous

barous countries ! Holstein, annexed to Denmark, no longer acknowledged the empire.

1204.

The duke of Brabant acknowledges Philip for emperor, and does him homage.

1205.

Several noblemen follow that example. Philip is consecrated at Aix by the archbishop of Cologne. The civil war continues in Germany.

1206.

Otho, being defeated by Philip near Cologne, flies for refuge to England. Then the Pope consents to abandon him : he promises to take off Philip's excommunication, incurred by every prince who calls himself emperor, without the permission of the holy see : he will acknowledge him as lawful emperor, provided he will give his sister in marriage to a nephew of his Holiness, and bestow upon her, by way of dower, the duchy of Spoleto, Tuscany, and the marche of Ancona. These are strange proposals : the marche of Ancona properly belonged to the holy see. Philip rejects the Pope's proposal, choosing rather to be excommunicated, than to part with such a dower : nevertheless, by releasing the archbishop of Cologne, who was his prisoner, he obtains his absolution without making the match.

1207.

Otho returns from England to Germany, where he appears seemingly without partizans, though doubtless he must have had private friends, seeing he did return.

1208.

Count Otho, who was palatine in Bavaria, assassinates

assassinates the emperor at Bamberg, and makes his escape very easily.



O T H O IV.

TWENTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

O T H O, in order to strengthen his interest, and unite the factions, marries Beatrice, daughter of the murdered emperor.

Beatrice demands vengeance at Frankfort for her father's death. The diet puts the assassin to the ban of the empire. Count Papenheim does more: some time after he murders the emperor's murderer.

1209.

Otho IV. still more to corroborate his interest, confirms the rights and privileges of the Italian towns, and even acknowledges those which had been arrogated by the popes. He writes to Innocent III. "We will yield you that obedience which our predecessors have yielded to yours." He leaves him in possession of the countries which the pontiff had already recovered, namely, Viterbo, Orvieto, and Perugia. He promises him all the famous inheritance of Mathilda; and he cedes to him the territorial superiority, that is, the supremacy and dependence of Naples and Sicily.

1210.

No greater harmony could possibly appear; but scarce is he crowned at Rome, when he makes war upon the pope for these very towns.

He

He had left to the pope the right paramount and charge of Naples and Sicily; and he goes to make himself master of Apulia, the inheritance of young Frederick, king of the Romans, who was stripped at once of the empire and his mother's inheritance.

1211.

Innocent III. can do no less than excommunicate Otho. Excommunication is a meer trifle against an established prince; but a very serious affair against a prince who has enemies.

The dukes of Bavaria and Austria, and the landgrave of Thuringia, resolve to dethrone him. The archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him, and the whole faction acknowledges young Frederic II.

Germany is again divided. Otho, on the brink of losing Germany for having attempted to seize Apulia, repasses the Alps.

1212.

The emperor Otho assembles his adherents at Nuremberg. Young Frederick passes the Alps after him, and makes himself master of Alsace, the noblemen of which declare in his favour. He engages Ferri duke of Lorrain in his party. Germany is from one end to the other the scene of civil war.

1213.

Frederick II. at length receives the crown at Aix-la-chapelle from the archbishop of Mentz.

Mean while, Otho supports himself, and regains almost every thing, when he seems to be on the eve of losing the whole.

He was still protected by England; while his competitor Frederick II. enjoyed the protection of France. Otho reinforces his party by marrying

rying the daughter of the duke of Brabant, after the death of his wife Beatrice. John, king of England, gives him money to attack the king of France. This John was not yet John Lackland *, though he was destined to be so, and became like Otho most unfortunate.

1214.

It seems very remarkable, that Otho, who a year before could scarce defend himself in Germany, should now be able to make war upon Philip Augustus. But he was followed by the dukes of Limburg and Lorrain, the count of Holland, with all the noblemen of that country, and the count of Flanders, who had been interested by the king of England. It is still problematical, whether or not the counts of Flanders, who then did homage to France, were, notwithstanding that homage, considered as vassals of the empire.

Otho marche towards Valenciennes with an army of above an hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, while Frederick II. concealed somewhere about Swisserland, waited the issue of this great enterprize. Philip Augustus was hard pressed between the emperor and the king of England.

THE BATTLE OF BOVINES.

Between Lile and Tournay there is a small village called Bovines, near which Otho IV. at

* Our author is here mistaken in two circumstances. John was called Lackland from his having no landed estate or patrimony, during the life of his elder brother. It was not he, but his brother Richard, who had so generously assisted Otho; as for John, he refused to pay the legacy which his brother left to that prince, alledging, that he had restricted himself by oath from assisting Otho, either with money, jewels, land, or men.

the head of an army said to be an hundred and twenty thousand strong, attacked the king, who had scarce half the number. At that time they began to use cross-bows, machines which threw long and heavy arrows, and which were bent with a tourniquet. This weapon was in use under Lewis the Gross. But what decided the fate of a battle was the heavy cavalry, quite covered with iron, consisting of all the lords of the fiefs, and their squires. The knights wore a cuirass, buskins, knee-pieces, brasselets, cuisses, and an helmet. All this armour was made of iron, and above the cuirass they had a shirt of mail called *Haubert*, from the word *Albus*. This coat of mail was adorned with a piece of stuff embroidered with the knight's coat of arms. These bearings, which began to be in use, were called coats of arms, because they were figured on the knight's arms, to distinguish him in battle. Squires had no right to wear the hauberts or haubergeon. Their helmet was not faced and closed, consequently not so good a defence. They had no brasselets nor cuisses; thus armed more lightly, they had more agility in mounting a horse, and could better raise up in battle, those heavy masses of knights, who could not move, or even be wounded but with difficulty. Besides, the complete armour of knights was a prerogative of honour, to which the squires had no pretension; they were not allowed to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to fear, was being wounded in the face when he lifted up his beaver, or in the flank, through any defect in his cuirass, when he was beaten down, or when his coat of mail was
taken

taken off; or lastly in the armpits, when he raised his arms. There were likewise troops of cavalry draughted from the common soldiery, not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, every man had what defensive armour he pleased to wear, and his offensive arms were the sword, the arrow, the club, and sling.

It was a bishop who drew up in line of battle the army of Philip Augustus. His name was Guerin, and he had been appointed to the see of Senlis. There was also at that battle a bishop of Beauvais, who had been long kept prisoner by Richard king of England; he used a club or mace, saying, he should be irregular if he shed human blood. It is not known in what manner the emperor and king disposed their troops. Philip, before the battle, ordered his army to sing the psalm, *Exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici ejus*, as if Otho had been fighting against God. Formerly the French sung verses in honour of Charlemagne and Orlando. The imperial standard of Otho, fixed in a waggon with four wheels, according to the custom of Germany and Italy, was a long pole supporting a wooden dragon painted, and above the dragon was a gilded eagle of wood. The royal standard of France was a gilded staff, with an ensign of white silk, powdered with golden flowers de lis; for this ornament called flowers de lis, which was no other than a fancy of the painter, began to be assumed as the armorial bearing of the kings of France. The antient crowns of the Lombard kings, of which we have exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is nothing but the iron head
of

of a lance, bound with two other crooked pieces of iron; this is likewise the figure of several sceptres of the old Lombard kings.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus brought into the field the oriflame of St. Denis, which was a lance of gilded copper, to which was fixed a red silk flag. When the king was in danger, they raised or lowered one or other of these standards. Every knight had likewise his own, called a Pendant, and the great knights, who had other knights under them, were provided with another ensign, called a Banner. This term Banner, which is so honourable, was nevertheless common to the ensigns of the infantry, which was almost wholly composed of Serfs, or people lately made free.

The cry of war commonly used by the French was *Mon Joie St. Denis*: they said indifferently *Mon Joie*, or *Ma Joie*, in the barbarous jargon of France. The German cry was still, *Kyrie-eleyson*.

The Teutonic army, though very strong in infantry, had fewer knights than that of the king. It is to this difference chiefly that we must attribute the victory in this great battle. Those squadrons of horse caparisoned with steel, carrying men impenetrable to blows, and armed with long lances, could not fail to put in disorder the German soldiery almost naked and disarmed, in comparison of those moving citadels.

A proof that knights who were well armed, ran no other risk than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded except by great accident, is that king Philip Augustus thrown
2 from

from his horse was for a long time surrounded by enemies, and received strokes from all kinds of arms without losing a drop of blood *. It is even reported that as he lay upon the ground, a German soldier attempted to thrust a bearded javelin into his throat, but never could penetrate. No knight was killed in the battle, except William *de long Champs*, who unluckily died of a thrust in the eye, which he received thro' the visor of his helmet.

They reckon on the side of the Germans, five and twenty knights bannerets, and seven counts of the empire prisoners, but not one wounded; the real danger at that time fell upon the light horse, and especially the infantry of slaves or freed men, who endured all the fatigue and peril of the war.

The emperor Otho lost the battle. Thirty thousand Germans are said to be killed; a number probably exaggerated. The custom then was to load the prisoners with chains. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne were carried to Paris, with shackles on their arms and legs. This was a settled, tho' barbarous custom. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, king of England, said himself, that when he was arrested in Germany, contrary to the law of nations, they loaded him with as heavy chains as he could possibly carry.

With regard to the consequences, we do not find that the king of France made any conquest

* Heifs says, the king of France was wounded in the throat.——It is diverting enough to see M. de Voltaire, who exclaims against the description of battles, thus displaying the glory of France.

on the side of Germany after his victory at Bovines : but he by this success acquired much more authority over his vassals.

Philip Augustus sends to Frederick in Swisserland, whither he had retired, the imperial car that bore the German Eagle ; this was a trophy and a pledge of the empire.

END of the FIFTEENTH VOLUME.





OTHO the GREAT.

Grvin delin.

Hall sculp.

THE *14 A A i*
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS;

VOLUME THE SIXTEENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXII,

W O R K

M A T H

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Author of "The Elements of Algebra," &c.

Published by J. S. Gardner, 10, N. 2d St., N. Y.

NEW YORK: J. S. GARDNER, 10, N. 2d St.

London: J. S. GARDNER, 10, N. 2d St.

Printed by J. S. Gardner, 10, N. 2d St., N. Y.

1854

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OF THE
SIXTEENTH VOLUME.

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A N N A L S
OF THE
E M P I R E
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

F R E D E R I C K II.

TWENTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1214.

OTHO being vanquished, and totally abandoned, retires to Brunswick, where he is left in peace, because he is no longer formidable. He is not deposed, but forgot. He is said to have become a devotee: the resource of the unhappy, and the passion of weak minds. His penance is said to have consisted in his being thrown down and kicked by his kitchen-boys, as if the kicks of a turnspit could expiate the faults of a prince.

1215.

Frederick II. emperor in consequence of the victory at Bovines, is every where acknowledged.

B

During

During the troubles of Germany, we have seen that the Danes conquered a great deal of territory to the northward and eastward of the Elbe. Frederick II. began by abandoning these lands by treaty, in which Hamburg is comprehended. But, as a disadvantageous treaty is renounced upon the first opportunity, he takes advantage of a quarrel between Otho's brother count Palatine of the Rhine and the Danes, receives Hamburg into his protection, and afterwards restores it. A shameful beginning of an illustrious reign.

The second coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-chapelle. He dispossesses the count Palatine, and the Palatinate reverts to the house of Bavaria Witelsbach.

A new crusade. The emperor takes the cross. He must certainly have still doubted his own power, seeing he promised to pope Innocent III. that he would never reunite Naples and Sicily to the empire, but give them to his son as soon as he should be consecrated at Rome.

1216.

Frederick II. remains in Germany with his cross, and entertains more designs upon Italy than upon Palestine. In vain the crusade is preached to all the kings. At this time no prince set out but Andrew II. king of Hungary. That people who were scarcely Christians, take the cross against the Mussulmans, whom they call infidels.

1217.

The German crusards depart, nevertheless, under various chiefs by sea and land. The fleet of the Low Countries being detained by contrary winds, affords the crusards another opportunity

traity of employing their arms usefully in Spain. They join the Portuguese, and defeat the Moors. That victory might have been pursued, and Spain wholly delivered, but pope Honorius III. the successor of Innocent, will not allow it. The Popes commanded the crusards as the soldiers of God, yet they could send them no where but to the East. Men must be ruled according to their prejudices, and those soldiers of the popes would not have obeyed them elsewhere.

1218.

Frederick II. had great reason to postpone his voyage. The towns of Italy and Milan, in particular, refused to acknowledge a sovereign, who being master of Germany and the two Sicilies, was powerful enough to enslave all Italy. They still held for Otho IV. who lived obscurely in a corner of Germany. Acknowledging him for emperor, was in fact declaring themselves entirely free.

Otho dies near Brunswick, and Lombardy has no longer a pretext.

1219.

A great diet at Frankfort, where Frederick II. causes his son Henry, a child of nine years, by Constance of Arragon, to be elected king of the Romans. All those diets were held in the open field, as they are still in Poland.

The emperor renounces his right to the moveables of deceased bishops, and to the revenues of vacant sees. This is what the French call *la Regale*. He renounces the right of jurisdiction in episcopal towns, where the emperor shall happen to be, unless he there keeps his

B 2

court.

court. Almost all the first acts of this prince are renunciations.

1220.

He goes to Italy in quest of that empire which Frederick Barbarossa had not been able to obtain. Milan at first shuts her gates, as to the grandson of Barbarossa, whose memory the Milanese detested. He pockets the affront, and goes to be crowned at Rome. Honorius III. at first demands that the emperor will confirm him in the possession of several territories of the countess Mathilda. To these Frederick adds the territory of Fondi. The Pope desires him to renew his oath to go to the Holy Land; the emperor renews that oath, after which he is crowned with all the ceremonies, whether humble or humbling, of his predecessor. He likewise signalizes his coronation by bloody edicts against heretics. Not that heresy was then known in Germany, where ignorance reigned, with courage and disorder: but the inquisition had been established on account of the Albigenses; and the emperor, to please the Pope, issued those cruel edicts, by which the children of heretics are excluded from the succession of their fathers.

These laws, confirmed by the Pope, were visibly dictated in order to justify the seizure of the estates taken by the church, and by force of arms, from the house of Thoulouse in the war of the Albigenses. The counts of Thoulouse had a great many fiefs of the empire. Frederick was absolutely resolved to please the Pope. Such laws were neither of a piece with his age or character. Could they possible have been suggested

suggested by his chancellor Peter de Vineis, who is accused of having written the pretended book of the three impostors *, or at least of having harboured the opinion which the title of the book implies?

1221, 1222, 1223, 1224.

During these years Frederick did things more worthy of remembrance. He embellished and aggrandized Naples, makes it the metropolis of the kingdom, and in a little time it becomes the most populous town in Italy. There was still a number of Saracens in Sicily, and they frequently had recourse to arms: he transports them to Lucera in Apulia; hence that town acquired the name of *Lucera*, or *Nocera de Pagani*.

The academy or university of Naples is established, and flourishes. There the law is taught, and the Lombard laws gradually give way to the Roman law.

The design of Frederick II. seems to have been to reside in Italy. One is attached to one's native country: his was already embellished; and that the most delightful country of Europe. He spends fifteen years without going to Germany. Why should he have so much flattered the Popes, and respected the towns of Italy, if he had not conceived the idea of establishing at last the seat of the empire at Rome? was not that the only way of extricating himself from that equivocal situation in which all the emperors reigned? a situation become still more perplexing, since the emperor was at once king of Naples, and vassal of the holy see, and had promised to dismember Naples and Sicily from the

* Namely, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet.

6 FREDERICK II.

empire. All this confusion would have been at last unravelled, had the emperor been master of Italy; but destiny otherwise ordained.

It likewise appears that the Pope's great design was to rid his hands of Frederick, by sending him to the Holy Land. In order to accomplish this design, he had, after the death of Constance of Arragon, persuaded him to marry one of the pretended heiresses of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been long lost. John of Brienne, who assumed the empty title of king of Jerusalem, founded on his mother's claim, gave his daughter Jolanda or Violante in marriage to Frederick, with Jerusalem as her dower; in other words, almost nothing at all: and Frederick married her because she was handsome, and he chose to please the Pope. Since that time, the kings of Sicily have always taken the title of king of Jerusalem. Frederick was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, which consisted only of a claim to a small maritime territory, still possessed by the Christians in Syria.

1225.

During the preceding, and in the following years, young Henry, the emperor's son, resided constantly in Germany. A great revolution happens in Denmark, and in all the provinces that border on the Baltic. The Danish king Waldemar had made himself master of those provinces which were inhabited by the western Slaves and the Vandals. From Hamburg to Dantzic, and from Dantzic to Revel, the whole country acknowledged Waldemar.

A count of Schwerin in Mecklenburg, who had become vassal to that king, forms the design

sign of carrying off Waldemar, and the hereditary prince his son: and this design he executes at a hunting-match, May 23, 1223.

The king of Denmark being prisoner, implores the assistance of pope Honorius III. who commands the count of Schwerin, and the other German lords who were concerned in this enterprize, to set the king and his son at liberty. The popes pretended to have bestowed the crown of Denmark, as well as those of Poland and Bohemia. The emperors likewise pretended to have bestowed it. The popes and emperors, who were not masters in Rome, always disputed the right of making kings at the extremity of Europe. They paid no regard to the command of Honorius. The knights of the Teutonic order join the bishop of Riga in Livonia, and make themselves masters of part of the coast of the Baltic.

Lubeck and Hamburg re-enjoy their liberty and rights. Waldemar and his son, after having been stripped of almost all they had in that country, are set at liberty, in consequence of giving a very large ransom.

Here we find a new power insensibly established: that is, the Teutonic order, which has already a grand master, together with fiefs in Germany, and conquers territories lying upon the Baltic.

1226.

This grand master of the Teutonic order solicits in Germany new succours for Palestine. Pope Honorius presses the emperor to leave Italy as soon as possible, and go and accomplish his vow in Syria. It must be observed, that there was at this time a truce of nine years subsisting

B 4

between

between the sultan of Ægypt and the crusards. Frederick II. therefore had no vow to accomplish. He promises to maintain knights in Palestine, and is not excommunicated. He ought to have established himself in Lombardy, and afterwards in Rome, rather than in Palestine. The Lombard towns had time to enter into an association; they were called the confederate towns; Milan and Bologna were at their head, and they were no longer considered as subjects, but as vassals of the empire. Frederick II. was desirous of attaching them to him at least; and this was a difficult task. He convokes a diet at Cremona, and summons all the Italian and German noblemen to attend.

The Pope, fearing the emperor would assume too much authority in this diet, involves him in affairs at Naples. He appoints bishops to five vacant sees in that kingdom, without consulting Frederick; he forbids several towns and noblemen to go to the assembly at Cremona; he supports the rights of the associated towns, and makes himself defender of the Italic liberty.

1227.

A fine triumph for Honorius III. the emperor having put Milan to the ban of the empire, and transferred to Naples the university of Bologna, admits the Pope as judge. All the towns submit to his decision. The Pope, as umpire between the emperor and Italy, pronounces sentence: "We decree that the emperor shall forget his resentment against all the towns, and we decree that the towns shall furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the assistance of the Holy Land, during the term of two years."

This

This was a declaration worthy at once of a sovereign and pontiff.

Having determined in this manner between Italy and the emperor, he sits as judge of Waldemar king of Denmark, who had taken an oath to pay the rest of his ransom to the German lords, and sworn that he would never re-take what he had yielded. The Pope absolves him of an oath taken in prison and upon compulsion. Waldemar re-enters Holstein, but is defeated. His nephew, the lord of Lunenburg and Brunswick, who fights for him, is taken prisoner; nor is he released until he hath yielded up some territories. All these expeditions are still civil wars. Germany is for some time quiet.

1228.

Honorius III. dying, and Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. succeeding, the politics of the pontificate continued the same; but the humour of the new pontiff was more haughty: he hastens the crusade, and presses the so often promised departure of Frederick II. He thought he must send that prince to Jerusalem, in order to prevent his coming to Rome. This spirit of the times made people look upon that prince's vow as an indispensable duty. Upon the first delay of the emperor, he is excommunicated by the Pope. Frederick still dissembles his resentment, excuses himself, prepares his fleet, and exacts of each fief of Sicily and Naples eight ounces of gold for his voyage: even the ecclesiastics supply him with money, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope. At length he embarks at Brindisi, though his excommunication is not taken off.

1229.

What step does Gregory IX. take while the emperor goes to the Holy Land? He takes advantage of that prince's having neglected his absolution, or rather of his contempt for the excommunication; and joins with the Milanese, and the other confederate towns, in order to wrest from him the kingdom of Naples, which he was afraid would be incorporated with the empire.

Renaldo duke of Spoleto, and vicar of the kingdom, takes the marche of Ancona from the Pope: then his Holiness preaches a crusade in Italy, even against Frederick II. whom he had sent upon a crusade to the Holy Land.

He sends an order to the titular patriarch of Jerusalem, residing at Ptolemais, not to acknowledge the emperor.

Frederick, still dissembling, concludes with Melescala, whom we call Meledin, sultan of Egypt and master of Syria, a treaty by which the aim of his crusade seems to have been fulfilled. The sultan cedes Jerusalem to him, with some small maritime towns of which the Christians were still in possession; but upon condition that he shall not reside at Jerusalem; that the mosques built in those holy places shall subsist; and that there shall be always an emir in the city. Frederick is supposed to have had some collusion with the sultan, in order to deceive the Pope: he goes to Jerusalem with a very small escorte, and there crowns himself; for no prelate would crown a person who was excommunicated: he soon returns to the kingdom of Naples, where his presence was much wanted.

1230.

1230.

He finds in the territory of Capua his brother-in-law, John de Brienne, at the head of the papal crusade.

The Pope's crusards, who were called Guelphs, bore the sign of the cross-keys on the shoulder; whereas the emperor's crusards, who were called Ghibelins, wore the cross. The keys fled before the cross.

All Italy was in combustion; and peace, being greatly wanted, was made July 23, at San-Germano. All that the emperor got was abolition. He consents, that, for the future, all benefices shall be given by election in Sicily; that no clerk, within his two kingdoms, shall be brought before a lay-judge; that all ecclesiastical estates shall be exempted from taxes; and, in fine, he gives money to the Pope.

1231.

Hitherto Frederick II. who is painted as the most dangerous, seems to have been the most patient of men; but it is pretended that his son was ready to rebel in Germany, and that this consideration made the father so flexible in Italy.

1232, 1233, 1234.

It is very clear that the emperor's sole design in staying so long in Italy, was to found a true Roman empire. Master as he was in Naples and Sicily, if he had assumed the authority of the Othos in Lombardy, he must have been master also in Rome. This was his only crime in the eyes of the popes; and those popes who persecuted him with such violence, were always regarded by part of Italy as the supports of the nation. The party of the Guelphs was that of

liberty. In such circumstances, Frederick ought to have had large treasures, and a great and well-disciplined army always on foot. This is what he never had. Otho IV. much less powerful than he, had an army of near one hundred and thirty thousand men in the field against the king of France; but he did not keep it in pay, and it was a transient effort of vassals and allies united for a moment.

Frederick might have caused his vassals to march from Germany to Italy. Pope Gregory IX. is said to have prevented this scheme, by exciting Henry king of the Romans to revolt against his father, as Gregory VII. Urban II. and Paschal H. had armed the children of Henry IV.

The king of the Romans at first engages in his party several towns along the Rhine and the Danube. The duke of Austria declares in his favour. Milan, Bologna, and other towns of Italy, engage in that party against the emperor.

1235.

Frederick II. at length returns to Germany, after an absence of fifteen years. The marquis of Baden defeats the rebels. Young Henry comes and throws himself at his father's feet in the great diet at Mentz. It is in these famous diets, these parliaments of princes, where the emperors preside in person, that the greatest affairs of Europe are always treated of with the utmost solemnity. The emperor, in this memorable diet at Mentz, deposes his son Henry king of the Romans; and dreading the fate of Lewis the Weak, surnamed The Debonnaire, as well as that of the courageous and too easy Henry IV. he condemns his rebel-

rious son to perpetual imprisonment : he in that diet secures the duchy of Brunswick to the house of Guelph, in whose possession it still remains : he solemnly receives the canon law published by Gregory IX. and orders the decrees of the empire, for the first time, to be published in the German language, though he himself did not love that tongue, but cultivated the romance to which the Italian succeeded.

1236.

He gives it in charge to the king of Bohemia, the duke of Bavaria, and some bishops, who were enemies to the duke of Austria, to make war upon that duke, as vassals of the empire, who maintain its rights against rebels.

He returns to Lombardy, though with a few troops, consequently can undertake no effectual expedition. Some towns, as Vicenza and Verona, being abandoned to plunder, render him more odious to the Guelphs, without making him more powerful.

1237.

He comes to Austria, which was defended by the Hungarians : he subdues it ; founds an university at Vienna ; confirms the privileges of some imperial towns, such as Ratisbon and Strasbourg ; causes his son Conrad to be acknowledged king of the Romans, in the room of Henry ; and at length, after this success in Germany, thinks himself strong enough to accomplish his grand scheme of subduing Italy. Thither he flies, takes Mantua, and defeats the army of the confederates.

The Pope, who now saw him making long strides towards the execution of his great design, makes a diversion by the affairs of the church ;
and,

and, under pretence that the emperor had caused clerks to be tried in lay-courts, excites all Italy against him, and the church excites the people.

1238,

1239.

Frederick II. had a bastard, called Enzius, whom he had made king of Sardinia; another pretext for the pontiff, who pretended that Sardinia held of the holy see.

This was still pope Gregory IX. The different names of the popes never make any alteration in the state of affairs; it is always the same quarrel and the same spirit. Gregory IX. solemnly excommunicates the emperor twice in Passion Week. They write bitterly against each other. The Pope accuses the emperor of having affirmed, that mankind had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. Frederick calls Gregory Antichrist, Balaam, and the Prince of Darkness.

The emperor's patience was at length exhausted, and he believed himself powerful. The Dominicans and Franciscans, the spiritual militia of the pope, lately established, are expelled from Naples and Sicily. The Benedictines of Monte Cassini share the same fate, no more than eight being left to do duty; and the Pope's letters are forbid to be received in the two kingdoms, on pain of death.

All these proceedings tend more and more to inflame the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. Venice and Genoa join the towns of Lombardy. The emperor marches against them, and is defeated by the Milanese. This is the third signal victory, by which the Milanese have supported their liberty against the emperors.

1240.

There is now no room to negotiate, as the emperor had always done: he augments his troops and marches to Rome, where there was a strong party of Ghibelins.

Gregory IX. exposes the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; harangues the people in their name; inflames their minds; and profits by that moment of enthusiasm to make a crusade against the emperor.

That prince finding it impracticable to enter Rome, goes and ravages the Beneventine. Such was the power of the popes in Europe; and the name of Crusade was become so sacred, that the Pope obtains a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a fifth in England, for his crusade against the emperor.

He offers by his legates the imperial crown to Robert d'Artois, brother of St. Lewis: he says, in his letter to the king and baronage of France, "We have condemned Frederick, who calls himself Emperor, and deprived him of the empire: we have elected, in his room, prince Robert the king's brother, whom we will support with all our power, and by all kinds of means."

This indiscreet offer was refused. Some historians say, in quoting Matthew Paris, the barons of France answered, that it was enough for Robert d'Artois to be brother of a king who was above the emperor. They even pretend that the ambassadors of Lewis said the same thing, in the same terms, to Frederick. But it is by no means probable that they would make such an indecent, rude answer, so little founded

founded on truth, and which could be of no signification.

The answer of the barons of France, as Matthew Paris relates it, is not more likely. The chief of those barons were all the bishops of the kingdom. Now is it very probable, that all the barons, and all the bishops, in the time of St. Lewis, should make this reply to the Pope? *Tantum religionis in Papa non invenimus, qui eum debuit promovisse, & Deo militantem protexisse, eum conatus est absentem confundere & nequiter supplantare.* "We do not find so much religion in the Pope, who ought to have promoted and protected him as a soldier of God; whereas he hath endeavoured to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence."

A reader endowed with the least share of common sense, will see that a nation in a body could not return such an insolent answer to the Pope who offered them the empire. How could the bishops write to the Pope, that the unbelieving Frederick II. had more religion than his Holiness. This particular should teach us to distrust those historians, who erect their own private notions into public monuments.

1241.

About this time the people of Great Tartary threatened the rest of the world. That vast reservoir of brutal and warlike men had vomited its inundations over almost our whole hemisphere from the fifth century of the Christian æra. Part of those conquerors had come and wrested Palestine from the sultan of Egypt, and the small number of Christians who still remained in that country. More considerable
hordes

hordes of Tartars under Batou-khan, grandson of Gengis-khan, had been as far as Poland and Hungary.

The Hungarians, mixed with the Huns, formerly countrymen of those Tartars, had been vanquished by the new-comers. This torrent had spread in Dalmatia, and thus extended its ravages from Pekin to the frontiers of Germany. Was this a time for a Pope to excommunicate the emperor, and assemble a council to depose him?

Gregory IX. convokes that council. One can scarce conceive how he could propose to the emperor to make a total cession of the empire and all his dominions to the holy see, as the only effectual means of a reconciliation. The Pope, nevertheless, makes this proposal. What must have been the spirit of an age in which these proposals were made?

1242.

The eastern part of Germany is delivered from the Tartars, who retreat like wild beasts after they have seized their prey.

Gregory IX. and his successor Celestin IV. dying almost in the same year, and the holy see having been long vacant, it is surprising that the emperor should press the Romans, even at the head of an army, to elect a new Pope. One would think it was for his interest that the chair of his enemies should not be filled; but the motives that influenced the politics of those times are very little known. Certain it is, Frederick II. must have been a wise prince, seeing that in those times of trouble Germany and his kingdom of Naples and Sicily were in tranquillity.

1243.

1243.

The cardinals assembled at Agnani elect cardinal Fiesque, a Genoese of the family of the counts of Lavagna, attached to the emperor, who says, "Fiesque was my friend; the Pope will be my enemy."

1244.

Fiesque, known by the name of Innocent IV. does not proceed so far as to demand that Frederick II. would yield the empire to him; but he demands the restitution of all the towns of the ecclesiastical state, and of the countess Matilda, and insists upon the emperor's doing homage for Naples and Sicily.

1245.

Innocent IV. upon the emperor's refusal, assembles at Lyons the council summoned by Gregory IX. This is the thirteenth general council.

It may be asked, why this council was held in an imperial town? This town was protected by France; the archbishop was a prince; and in those provinces the emperor had nothing else than the vain title of Lord Paramount.

There were but one hundred and forty bishops at this general council, but it was adorned with the presence of several princes, especially of Baldwin de Courtenai, emperor of Constantinople, who was placed on the Pope's right hand. That monarch was come to ask succours, which he did not obtain.

Frederick did not neglect to send ambassadors for his defence at this council, where he was to be accused. Innocent IV. pronounced against him two long harangues in the two first sessions. A monk of the order of Citeaux, bishop of Carniola

Carniola near Garillan, who was expelled from the kingdom of Naples by Frederick, accuses him in form. There is not now any regular tribunal which would admit of the accusations alledged by that monk. "The emperor, says he, believes neither in God nor in the saints." But who had told the monk so? "The emperor has several wives living at one time." But who were those wives? "He carries on a correspondence with the sultan of Babylon." But why may not the titular king of Jerusalem treat with his neighbour? "He is of opinion with Averroes, that Jesus Christ and Mahomet were impostors." But in what place has Averroes said so much, and how is it proved that the emperor is of his opinion? "He is an heretic." But what is heresy? and how can he be an heretic, if he is no Christian?

Thadeus Sessa, Frederick's ambassador, answers, that this monkish bishop has told a lie, that his master is a very good Christian, and does not tolerate simony. In these words he plainly enough accuses the court of Rome.

The ambassador of England goes farther: "You draw, says he, by your Italians, above sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England: you tax all our churches; you excommunicate those who complain; we shall not long suffer such imposition."

All these remonstrances serve only to hasten the Pope's sentence: "I pronounce, says Innocent IV. Frederick convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated, and deprived of the empire. I order the electors to choose another emperor; and save to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily."

After

After having pronounced this sentence, he thunders a Te Deum, as it is now performed after a victory.

The emperor was at Turin, which then belonged to the marquis of Susa. He calls for the imperial crown which the emperors always carried about with them, and setting it upon his head, "the pope, says he, has not yet deprived me of this; and before he does, there will be a great deal of bloodshed." He sends a circular letter to all the Christian princes. "I am not the first, said he, whom the clergy have treated in such an unworthy manner, and I shall not be the last. You are the cause of all this, in obeying those hypocrites whose boundless ambition you know. What a number of infamous practices will you not discover at Rome, at which human nature must shudder? &c."

1246.

The pope writes to the duke of Austria expelled from his dominions, to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria and Brabant, to the archbishops of Cologne, Triers and Mentz, and to the bishops of Straßbourg and Spire, ordering them to elect for emperor Henry landgrave of Thuringia.

The dukes refuse to come to the diet convoked at Wurtzbourg, and the bishops crown their Thuringian, whom they call *the king of priests*.

Here are two important circumstances to be observed: first, it is plain the electors were not seven in number; secondly, Conrad, the emperor's son, king of the Romans, was comprehended in the excommunication of his father, and divested of all his rights as an heretic, according

according to the law of the popes and that of his own father, who had published it at a time when he wanted to ingratiate himself with the popes.

Conrad supports his father's cause and his own. He gives battle to the king of the priests near Frankfort, but is worsted.

The Landgrave of Thuringia dies in besieging Ulm, but the imperial schism does not end.

It was probably in this year, that Frederick II. having but too many enemies, reconciles himself to the duke of Austria; and in order to attach him to his interest, bestows on him and his descendants the title of king, by a patent still preserved at Vienna. This patent is without a date. It is very strange that the dukes of Austria never made use of it. In all likelihood the princes of the empire opposed this new title bestowed by an excommunicated emperor, whom one-half of Germany began to renounce.

1247.

Innocent IV. offers the empire to several princes. All refuse so tempestuous a dignity. It is accepted by one William count of Holland, a young nobleman twenty years of age. The greatest part of Germany does not acknowledge him; it is the pope's legate who appoints this emperor at Cologne, and invests him with the order of knighthood.

1248.

Two factions are formed in Germany, as violent as those of the Guelphs and Ghibelins in Italy. One sticks to Frederick and his son Conrad; the other adheres to the new king William. This is what the pope wanted. William is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop

bishop of Cologne. The festivals that attended this coronation, are bloodshed on every hand, and towns reduced to ashes.

1249.

The emperor is now no more in Italy, than the chief of a faction in a civil war. His son Enzo, whom we call Enzius, is defeated by the Poles, falls into their hands as a prisoner, and his father cannot obtain his liberty even for money.

Another fatal adventure disturbs the last days of Frederick II. provided the adventure be such as is related. His famous chancellor Peter de Vineis, or rather de la Vigna, his counsellor, his oracle, and friend of thirty years standing, restorer of the laws in Italy, is said to have attempted to poison him by the hands of his physician. Historians differ about the year of this event, and that difference may create some suspicion. Is it credible that the first magistrate in Europe, a venerable old man, should hatch such an abominable treason? and for what reason? to please the pope, who was his enemy. Where could he hope for a more considerable fortune? what better post could the physician have than that of being physician to the emperor?

Certain it is, Peter de Vineis had his eyes put out. This is not the punishment of one who poisons his master. Several Italian authors pretend that a court intrigue was the cause of his disgrace, and provoked Frederick II. to this cruelty; and the account is very probable.

1250.

Mean-while Frederick makes another effort in Lombardy; he even orders some troops to pass

pass the Alps, and alarms the pope, who was still at Lyons, under the protection of St. Lewis; for that king of France, while he blamed the excesses of the pope, respected his person and his council.

This was Frederick's last expedition.

1251.

He dies Dec. 17. Some believe he felt remorse for the treatment he had given to Peter de Vineis; but it appears by his will, that he repented of nothing he had done. His life and death make a very important æra in history. Of all the emperors he was the man who endeavoured most to establish the empire in Italy, and who succeeded least, possessing all the requisites for success.

The popes, who would have no masters, and the towns of Lombardy, which so often defended their liberty against a master, prevented the possibility of there being a Roman emperor.

Sicily, but especially Naples, was his favourite kingdom. He increased and embellished Naples and Capua, built Alitea, Monte Leone, Flagella, Dondona, Aquila and several other towns; founded universities and cultivated the liberal arts in those climates where the fruit seems to come spontaneous; and one circumstance that endeared his native country to him was, that he himself was the legislator of it. In spite of his understanding, courage, application and labours, he was very unfortunate; and his death produced still greater misfortunes.

CONRAD IV.

TWENTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

CONRAD IV. son of Frederick II. has a better title to be ranked among the emperors, than those who are placed between the descendants of Charlemagne and the Othos. He had been twice crowned king of the Romans. He succeeded a respectable father ; and William count of Holland, his competitor, who was likewise called the King of the Priests, as well as the Landgrave of Thuringia, had no other right than the pope's order and the suffrages of some bishops.

Conrad at first suffers a defeat near Oppenheim, but still supports himself. He forces his competitor to quit Germany. He goes to Lyons to visit pope Innocent IV. who confirms him king of the Romans, and promises to give him the imperial crown at Rome.

It was become usual to preach crusades against Christian princes. The pope ordered one to be preached in Germany against the emperor Conrad, and another in Italy, against Manfred or Mainfroy, natural son of Frederick II. at that time faithful to his brother and the last will of his father.

This Mainfroy, prince of Tarentum, governed Naples and Sicily in the name of Conrad. The pope caused Naples and Mantua to revolt against him. Conrad marches thither, and seems to abandon Germany to his rival William, that
he

he might go and second his brother Mainfroy against the crusards of the pope.

1252.

During that time William of Holland establishes himself in Germany. We may here observe an adventure, which proves how long all rights continued uncertain, and all limits confounded. A countess of Flanders and Hainault is at war with John Davennes her son by a former marriage, for the right of succession of that very son to his mother's lands. St. Lewis is chosen arbitrator. He adjudges Hainault to Davennes, and Flanders to the son of the second marriage. John Davennes says to king Lewis, "You give me Hainault which does not depend upon you, it holds of the bishop of Liege, and is an under fief of the empire. Flanders really holds of you, and you withhold it from me."

It was not then decided, of what prince Hainault held. Flanders was another problem. All the country of Alost was fief of the empire, as well as all that bordered upon the Scheld. But the rest of Flanders from Ghent, held of the kings of France. Mean while William as king of Germany, puts the countess to the ban of the empire, and confiscates all her estate for the advantage of John Davennes, in the year 1252. This affair was at last accommodated; but it shews what inconveniencies attend the feudal right. It was still worse in Italy, especially for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

1253, 1254.

These years, which as well as the following, are called the years of interregnum, tho' productive

C

ductive of confusion and anarchy, are nevertheless worthy of consideration.

The house of Morienne and Savoy, which espouses the party of William, receives from him the investiture of Turin, Montcalier, Ivrea, and several fiefs, which make it a very powerful family.

In Germany the towns of Frankfort, Mentz, Cologne, Worms and Spire, associate together for the benefit of trade, and to defend themselves from the country gentlemen who were, so many robbers. This union of the towns upon the Rhine, was not so much an imitation of the confederacy of the towns of Lombardy, as of the first hans-towns, Lubec, Hamburgh, and Brunswick.

In a little time the greatest part of the towns of Germany and Flanders, engage in the Hans. The principal object is to maintain vessels and barks at the common expence for the security of commerce. A bill of one of these towns passes current in all the rest. The confidence of trade is established. Merchants by means of this alliance do more service to society, than ever was done by so many emperors and popes.

The city of Lubec alone is already so powerful, that in a civil war which was kindled in Denmark, it equips a fleet at its own expence.

While the trading towns procure these temporal advantages, the knights of the Teutonic order, resolve that of Christianity to the rest of the Vandals, who lived in Prussia and the neighbourhood. Ottocarus II. king of Bohemia takes the cross with them. All the kings of Bohemia took the name of Ottocarus, since they had espoused the party of Otho IV.

They

They defeat the Pagans, and the two Prussian chiefs receive baptism. Ottocarus rebuilds Konigsberg.

Other scenes open in Italy. The pope still maintains the war, and insists upon disposing of Naples and Sicily. But he cannot recover his own demefnes, nor those of the countess Mathilda. We always see the popes powerful abroad, in consequence of the excommunications, which they thunder forth, and the divisions they foment, but very impotent in Italy, and especially in Rome.

The factions of the Ghibelins and the Guelphs divided and desolated Italy. They had begun from the quarrels between the popes and the emperors; these names had been every where, a word of banter in the time of Frederick II. Those who pretend to acquire fiefs and titles which were bestowed by the emperors, declared themselves Ghibelins. The Guelphs seemed more the partizans of the Italic liberty. The Guelph party at Rome was indeed for the pope, when the business was to unite against the emperor; but the same party opposed the pope, when the pontiff, freed from a master, wanted to become master himself in his turn. These factions were again subdivided into several different parties, and served to nourish discord in towns and families. Some old captains of Frederick II. employed these names of faction, which inflamed the minds of men, to enlist people under their colours, and cloaked their robberies with the pretext of supporting the rights of the empire. Robbers of another gang pretended to serve the pope who gave them no such commission, and ravaged Italy in his name. Among those robbers who rendered themselves famous, there was

a partizan of Frederick II. called Ezzelino*, who had well nigh established a great dominion, and entirely changed the face of affairs. He is still famous for the ravages he committed: booty enabled him to raise an army; and had he been always favoured by fortune, he must have become a conqueror. But at last he was taken in an ambuscade, and Rome which dreaded him was delivered of her fear. The Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not extinguished in him. They subsisted for a long time, and were very violent, even while Germany was without a real emperor, during the interregnum that succeeded Conrad's death, and could no longer serve as a pretext for these troubles. A pope in these circumstances had a very difficult place to fill. Obligated as a bishop to preach peace in the midst of war, being at the head of the Roman government, without power to attain absolute authority,* under the necessity of defending himself against the Ghibelins, and of managing the Guelphs, and above all things, in fear of an imperial house that possesses Naples and Sicily; every part of his situation was precarious. The popes, since Gregory VII. had always this in common with the emperors; the title of masters of the world, and a power that was very circumscribed. And if we at-

* Or Eccelino de Onara. He obtained many victories for the emperor, and afterwards set up for himself. He reduced Verona and Padua, and several other cities, where he reigned with such cruel despotism, that the people believed he was engendered by the Devil. The pope preached up a Crusade against him, and being taken in an ambuscade, he was conveyed to Soncino, where he died distracted, after having triumphed above forty years,

tentively consider the subject we shall see that from the very first successors of Charlemagne, the empire and the church are two problems of very difficult solution.

Conrad sends for one of his brothers, to whom Frederick II. had given the duchy of Austria. This young prince dies, and is suspected of having been poisoned by Conrad; for at this time, the death of every prince who did not die of old age, was imputed to poison. Conrad IV. dies soon after, and Mainfroy is accused of having dispatched him by the same means.

The emperor Conrad IV. who died in the flower of his age, left a child, that unhappy Conradin, of whom Mainfroy becomes the guardian. Pope Innocent IV. persecutes in this infant, the memory of his fathers. Finding he cannot make himself master of the kingdom of Naples, he offers it to the king of England: he offers it to a brother of St. Lewis, but he dies in the midst of his prospects, even in the city of Naples, which his party had conquered. By the last enterprizes of Innocent IV. one would think he was a warrior. No such matter. He was counted a profound divine.

1255.

After the death of Conrad IV. the last emperor, tho' not the last prince, of the house of Suabia, it was probable that young William of Holland who began to reign in Germany, without opposition, would raise a new imperial house. That feudal right which hath produced so many disputes and so many wars, induces him to arm against the Frieslanders. It was pretended that they were vassals of the counts of Holland, and under-vassals of the empire. He marches

marches against them, and is slain about the latter end of 1255, or beginning of the following year; and this is the æra of the great anarchy of Germany.

The same anarchy prevails in Rome, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The Guelphs had been expelled from Naples by Mainfroy. The new pope Alexander IV. tho' but indifferently established in Rome, resolves like his predecessor, to wrest Naples and Sicily from the excommunicated house of Suabia, and strip at once young Conradin to whom the kingdom belonged, and Mainfroy who was his guardian.

Who could believe that Alexander causes a crusade to be preached in England against Conradin? and that in offering the dominions of the infant to Henry III. king of England*, he borrows even in the name of that English king, money enough to raise an army for himself? What conduct is this for a pontiff to strip an orphan! a legate of the pope commands this army, which is said to have amounted to near fifty thousand men. The pope's army is defeated and despised.

* He sent his nuncio Albert into England, with an offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, who declined the proposal of engaging in an expensive war against Conrad, who was his own nephew. His brother Henry was not so scrupulous. The same scheme being offered to his consideration, in favour of his second son Edmund, he submitted to all the conditions imposed by the pope, engaged himself and his realm for unlimited sums, supplied him with all the money in his own exchequer, as well as with what he could extort from the Jews, who were miserably oppressed, together with large sums borrowed of his brother Richard, and the Italian merchants, at exorbitant interest.

Let us moreover observe, that pope Alexander IV. who believed himself strong enough to conquer two kingdoms, though at the gates of Rome, dares not enter, but retires to Viterbo. Rome always resembled those imperial towns which dispute the rights of regality with their archbishops; as Cologne, for example, the municipal government of which is independent of the elector. Rome continued in this precarious situation till the time of Alexander VI.

1256, 1257, 1258.

In Germany it is resolved to make an emperor. The German princes then thought as the Polish Palatines of these days. They would not have a king from among their own countrymen. One faction choose Alphonfus X. king of Castile; another elects Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England. These two send severally to the Pope, desiring their election might be confirmed: the Pope will confirm neither. Richard mean while goes to Aix-la-chapelle, where he is crowned May 17, 1257, without, however, being more obeyed in Germany on account of that ceremony.

Alphonfus of Castile acts as sovereign of Germany at Toledo. Frederick III. duke of Lorraine, goes thither, and receives on his knees the investiture of his duchy, together with the dignity of great Seneschal of the emperor, on the banks of the Rhine, and the right of laying the first dish on the imperial table in plenary courts.

All the historians of Germany, as the more modern, say, that Richard never appeared again in the empire. But this was because they were not acquainted with the Chronicle of England,

wrote by Thomas Wik. That chronicle gives us to understand that Richard went three times to Germany, where he exercised the rights of emperor on more than one occasion; that in 1263, he gave the investiture of Austria and Stiria to one Ottocarus king of Bohemia; and that in 1269, he married the daughter of a baron called Falkemorit, with whom he returned to London. That long interregnum, then so much talked of, did not really subsist: altho' these years may be called an interregnum, because Richard was seldom in Germany *. In those times we find nothing in Germany but petty wars between petty sovereigns.

1259.

Young Conradin was then educated in Bavaria, with his cousin the titular duke of Austria, of the old branch of Austria, which is now extinct. Mainfroy, more ambitious than loyal, tired of being regent, causes himself to be proclaimed king of Naples and Sicily.

Thus he furnished the Pope with a just handle for seeking his destruction. Alexander IV. as pontiff, had a right to excommunicate a perjured person, and, as lord paramount of Naples, to punish an usurper. But he had no title, either as pope or paramount, to deprive the young and innocent Conradin of his inheritance.

Mainfroy, who believes himself firmly established, treats the Pope's excommunications and enterprizes with contempt.

* Richard's elevation to the imperial throne is said to have cost him seven hundred thousand pounds sterling; a sum altogether incredible.

Erzelin, another tyrant, lays waste the countries of Lombardy, which adhere to the Guelphs and the pontiffs. At last he is wounded in a battle against the Cremonese, and the earth is delivered from his ravages.

From 1260 to 1266.

While Germany is either quite desolate, or languishes in anarchy; while Italy is divided into factions; England involved in civil wars; and St. Lewis, redeemed from captivity in Egypt, meditates another crusade, which was more unfortunate, if possible, than the first; the holy see still perseveres in the design of wresting Naples and Sicily from Mainfroy, and of stripping at once the guilty guardian and the innocent orphan.

Whatever pope sits on St. Peter's chair, it is still the same genius, and the same medley of greatness and impotence. The Romans will neither acknowledge the temporal authority of the Pope, nor be ruled by emperors. The Popes are scarce endured in Rome, and yet they bestow and take away kingdoms. Rome at that time chose one senator only, as protector of her liberty. Mainfroy, his son-in-law Peter of Arragon, and Charles duke of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, all three caballed for this dignity, which was that of Patrician, under another name.

Urban IV. the new pontiff, offers Naples and Sicily to Charles of Anjou, but he does not choose to see him senator; because then he would be too powerful.

He proposes that St. Lewis should equip the duke of Anjou with an armament for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. St. Lewis he-

fitates. It was plainly a proposal to rob a ward of an inheritance derived from so many ancestors, who had conquered those dominions from the Mussulmans. The Pope quiets his scruples. Charles of Anjou accepts the donation from the Pope, and causes himself to be elected senator of Rome, in despite of the Pope.

Urban IV. being now too far engaged to retract, makes Charles of Anjou promise that he will in five years renounce the title of senator. And as that prince was obliged to take an oath to the Romans for his whole life, the Pope reconciles these two oaths, and absolves him of the one, provided he will take the other.

He likewise obliges him to swear in the hands of his legate, that he will never possess the empire, together with the crown of Sicily. This was the law of the popes his predecessors; and this law shews how much they had been afraid of Frederick II.

The count of Anjou, above all things, promises to assist the holy see in recovering the patrimony which had been usurped by a number of noblemen, together with the lands of the countess Mathilda. He engages to pay eight thousand ounces of gold, as a yearly tribute; consenting to be excommunicated if ever that payment is delayed two months: he swears to abolish all the rights which the French conquerors, and the princes of the house of Suabia, had enjoyed over ecclesiastics, and in so doing renounces the singular prerogative of Sicily.

On these and a great number of other conditions, he embarks at Marseilles, with thirty galleys, and goes to Rome in June 1265, to re-

ceive the investiture of Naples and Sicily, which he had bought so dear.

A battle fought in the plains of Beneventum, February 26, 1266, decides the whole dispute. There Mainfroy is slain, and his wife, children, and treasures, fall into the hands of the victor.

The Pope's legate, who was in the army, deprives Mainfroy's body of Christian burial; a revenge both cowardly and ill-timed; which served only to irritate the minds of men.

1267, 1268.

Charles of Anjou no sooner mounts the throne of Sicily, than he is dreaded by the Pope, and hated by his subjects. Conspiracies are formed against him. The Gibelins who divided Italy, send to Bavaria to solicit young Conradin to come and take the inheritance of his fathers. Clement IV. successor of Urban, forbids him to come to Italy, as a sovereign transmits his order to his subject.

Conradin, at the age of sixteen, sets out with his uncle the duke of Bavaria, the count of Tirol, whose daughter he had married, and particularly with his cousin, the young duke of Austria, who was no more master in Austria than Conradin was in Naples. Excommunications are not wanting. Clement IV. that he might oppose him the more effectually, appoints Charles of Anjou imperial vicar in Tuscany. That illustrious province, which had recovered its liberty by its own spirit and courage, was divided into Guelphs and Gibelins, and by this appointment the Guelphs assumed all the authority.

Charles of Anjou, senator of Rome, and chief of Tuscany, becomes still more formidable

ble to the Pope. But Conradin would have been more so.

The hearts of all men were inclined to Conradin, and by a very singular destiny the Romans and Mussulmans declared for him at the same time. On one hand, the infant Henry, brother of Alphonfus X. king of Castile, a true knight-errant, goes to Italy, and there causes himself to be declared senator of Rome, in order to support the rights of Conradin ; on the other hand, a king of Tunis lends them money and gallies, and all the Saracens who remained in the kingdom of Naples, take arms in his favour.

Conradin is received as emperor in the capital of Rome. His gallies anchor on the coast of Sicily, and there his troops are joyfully received by almost the whole nation. He marches from one success to another, as far as Aquila in the Abruzzo. The French knights inured to war, entirely defeat, in a pitched battle, the army of Conradin, composed in a hurry of different nations.

Conradin, the duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile, are made prisoners.

The historians Villani, Guadelfiero, and Fazelli, affirm that pope Clement IV. demanded of Charles of Anjou the death of Conradin. It was his last request, and he died soon after. Charles orders the sentence of death to be pronounced upon the two princes, by Robert de Bari, his prothonotary. He sends Henry of Castile prisoner to Provence, which belonged to him in right of his wife.

On the 26th day of October 1268, Conradin and Frederick of Austria are executed in the market-

market-place of Naples, by the hand of the hangman. This is the first example of such an outrage against crowned heads. Conradin, before he received the stroke, threw his glove among the croud, and begged that somebody would carry it to his cousin Peter of Arragon, Mainfroy's son-in-law, who would one day revenge his death. The glove was taken up by the chevalier Truchses de Walbourg, who actually fulfilled his desire. Since that time the house of Walbourg bears the arms of Conradin, which are those of Suabia. The young duke of Austria being first executed, Conradin, who loved him tenderly, took up his head, which he was kissing when he received the fatal stroke.

Several noblemen were beheaded on the same scaffold. Some time after, Charles of Anjou ordered Mainfroy's widow and his remaining son to be put to death in prison. What is very surprising, we do not find that St. Lewis, who was brother of this Charles of Anjou, ever in the least reproached the barbarian for his horrible cruelty. On the contrary, it was partly in favour of Charles that he undertook his last unfortunate crusade against the king of Tunis, who was Conradin's protector.

1269, 1270, 1271, 1272.

The petty wars still continued between the noblemen of Germany. Rodolphus, count of Habsbourg in Swisserland, had already signalized himself in these wars, and especially in that which he supported against the bishop of Basil, in favour of the abbot of St. Gal. About this time began the treaties of hereditary confraternity between the German houses. This is a mutual

mutual deed of the lands of one house to another, in case of survivorship in the male line.

The first of these treaties had been made in the last years of Frederick II. between the houses of Saxony and Hesse.

The Hans-towns, during this period, augment their privileges and power. They establish consuls in all affairs of trade. For to what other tribunal could they at that time have had recourse?

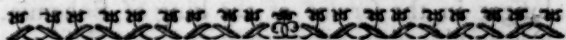
The same necessity which inspired the invention of consuls in the trading towns, was the occasion of instituting *Austregues* for other towns and noblemen, who had no mind to decide their differences by the sword. These *Austregues* are either from the nobility or from the towns themselves, chosen as umpires to determine without the expence of a law-suit. These two establishments, so lucky and so wise, were the fruits of the unfortunate times, which obliged people to have recourse to such expedients.

Germany still remained without a chief, but was resolved to have one at last.

Richard of England was dead. Alphonfus of Castile had now no party. Ottocarus III. king of Bohemia, duke of Austria and Stiria, was proposed, and is said to have refused the empire. He was then at war with Bela king of Hungary, who disputed with him Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He might have contested Stiria, which depended upon Austria, but not Carinthia and Carniola, which he had actually purchased.

Peace is concluded. Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, remain in the possession of Ottocarus. We cannot conceive how he who was so powerful

erful should refuse the empire: he who afterwards refused homage to the emperor. It is much more likely that they would not have him for emperor, for that very reason, because he was too powerful.



RODOLPHUS I. OF HAPSBOURG.

First Emperor of the House of Austria.

TWENTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1273.

AT length they assemble at Frankfort to elect an emperor, in consequence of letters from pope Gregory X. who threatens to appoint one. This was a new circumstance, that a pope should be so desirous of having an emperor.

In this assembly they proposed no prince who possessed extensive dominions. They were too jealous of one another. The count of Tirol, who was of the number of the electors, names three persons, a count de Goritz, lord of a small country in the Frioul, and absolutely unknown; one Bernard, as little known, who had nothing but some pretensions upon the duchy of Carinthia; and Rodolphus de Hapsbourg, a celebrated captain and great marshal of the court of Ottocarus, king of Bohemia.

The electors, being divided between these three competitors, refer the affair to the decision of Lewis the Severe, count Palatine and duke of Bavaria, the same who had educated
and

and in vain befriended the unhappy Conradin and Frederick of Austria. This is the first example of such an arbitration. Lewis of Bavaria names Rodolphus of Hapsbourg emperor.

The burgrave or constable of Nuremberg carries the news to Rodolphus, who, being no longer in the service of the king of Bohemia, was employed in his petty wars about Basil and Straßbourg.

Alphonfus of Castile and the king of Bohemia in vain protest against this election. This protest of Ottocarus is surely no proof of his having refused the imperial crown. Rodolphus was the son of Albert count of Hapsbourg in Swisserland. His mother was Ulrica of Ribourg*, who had several lordships in Alsace. He had been long ago married to Anne of Hæneberg, by whom he had four children. He was turned of fifty-five when he ascended the imperial throne. He had one brother, colonel in the service of the Milanese, and another a canon at Basil; but both died before his election.

He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, though we know not by what archbishop. It is reported that the imperial sceptre, said to be that used by Charlemagne, being missing, this defect of formality began to serve as a pretext to several noblemen who did not choose to take the oath. He seized a crucifix. "This is my sceptre," said he; and all present did him homage. This action of fortitude alone rendered him respectable, and the rest of his conduct shewed him worthy of the empire.

* The annotator on Heiss says his mother was Itha, daughter of the count de Bregeritz,

He marries his son Albert to a daughter of the count of Tirol, sister-in-law of Conradin. By this marriage Albert seems to acquire the right to Alsace and Suabia, the family inheritance of the famous emperor Frederick II. Alsace was then divided among several petty lords. It was necessary to make war upon them. He by his prudence procures the troops of the empire, and subdues the whole by his valour. A prefect is appointed to govern Alsace. This is one of the most important æras with regard to the interior parts of Germany. The possessors of lands in Suabia and Alsace held of the imperial house of Suabia; but after the extinction of that house in the person of the unfortunate Conradin, they would hold of none but the empire. This is the true origin of the immediate nobility, and this is the reason that a greater number of this nobility is found in Suabia than in all the other provinces.

The emperor Rodolphus succeeds in subduing the gentlemen of Alsace, and creates a prefect in that province; but after him the barons of Alsace became for the most part free and immediate barons, as much sovereigns in their small demesnes, as the greatest German noblemen were in their extensive dominions. This, through the greatest part of Europe, was the aim of every person who possessed a castle or country house.

1274.

Three ambassadors of Rodolphus take the oath in his name to pope Gregory X. in the consistory. The Pope writes to Rodolphus: "By the advice of the cardinals, we appoint you king of the Romans."

Alphonfus.

42 R O D O L P H U S I .

Alphonfus X. king of Caſtile, at this time renounces the empire.

1275.

Rodolphus viſits the Pope at Lauſanne: he promiſes to cauſe the marche of Ancona, and the lands of Mathilda to be reſtored: he promiſes that which he could not perform. All this country was in the hands of the towns and noblemen, who had ſeized it at the expence of the Pope and the empire. Italy was divided into twenty principalities or republics, like ancient Greece, but more powerful. Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, had a greater number of ſhips than the emperor could maintain of enſigns. Florence became conſiderable, and was already the nurſe of the liberal arts.

Rodolphus firſt of all applied his attention to Germany. Ottocarus III. the powerful king of Bohemia, duke of Auſtria, Carinthia, and Carniola, reſuſed to do him homage. "I owe nothing to Rodolphus, ſaid he; I have paid him his wages." He aſſociates with Bavaria.

Rodolphus ſupports the majeſty of his rank: he puts this powerful Ottocarus to the ban of the empire, together with Henry duke of Bavaria, who is leagued with him. The emperor is furniſhed with troops, and goes to avenge the rights of the German empire.

1276.

The emperor Rodolphus defeats, one after another, all thoſe who eſpouſe the party of Ottocarus, or who attempt to take the advantage of this diſiſion; namely, the count de Neubourg, the count de Fribourg, the marquis of Baden, the count of Wirtemberg, and Henry duke of Bavaria.

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He all at once finishes this war with the Bavarians, by giving one of his daughters in marriage to that prince's son, and receiving forty thousand ounces of gold, instead of giving a portion with his daughter.

From thence he marches against Ottocarus, whom he forces to a composition. The king of Bohemia cedes Austria, Stiria, and Carniola. He consents to do liege homage to the emperor in the island of Camberg, in the middle of the Danube, under a pavilion close covered, that he might be spared a public mortification.

Ottocarus repairs to the place quite covered with gold and jewels. Rodolphus, superior in his pride, receives him in the most coarse and simple dress; and, in the midst of the ceremony, the curtains of the pavilion fall back, and expose to the eyes of the people, and the armies who lined the banks of the Danube, the haughty Ottocarus on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he had so often called his Steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer. This story is well vouched, though the truth of it is of very little importance.

1277.

The wife of Ottocarus, more haughty than her husband, reproaches him so much for the homage he had done, and the cession of his provinces, that the king of Bohemia renews the war towards Austria.

The emperor obtains a complete victory August 26, and Ottocarus is slain in the battle. The victor uses his fortune like a legislator: he gives Bohemia to young Wincelaus, the son

son of the vanquished, and the regency to the marquis of Brandenburg.

1278.

Rodolphus makes his entry into Vienna and establishes himself in Austria. Lewis duke of Bavaria, who had more than one right to that duchy, wants to avail himself of that right. Rodolphus falls upon him with his victorious troops: Nothing now is able to resist him; and we see this prince, whom the electors had called to reign in the empire, without power, become in effect the conqueror of Germany.

1279.

Though he reigns in Germany, he is far from being master in Italy. Pope Nicholas III. easily gains from him that long process which so many pontiffs had supported against so many emperors. Rodolphus by a deed, dated February 15, 1279, cedes to the holy see the lands of the countess Mathilda, renounces the right of paramount, and disavows his chancellor, who had received the homage in the course of this same year. The electors approve of this cession. This prince, in abandoning the rights for which they had fought so long, in effect yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance. This was all he could then obtain in Italy, where the empire was no more. This cession must have been a matter of very little consequence, seeing all he had in exchange was the title of Senator of Rome, and that for one year only.

The Pope at length succeeded in taking this vain title of Senator from Charles of Anjou, because

because that prince would not match his nephew with the pontiff's niece; saying, "Although he was called Orfini, and had red feet, his blood was not made to mingle with the blood of France."

Nicholas III. likewise deprives Charles of Anjou of the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. This vicariat was no more than a name, and indeed this name could not subsist after there was an emperor elected.

The situation of Rodolphus in Italy was (according to Girolamo Briani) like that of a merchant when he fails, whose effects are divided among other traders.

1280.

The emperor Rodolphus accommodates matters with Charles of Sicily by the marriage of one of his daughters. He gives that princess called Clementia to Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles of Anjou. The new-married couple were still infants.

Charles, by means of this marriage, obtains of the emperor the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier.

After the death of Nicholas III. they chose a Frenchman, called Brion, who takes the name of Martin IV. This Frenchman at first orders the dignity of senator to be restored to the king of Sicily, and is inclined to reinvest him likewise with the vicariat of the empire in Tuscany. Rodolphus seems to give himself very little concern about the matter: he has business enough of his own in Bohemia. That country had rebelled in consequence of the violent conduct of the margrave of Brandenburg, who was regent; and, besides, Rodolphus had more occasion for money than for titles.

1281,

1281, 1282.

These years are memorable for the famous conspiracy of the Sicilian vespers. John de Procida, a rich young gentleman of Salerno, who (and, notwithstanding his rank, exercised the professions of physic and the law) was the author of this conspiracy, which seemed so opposite to his way of life. He was a Ghibelin passionately attached to the memory of Frederick II. and the house of Suabia: he had been several times in Arragon with queen Constance the daughter of Mainfroy: he glowed with impatience to revenge the blood which Charles of Anjou had spilt; but finding it impracticable to do any thing in the kingdom of Naples, restrained by the presence and dread of Charles, he hatched his scheme in Sicily, which was governed by the provençals, who were more detested and less powerful than their master.

The project of Charles of Anjou was to conquer Constantinople. The great fruit of the crusades of the West had been to take the empire of the Greeks in 1204, and they had lost it afterwards, together with the rest of the conquests they had made upon the Mussulmans. The rage of going to fight in Palestine was abated since the misfortunes of St. Lewis; but Constantinople seemed an easy prey, and Charles of Anjou thought to dethrone Michael Paleologus, who then possessed the remains of the eastern empire. John de Procida goes in disguise to Constantinople, to warn Michael Paleologus, and excite him to be before-hand with Charles. Thence he hastens to Arragon, where he has a private audience of king Peter. He received money from both these princes. He easily

easily finds people to engage in the conspiracy. Peter of Arragon fits out a fleet on pretence of invading Afric, and keeps himself in readiness to make a descent upon Sicily. Procida finds no difficulty in preparing the minds of the Sicilians.

At length, on the third day of Easter, 1282, at the sound of the vesper bell, all the Provençals in the island are massacred, some in churches, some at their doors and in the public streets, and some in their own houses. Eight thousand persons are supposed to have been slaughtered; three, nay four times the number of men has been killed in above an hundred battles, without attracting the notice of mankind. But in this case the secret so long kept by a whole people, the conquerors exterminated by the conquered nation, women and children massacred, daughters of Sicilians with child by Provençals, slain by their own fathers, and penitents murdered by their confessors, render this event for ever famous and execrable. It is always said, that the persons murdered at those Sicilian vespers were French, because Provence now belongs to France; but it was then a province of the empire, and the people massacred were really Imperialists.

This is the manner in which the revenge of Conradin and the duke of Austria began. Their death was occasioned by the guilt of one man; namely, Charles of Anjou; and it was expiated by the murder of eight thousand innocent persons.

Peter of Arragon then lands in Sicily with his wife Constance. The whole nation owns him as sovereign; and from that day Sicily remained

mained with the house of Arragon; but the kingdom of Naples continued with a prince of France.

The emperor gives to his two eldest sons, Albert and Rodolphus, at one time the investiture of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola, on the 27th day of December, 1282, in a diet at Augsburg, with the consent of all the noblemen, including that of Lewis of Bavaria, who had pretensions to Austria. But how could he at one time give the investiture of the same dominions to these two princes? Had they any thing more than the title? Was the youngest to succeed his elder brother? or had the younger any thing but the name, while the other enjoyed the lands? or were they to possess those dominions in common? These are circumstances not explained. What is incontestible is, that we find a number of deeds in which the two brothers are named conjunctly dukes of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola.

There is only one old anonymous chronicle which says that the emperor Rodolphus invested his son Rodolphus with Suabia*; but there is no document or charter by which it appears that young Rodolphus ever possessed Suabia: all the grants call him, as well as his brother, duke of Austria, Stiria, and Carniola: nevertheless, one historian having adopted that chronicle, all the others have followed him; and in the genealogical tables, Rodolphus is always called duke of Suabia. If he really was, how could his family have lost that duchy?

* So it appears by Dumont's Corp-diplom. Barre mentions nothing of Rodolphus's being invested with Austria, Stiria, &c.

In the same diet the emperor gives Carinthia, and the marche Trevisano to his son-in-law the count of Tirol. The advantage he reaped from the dignity of emperor, was to provide for all the branches of his family.

1283, 1284.

Rodolphus governs the empire as well as his own family. He makes up quarrels between several noblemen and several towns.

Historians say that his labours had weakened him greatly; and that, when he was turned of his grand climacteric, the physicians advised him to take a young wife of fifteen to strengthen his constitution. These historians are bad philosophers. He marries Agnes, daughter of a count of Burgundy.

In this year, 1284, Peter king of Arragon takes the prince of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, prisoner; but is not able to make himself master of Naples. The wars of Naples no longer concern the empire, until the reign of Charles V.

1285.

The Cumins, a remnant of the Tartars, lay waste Hungary.

The emperor invests John Davennes with the country of Alost, the country of Vass, Zealand, and Hainault. The county of Flanders is not specified in this investiture: it was become uncontested plain that it held of France.

1286, 1287.

To crown the glory of Rodolphus, he ought to have established himself in Italy, as he was in Germany; but the opportunity was past. He would not even go to be crowned at Rome: he contented himself with selling liberty to those

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towns

towns of Italy, which chose to purchase it at his hands. Florence paid forty thousand ducats of gold; Lucca, twelve thousand; Genoa and Bologna, six thousand. Almost all the other towns gave nothing, pretending they were not bound to acknowledge an emperor who was not crowned at Rome.

But in what did this gift or confirmation of liberty consist? Was it an absolute separation from the empire? There is no act of those times that expresses any such convention. This liberty consisted in the right to appoint magistrates, to govern themselves according to their own municipal laws, to coin money, and maintain troops. It was no more than a confirmation or extension of the rights obtained from Frederick Barbarossa. Italy was then independent, and as it were detached from the empire, because the emperor had little power, and was at a great distance. Time might have secured to this country the full enjoyment of liberty. Already the towns of Lombardy, and even those of Switzerland, had left off taking the oath, and insensibly retrieved their natural right of independency.

With regard to the towns of Germany, they without exception took the oath; but some were reputed *free*, such as Augsbürg, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz; others were called *imperial*, as they paid tribute; a third sort had the name of *subject*, as those who held immediately of the princes, and mediately of the empire; and a fourth obtained the appellation of *mixed*, because, though they held of the princes, they enjoyed some imperial rights.

All the great imperial towns were differently governed. Nuremberg was ruled by nobles; in Straßbourg the citizens had the authority.

1288, 1289, 1290.

Rodolphus makes all his daughters subservient to his interest: he matches a daughter he had by his first wife to young Winceslaus king of Bohemia, now come of age, and makes him swear he will never make any pretensions to the duchies of Austria and Stiria; but, by way of recompence, he confirms him in the office of great cup bearer.

The dukes of Bavaria pretended to this office of the emperor's house. It seems the quality of elector was inseparable from that of a great officer of the crown; not that the lords of the principal fiefs had relinquished their right of electing, but the great officers insisted upon having this right in preference to others. It was for this reason the dukes of Bavaria disputed the office of grand master with the branch of Bavaria Palatine, tho' this last was the eldest.

A great diét at Erfort, in which the division already made of Thuringia is confirmed. The Eastern continues in the house of Misnia, which is now that of Saxony; the Western remains with the house of Brabant, which was heir of Misnia by the female line. This is the present house of Hesse.

Ladislaus III. king of Hungary, having been slain by the Cuman-Tartars, who still ravaged that country, the emperor, who pretends that Hungary is a fief of the empire, resolves to bestow that fief upon his son Albert, to whom he had already given Austria.

Pope Nicholas IV. who thinks that all kingdoms are fiefs of Rome, gives Hungary to Charles Martel, grandson of Charles of Anjou king of Naples and Sicily : but as this Charles Martel is the emperor's son-in-law, and as the Hungarians will not receive the emperor's son as their king, for fear of being enslaved, Rodolphus consents that his son-in-law, Charles Martel, shall endeavour to obtain that crown of which he could not deprive him.

This is another great example of the uncertainty of the feudal right. The county of Burgundy, that is Franche Comté, pretended to hold of the kingdom of France, and in that quality had taken the oath of allegiance to Philip the Fair. Nevertheless, before that period, all that made part of the old kingdom of Burgundy held of the emperors.

Rodolphus makes war upon him, but this is soon terminated by the count's doing the homage he demanded ; so that this count of Burgundy at one time held both of the empire and of France.

Rodolphus confers the title of Palatine of Saxony upon his son-in-law Albert II. duke of Saxony. We must take care to distinguish that house of Saxony from the present, which, as we have said, is from the house of Misnia.

1291.

The emperor Rodolphus dies at Germesheim July 15th in the 73d year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his reign.

ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU.

TWENTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

After an Interregnum of nine Months,

1292.

THE German princes afraid of rendering hereditary that empire of Germany which was always called the Roman empire, and not agreeing in their choice, make a second compromise, of which we have seen an example in the nomination of Rodolphus. The archbishop of Mentz to whom it was referred, names Adolphus of Nassau on the same principle as that on which they had chosen his predecessor. He was the most illustrious warrior, and the poorest of that time. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of German armies, without being powerful enough to enslave it. He possessed but three lordships in the county of Nassau.

Albert duke of Austria disgusted because he did not succeed his father, joins against the new emperor with that same count of Burgundy who would be no longer a vassal of Germany, and these two obtain succour from Philip the Fair king of France. The house of Austria begins by inviting against the emperor those very French whom the princes of the empire hath since so often invited against her. Albert of Austria, with the assistance of France, at first makes war in Swisserland, the sovereignty of which was claimed by his house. He takes Zurich with the French troops.

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1293.

1293.

Albert of Austria excites Strasbourg and Colmar to rebel against Adolphus. The emperor at the head of some troops, furnished by the imperial fiefs, appeases these troubles. A difference between the count of Flanders and the citizens of Ghent is carried before the parliament of Paris, and decided in favour of the citizens. It was very clearly acknowledged that from Ghent to Boulogne, Arras and Cambray, Flanders held solely of the king of France.

1294.

Adolphus unites with Edward king of England against France; but as he dreaded such a powerful vassal as the duke of Austria, he undertakes nothing. We have seen this alliance more than once renewed in the like circumstances.

1295.

A shameful piece of injustice in the emperor is the first origin of his misfortunes and fatal end. A great example to sovereigns. Albert of Misnia, landgrave of Thuringia, one of the ancestors of all the princes of Saxony, who make such a great figure in Germany, son-in-law of the emperor Frederick II. had three children by the princess his wife. He had repudiated her for a mistress unworthy of him, and for that reason the Germans had justly bestowed upon him the surname Depraved. Having a bastard by that concubine, he resolved to disinherit his three legitimate children in his favour. He set up his fiefs to sale in despite of the laws, and the emperor in despite of the laws purchases them with the money he has received

received from the king of England to make war upon France.

The three princes boldly maintain their rights against the emperor. In vain does he take Dresden and several castles; he is driven from Misnia, and all Germany declares against such scandalous proceedings.

1296.

The rupture between the emperor and the king of England on one side and France on the other, still continued. Pope Boniface VIII. orders all three to agree to a truce, on pain of excommunication.

1297.

The emperor had more need of a truce with the noblemen of the empire; for all of them resented his conduct. Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, Albert duke of Austria, the duke of Saxony, and the archbishop of Mentz assemble at Prague. There were two marquises of Brandenburg; not that both possessed the same marquise, but being brothers both took the same title. This practice began to be customary. The emperor is formally impeached and a diet summoned to meet at Egra to depose him.

Albert of Austria sends to Rome to solicit the deposition of Adolphus. This is a right which was always allowed to the pope, when it was thought it could turn to advantage. The duke of Austria pretends to have received the pope's consent, which however he had not obtained. The archbishop of Mentz solemnly deposes the emperor in the name of all the princes. These are the terms in which he expressed himself. "We are told our envoys have obtained the pope's consent; others af-

firm the pope has refused it : but without regarding any other authority than that with which we have been invested, we depose Adolphus from the imperial dignity, and elect lord Albert duke of Austria for king of the Romans."

1298.

Boniface VIII. forbids the electors on pain of excommunication to consecrate the new king of the Romans, and they answer that it is by no means an affair of religion.

Mean while Adolphus, having some bishops and noblemen in his party, was still at the head of an army. On the second day of July he gives battle to his rival near Spire; the two meet in the midst of the engagement. Albert of Austria thrusts a sword into his eye. Adolphus dies fighting and leaves the empire to Albert.



ALBERT I. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTIETH EMPEROR.

1298.

ALBERT of Austria begins by referring his right to the electors the better to secure it. He is a second time elected at Frankfort, then crowned at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne.

Pope Boniface VIII. will not acknowledge him. This pope had at that time violent quarrels with Philip *the fair* of France.

1299.

1299.

The emperor Albert forthwith unites himself to Philip, and marries his eldest son Rodolphus to Blanche that king's sister. The articles of this marriage are remarkable. He engages to give to his son Austria, Stiria, Carniola, Alsace, Fribourg in the Brisgau, and assigns Alsace and Fribourg as a jointure to his daughter-in-law, referring himself for the portion of Blanche intirely to the good-will of the king of France.

Albert sends an intimation of this marriage to the pope, who makes no other answer, but that the emperor is an usurper, and that there is no other Cæsar but the sovereign pontiff of the Christians.

1300, 1301.

The houses of France and Austria seemed at that time closely united by this marriage, by their common hatred to Boniface VIII. and by the necessity they were under to defend themselves against their vassals; for at the same time Holland and Zealand which were vassals of the empire made war upon Albert, and the Flemings who were vassals of France had taken arms against Philip the Fair.

Boniface VIII. who was still prouder than Gregory VII. and more impetuous, takes this opportunity to brave at once the emperor and the king of France. On one side he excites against Philip the Fair his own brother Charles of Valois on the other hand he fomenta a revolt of the princes of Germany against Albert.

No pope ever pushed farther the madness of giving away kingdoms. He invites Charles of Valois into Italy, and appoints him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. He makes a match be-

tween that prince and the daughter of Baldwin II. the deposed emperor of Constantinople, and boldly declares Charles Valois emperor of the Greeks. Nothing is greater than such enterprises when they are well conducted and successful; and nothing more mean when they are ineffectual. This pope, in less than three years, gave away the empires of the east and west, and laid the kingdom of France under interdiction.

The circumstances in which Germany was involved, had well nigh insured his success against Albert of Austria. He writes to the archbishops of Mentz, Triers and Cologne: "We command Albert to appear before us in six months, to clear himself if he can of the crime of treason committed against his sovereign Adolphus. We forbid you to acknowledge him as king of the Romans, &c."

Those three archbishops, who did not love Albert, agree with the count Palatine of the Rhine to proceed against him, as they had proceeded against his predecessor; and what shews that there were always two weights and two measures, they accuse him of being guilty of a crime, in having defeated and slain in battle that very Adolphus whom they had deposed, and against whom he had been armed by their own consent and direction.

The count Palatine actually lays informations against the emperor Albert. It is well known that the counts Palatine were originally judges in the palace, and judges in civil causes between the prince and subject, as is the practice in all countries under different denominations.

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The Palatines thought they had a right to judge the emperor himself in criminal cases. And it is upon this pretension that we shall see a Palatine, and a ban of Croatia condemn a queen.

Albert, having the other princes of the empire on his side, answers these proceedings with war.

1302.

The judges in a very little time ask pardon, and the elector Palatine is fain to pay a large sum of money for his proceedings.

Poland, after a series of troubles, elects for its king Wenceslaus king of Bohemia. This prince establishes some sort of order in a country where there was never any before. It was he who instituted the senate. This Wenceslaus gives his son as king to the Hungarians, who demanded himself.

Boniface VIII. fails not to pretend that this is an outrage against him, who alone has the right to give Hungary a king. He appoints to that station Carobert, a descendant of Charles of Anjou. One would think the emperor ought not to have accustomed the pope to give away kingdoms; yet this is what effected his reconciliation with him. He was more afraid of the power of Wenceslaus than of the pope. He therefore protects Carobert, and lays Bohemia waste. Authors say his army was poisoned by the Bohemians, who infected the water in the neighbourhood of the camp. But this is not a very credible circumstance.

1303.

What effectually engages the emperor in the interest of Boniface VIII. is the bloody quarrel

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between

between that pope and Philip the Fair. Boniface being mal-treated by Philip, and that very deservedly, at length acknowledges Albert whom he prosecuted, as lawful king of the Romans, and promises him the imperial crown, provided he would declare war against the king of France.

Albert repays the pope's complaisance with a still greater piece of condescension. He acknowledges "that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the holy see; that the electors hold their right of the pope, and that emperors and kings receive from him the regal power." It was against such a declaration as this, that the count Palatine ought to have proceeded.

It was not worth the trouble, thus to flatter Boniface VIII. who died October 12. after he had with difficulty escaped from the prison in which he was detained by the king of France, at the very gates of Rome.

Mean-while the king of France confiscates Flanders from count Gui Dampiere, and after a bloody battle remains master of Lille, Douay, Orchies, Bethune, and a very extensive country, without the emperor's giving himself any trouble about the matter.

He no longer thinks of Italy, still divided between the Guelphs and Ghibelins.

1304, 1305.

Ladislaus, that son of the respectable Winceslaus king of Bohemia and Poland, is expelled from Hungary. His father (as it is pretended) died of grief for his expulsion, if kings can actually die of that distemper.

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Otho duke of Bavaria causes himself to be elected king of Hungary, and is sent back again the very same year. Ladislaus returns to Bohemia, where he is assassinated. Thus we see three elective kingdoms vacant at once, namely Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland.

The emperor Albert causes his son Rodolphus to be crowned in Bohemia by dint of arms. Carobert still supports his pretensions to Hungary, and a Polish nobleman called Uladislaus Locticus is elected or rather re-established in Poland; but the emperor has no share in the transaction.

1306.

Here follows a piece of injustice which one would not expect from a prince of ability. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau had lost his crown and life in consequence of having incurred the hatred of the Germans, and this hatred was chiefly founded on his attempt to strip the lawful heirs of Misnia and Thuringia for a sum of money.

Philip de Nassau brother of this emperor reclaimed the countries which had been so unjustly purchased. Albert declares for him, in hope of obtaining a share. The princes of Thuringia defend themselves, and are without ceremony put to the ban of the empire. This proscription furnishes them with partizans and an army. They cut in pieces the army of the emperor, who is glad to leave them in peaceable possession of their dominions. We generally find in the Germans a strong fund of attachments to their rights; and by this alone that mixed government hath so long subsisted;

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an edifice, often on the brink of tumbling, yet still firm and well founded.

1307.

Pope Clement V. sends a legate to Hungary, to give the crown to Carobert in the name of the holy see. Formerly this kingdom was in the gift of the emperors; but at this time the popes disposed of it, as well as of Naples. The Hungarians chose to be vassals to the unarmed popes, rather than of the emperors, who might enslave them. But it would have been still better to be vassals to no power whatsoever.

Origin of the LIBERTY of the Swiss.

Switzerland held of the empire, and part of that country belonged to the house of Austria, as Fribourg, Lucerne, Zug and Glaris. These small towns, although subjects, had great privileges, and were ranked with the mixed towns of the empire; others were imperial, and governed by their own citizens, such as Zurich, Basil and Scaffhousen. The cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the house of Austria.

The emperor Albert wanted to be despotic through the whole country. The governors and commissaries whom he sent thither, exercised a species of tyranny which at first produced abundance of misery, but in the end was productive of the blessing of liberty.

The founders of that liberty were called Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Walter Fust. The difficulty of pronouncing such respectable names, has in some measure injured their fame. These

three peasants, being men of sense and resolution, were the first conspirators; each of them engaged three others; and those nine brought over the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwald.

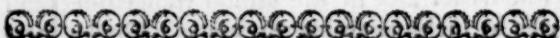
All the historians alledge that while they were concerting the conspiracy, a governor of Uri, whose name was Geisler, took it in his head to exercise a kind of tyranny equally horrible and ridiculous. He commanded, say they, one of his caps to be placed upon the top of a pole erected in the market-place, and decreed that every person should bow to the cap, on pain of death. One of the conspirators, called William Tell, would not salute the cap. The governor condemned him to be hanged, and would not pardon him except upon condition that the convict, who was esteemed an expert archer, should bring down with an arrow an apple placed upon the head of his own son. The father shot in the utmost trepidation, and was so lucky as to hit the apple: Geisler, perceiving another arrow under Tell's coat, asked what he intended to do with it. "It was intended for thee, said the Swiss, had I wounded my son."

The story of the apple is I own very suspicious, and what follows is no less doubtful. But, in short, it is generally believed that Tell being put in irons, afterwards killed the governor with an arrow: that this was the signal for the conspirators; and that the people seized the fortresses, and demolished those instruments of their slavery.

1308.

Albert being on the eve of venturing his forces against

against that courage inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, loses his life in a melancholy manner. His own nephew John, improperly called duke of Suabia, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, conspires his death with the help of some accomplices. He himself gives the emperor the fatal stab, while he was walking with him near Rheinsfeldt upon the banks of the river Rufs in the neighbourhood of Swisserland. Few sovereigns have died a more tragical death, and none was ever less regretted. In all probability the deed by which Austria, Stiria, and Carniola were conveyed by the emperor Rodolphus of Hapsbourg to his two sons, was the cause of this association. John, son of prince Rodolphus, having in vain demanded his share, which was detained by his uncle Albert, resolved to obtain possession by committing the crime of high treason.



H E N R Y VII.

Of the house of Luxemburg.

THIRTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

1308.

AFTER the murder of Albert, the throne of Germany continued vacant for seven months. Among the pretenders to this throne, we reckon Philip the Fair, king of France; but there is no monument of the history of France, that

that makes the least mention of this circumstance.

Charles de Valois, that monarch's brother, enters the lists of competition. He was a prince who went every where in quest of kingdoms. He had received the crown of Arragon from the hands of pope Martin IV. and done him homage, and taken the oath of fidelity which the Popes exact from the kings of Arragon; but all he had was a vain title. Boniface VIII. had promised to make him king of the Romans, but could not keep his word.

Bertrand de Got, a Gascoon, archbishop of Bourdeaux, being raised to the pontificate of Rome by the protection of Philip the Fair, promises the imperial crown to that prince. The Popes could do a great deal at this period, in spite of their impotence, because their refusing to acknowledge a king of the Romans elected in Germany, was often a pretext for faction and civil war.

This pope Clement V. acts in diametrical opposition to his promise. He underhand presses the electors to choose Henry count of Luxemburg.

That prince is the first who was chosen by six electors only, all the six great officers of the crown; the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, as chancellors; the count palatine, of the present house of Bavaria, as grand master of the household; the duke of Saxony, of the house of Ascania, as great master of the horse; and the marquis of Brandenburg, of the same house of Ascania, as great chamberlain.

The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was not present, nor did any person represent him

him by proxy. The kingdom of Bohemia was then vacant; for the Bohemians would not acknowledge the duke of Carinthia, whom they had elected, but made war upon him as a tyrant.

It was the count palatine, who, in the name of the six electors, nominated "Henry count of Luxemburg, king of the Romans, future emperor, protector of the Roman Catholic church, and defender of widows and orphans."

1309.

Henry VII. begins by revenging the assassination of the emperor Albert. He puts the murderer John, the pretended duke of Suabia, to the ban of the empire. Frederick and Leopold of Austria, his cousins, descended like him from Rodolphus of Hapsburg, execute the sentence, and receive the investiture of his domains.

One of the assassins, called Rodolphus de Warth, a considerable nobleman, is taken, and with him begins the custom of breaking on the wheel. As for John, after having wandered a long time from place to place, he obtains the Pope's absolution, and turns monk.

The emperor confers upon his son of Luxemburg the title of duke, without, however, erecting Luxemburg into a duchy. There were dukes by breviate, as we now see them in France, but they were all princes. We have already seen that the emperors created kings by breviate.

The emperor, with a view to establish his family, causes his son John of Luxemburg to be elected king of Bohemia. There was a necessity for conquering it from the duke of Carinthia;

this; and this was no difficult task, as the whole nation was against the said duke*.

All the Jews are expelled from Germany, and great part of them stripped of their effects. That people, devoted to usury every since it had been known, having always exercised that profession at Babylon, Alexandria, Rome, and through all Europe, had every where rendered themselves equally necessary and execrable. There was scarce a town in which the Jews were not accused of sacrificing a child on Friday, and stabbing the host. Processions are still made in several towns, in remembrance of the hosts which have been stabbed and shed blood. These ridiculous impeachments served as pretexts to strip them of their wealth.

1310.

The order of Templars is treated more cruelly than the Jews. This is one of the most incomprehensible events. Knights who made a vow to fight for Jesus Christ, are accused of renouncing him, adoring a copper head, and of committing the most horrible debauches by way

* Having expelled this duke, he confirmed his son in possession of the throne, by marrying him to the princess Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Wenceslaus, late king of Bohemia, by a daughter of the emperor Rodolphus. This marriage was for some time postponed, in consequence of a report spread to the prejudice of the young lady's virtue. She no sooner understood the cause of the delay, than repairing to the emperor's anti-chamber, she undressed herself to the shift, in presence of the ladies there assembled, and approaching Henry, demanded that she might be examined immediately by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the care of some ladies and midwives, who unanimously declared her an unspotted virgin; and, in consequence of their testimony, the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence,

of secret ceremonies at their reception into the order. In France they are condemned to the stake, in consequence of a bull of pope Clement V. and of their great possessions. Molai Gui, brother of the dauphin d'Auvergne, great master of the order, and seventy-four knights, in vain make oath that the order is innocent of the charge. Philip the Fair, incensed against them, causes them to be found guilty; they are condemned by the Pope, who is devoted to the king of France, and fifty-nine are burnt in Paris. They are persecuted every where. Two years after this event the Pope abolishes the order; but in Germany nothing is done to their prejudice; perhaps because they were too much persecuted in France. In all probability, the debauchery of some young knights had given occasion to calumniate the whole order.

Henry VII. resolves to re-establish the empire in Italy.

No emperor had been there since Frederick II.

A diet is held at Frankfort, in order to establish John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, vicar of the empire, and to provide for the emperor's journey. This journey is well known by the name of The Roman expedition. Every state of the empire contributes a certain sum to furnish soldiers, horsemen, or money.

The emperor's commissaries, by whom he is preceded, take the usual oath to the Pope's commissaries at Lausanne, on the 11th of October. An oath always considered by the Popes as an act of homage and obedience; and by the emperors, as a promise of protection; but the words

words of it were favourable to the pretensions of the Popes.

1311.

Italy is still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. But these factions had no longer the same aim as heretofore; they no longer fought for the emperor and pope: it was a word of reproach, to which there was no precise idea affixed. We have seen an example of the same kind, in the factions of the whigs and Tories of England.

Pope Clement V. fled from Rome, where he had no power, and settled his court at Lions, with his mistress the countess of Perigord, where he amassed money to the utmost of his power.

Rome was in the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Ursini, and the Roman barons, divide the city, and this division is the cause of the long abode of the popes upon the banks of the Rhone, so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors.

Sicily remained with the house of Arragon. Carobert, king of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II. of the house of Anjou.

The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country.

The old league of the Italian towns was far from subsisting. It had been made with no other view but to oppose the emperors. But since these had left off coming to Italy, the towns were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expence of one another. The Florentines and Genoese made war upon the republic

republic of Pisa. Besides, every town was divided into factions within itself : Florence, between the blacks and the whites ; and Milan between the Visconti and the Turriani.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Henry VII. at length appears in Italy. He caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs conceal the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a small iron circlet. The emperor orders a new crown to be made.

The Turriani and the emperor's own chancellor * conspire against his life in Milan. He condemns his chancellor to the flames. Most of the towns of Lombardy, such as Crema, Cremona, Lodi, and Brescia, refuse to obey him ; he subdues them by force, and there is abundance of blood shed.

He marches to Rome. Robert, king of Naples, in concert with the Pope, shuts the gates against him, ordering his brother John, prince of Morea, to march towards Rome with the men of arms and the infantry.

Several towns, namely Florence, Bologna, and Lucca, privately associate with Robert. In the mean time, the Pope writes from Lions to the emperor, that he wishes for nothing so much as his coronation ; and the king of Naples makes the same profession, assuring him that the prince of Morea is at Rome for no other purpose than to establish order in the city. Henry VII. presents himself at the gate of the

* Who was of the house of the Turriani, a Guelph by inclination, and had engaged in the emperor's service on purpose to betray him,

city Leonini, which contains the church of St. Peter; but he is obliged to besiege it before he can enter. He is defeated, instead of being crowned. He negotiates with another part of the city, and desires he may be crowned in the church of St. John de Lateran. The cardinals oppose his demand, saying it cannot be done without the permission of the Pope.

The people of that district espouse the emperor's cause; and he is crowned in a tumult by some cardinals. Then he orders the lawyers to discuss the question, "Whether or not the Pope can command the emperor in any case? and whether the kingdom of Naples holds of the empire or of the holy see?" His lawyers fail not to decide in his favour, and the Pope takes care to have a contrary decision by the lawyers of his own party.

1313.

We have already seen, that it is the destiny of the emperors to want force sufficient to maintain their dominion at Rome. Henry VII. is obliged to quit that city. He in vain besieges Florence, and as vainly summons Robert, king of Naples, to appear before him; and no less vainly does he put that king to the ban of the empire, as a person guilty of treason: "Banishing him for ever on pain of losing his head." This decree is dated April 25.

He issues decrees of the same nature against Florence and Lucca, permitting the inhabitants to be murdered. Wincesslaus, in his madness, would not have published such rescripts. He orders his brother, the archbishop of Triers, to levy troops in Germany. He obtains fifty galleys from the Genoese and the Pisans. There

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is a conspiracy at Naples in his favour. He entertains the notion of conquering Naples and afterwards Rome; but when ready to depart, he dies near the town of Sienna.

The decree against the Florentines was an invitation to take him off by poison. A Dominican, called Politian de Montepulciano, who gave him the sacrament, is said to have mixed poison in the consecrated wine. It is difficult to prove such crimes. But the Dominicans did not obtain of his son John, king of Bohemia, letters patent declaring their innocence, until thirty years after the emperor's death. It would have been more prudent to have obtained those letters at the very time when people began to accuse them of this sacrilegious murder.

AN INTERREGNUM of Fourteen Months.

In the last years of Henry VII. the Teutonic order aggrandized itself, and made conquests upon the idolaters and Christians who inhabited the coast of the Baltic. They even made themselves masters of Dantzick, which they afterwards gave up. They purchased the country of Prussia, called Pomerania, from a margrave of Brandenburg, in whose possession it was. While the Teutonic knights became conquerors, the Templars were destroyed in Germany, as in other countries; and though they supported themselves some years longer towards the Rhine, their order was at last entirely abolished.

1314.

Pope Clement V. condemns the memory of Henry VII. and declares the oath which that emperor had taken at his coronation to be an oath

oath of fidelity, consequently the act of a vassal doing homage.

He dissolves the sentence which Henry VII. had pronounced against the king of Naples, "Because, says he justly, king Robert is our vassal."

But the Pope adds very astonishing clauses to this reason: "We have, said he, the superiority of the empire, and we succeed to the emperor during a vacancy, by the full power we have received from Jesus Christ."

By virtue of that pretension the Pope created Robert king of Naples vicar of the empire in Italy. Thus the Popes, who feared nothing so much as an emperor, were themselves aiding and assisting in perpetuating that dignity, by acknowledging that a vicar was wanted during an interregnum. But they nominated this vicar in order to vest themselves with the right of appointing an emperor.

The electors are long divided in Germany. It was already an established opinion that the right of voting belonged solely to the great officers of the household, namely the three ecclesiastical chancellors, and the four secular princes. These officers had long possessed the chief influence. They declared the nomination by the majority of votes; and gradually arrogated to themselves the sole right of electing.

This is so true, that Henry duke of Carinthia, who assumed the title of king of Bohemia, disputed, in that quality alone, the right of elector with John of Luxemburg, son of Henry VII. who was in effect king of Bohemia.

John and Rodolphus, dukes of Saxony, who had each a part of that province, pretended to

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share

share the rights of elector, and even to be both electors, because both took the appellation of grand-marshal.

Lewis, duke of Bavaria, the same who was emperor, head of the Bavarian branch, wanted to share the right of voting with his eldest brother, Rodolphus count palatine.

In that case, there would have been ten electors, who represented seven officers holding the seven principal posts of the empire. Of these ten electors, five name Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who adding his own vote, is thus elected by a majority of one.

The other four chose Frederick, duke of Austria, son of the emperor Albert; and this duke of Austria did not reckon his own vote; an evident proof that Austria, as it did not furnish a great officer, had no right of voting.



L E W I S V.

O R,

L E W I S O F B A V A R I A.

T H I R T Y - S E C O N D E M P E R O R.

1315.

LEWIS of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, because he was elected by the majority, but chiefly, because his rival, Frederick the Fine, was unfortunate.

Frederick is consecrated at Cologne, by the archbishop of that place; and Lewis at Aix-la-chapelle,

chapelle, by the archbishop of Mentz, who arrogates that privilege to himself, although the archbishop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

These two consecrated competitors necessarily produce civil wars; and this is the more so, because Lewis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival Frederick. Some of the Swiss cantons already confederated take arms in favour of Lewis of Bavaria; and by these means defend their liberty against the house of Austria.

The memorable BATTLE of Mortgat.

If the Swiss had possessed the eloquence, as they did the courage of the Athenians, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwald, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Austria, at the passage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Mortgat is the true cradle of their liberty.

1316.

Pope John XXII. residing at Avignon and Lyons, like his two predecessors, tho' he durst not set foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheless declares that the empire depends upon the Roman church, and summons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolutions on the face of the earth, but none more singular in the mind of man, than to see the successors of the Cæsars, who were created on the banks of the Maine, submit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontiff of Rome created at Avignon. While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of bestowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and

kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

1317.

We must imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was still torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins. The Guelphs, with Robert king of Naples at their head, adhere to Frederick of Austria; the Ghibelins were on the side of Lewis. The chiefs of this faction are the Viscomtis of Milan. This house established its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the emperors. France already intermeddled, though feebly, in the affairs of the Milanese.

1318.

War between Erick, king of Denmark, and Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg, who alone supports the war, unassisted by any prince of the empire. When a weak state holds out against a stronger, we may be assured it is governed by a superior man.

In the course of this short quarrel, which was soon accommodated, the duke of Lawemburg is made prisoner by the margrave, and redeems himself for sixteen thousand marks of silver. From these ransoms we may nearly guess the quantity of specie which then circulated in those countries, where the princes had every thing, and the people almost nothing.

1319.

The two emperors consent to decide their most important quarrel by thirty champions. An old custom, which chivalry hath sometimes renewed.

This combat of fifteen against fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek
and

and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing *, and was only a prelude to the battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been spectators of the combat of thirty. Lewis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not decisive.

1320, 1321.

Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair, king of France, accepts of pope John XXII. the quality of lieutenant-general of the church against the Ghibelins in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of establishing some party among so many divisions. The Viscomtis find means to make him repass the Alps, by sometimes furnishing his little army, and sometimes having recourse to negotiation.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibelins, without engaging heartily either for Frederick of Austria, or Lewis of Bavaria.

1322.

Another battle, which proved decisive, is fought between the two emperors near Muldorf †, Sept. 28, 1322. The duke of Austria is taken, together with his brother Henry, and Ferri, duke of Lorrain. From that day there was but one emperor.

Leopold of Austria, brother of the two prisoners, in vain continues the war.

* They fought with such fury that in a little time they were all slain. The battle was fought near Muldorf.

† This second battle near Muldorf was fought in the plain of Vechivis, and is commonly distinguished by that name. Frederick is said to have killed fifty men with his own hand; and to have continued fighting until he was quite abandoned by his followers.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, sends his son to be educated in France, at the court of king Charles the Fair. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumstance seems incredible. The possessor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rodolphus of Bavaria, the emperor's own brother. This Rodolphus had embraced the party of Frederick of Austria against his brother, and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had made himself master of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and sold like cattle. The whole noblesse of Bohemia rise as one man against this agreement, which they declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was of no effect; but Rodolphus was left deprived of his palatinate.

1323.

An event still more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that country descended from the antient house of Ascania, quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother, who dies in four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There was a number of relations capable of succeeding. The antient house of Saxe-Lawemburg, and that of Anhalt, had pretensions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true possessor's pilgrimage, resolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly invests his own son Lewis.

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The emperor takes for his second wife the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower these two provinces, together with Zealand and Friesland. No state near the Low Countries was looked upon as a masculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houses while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor having vanquished his competitor, has the Pope still to conquer. John XXII. from the banks of the Rhone, did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs against the Ghibelins. He declares the Viscomtis heretics, and as the emperor favours the Viscomtis, declares the emperor a favourer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Lewis of Bavaria to resign in three months the administration of the empire, "for having assumed the title of king of the Romans, without waiting until the Pope had examined his election." The emperor contents himself with protesting against this bull. As yet he could do no better.

1324.

Lewis of Bavaria supports the remainder of the war against the house of Austria while he is attacked by the Pope.

John XXII. by a new bull dated July 15, declares the emperor *contumacious*, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holiness by the first of October. Lewis of Bavaria publishes a rescript, inviting the church to depose the Pope, and appealing to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John de Gent, a Franciscan, come and offer their pens to the

emperor against the Pope, pretending to prove the holy father an heretic. He actually had very singular opinions, which he was obliged to retract.

1325.

When we thus see the Popes, who are not possessed even of one town, talk dictatorially to emperors, we may easily guess that their sole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice, and the interests of princes. The house of Austria had still a party in Germany, although the head of it was in prison; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alsace, for example, and the county of Meffin, held for that house. The emperor made an alliance with his prisoner, the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Triers, and the count de Bar, in order to take Metz. This city was actually taken, and paid about forty thousand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederick of Austria being still in prison, the Pope resolves to give the empire to Charles the Fair, king of France. It would have been natural for a Pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne; but long custom prevailed, and it was necessary that Germany should make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the interest of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-sur-aube. The king of France goes thither, and finds nobody but Leopold of Austria.

The king of France goes home again, very much chagrined at his own misconduct. Leopold of Austria, finding himself without re-
source,

source, sends the lance, sword, and crown of Charlemagne, to Lewis of Bavaria. Public opinion still attached to these symbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Lewis of Bavaria at length releases his prisoner, and makes him sign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Lewis. It is pretended that Frederick of Austria still preserved the title of king of the Romans.

1326.

Leopold of Austria dies. It must be observed, that, in spite of the laws, the constant custom was, that the great fiefs should still be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the same estate into thirty parts, and all of them bore the same title. All the male descendants of Rodolphus of Hapsbourg bore the name of dukes of Austria.

Leopold had enjoyed for his share, Alsace, Switzerland, Suabia, and the Brisgau. His brothers disputed this inheritance with one another; and at length chose John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, for arbiter.

1327.

At length Lewis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibelins, and the Pope from afar animates the Guelphs against him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury.

Lewis marches at the head of a small army to Milan, and is accompanied by a croud of Franciscan friars. These monks were excommunicated by pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The same Franciscans treated the pope as a damned heretic, for his opinion touching the ebatific vision.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbishop, who refuses to perform the ceremony, but by the bishop of Arezzo.

As soon as that prince prepares for going to Rome, the faction of the Guelphs press the Pope to return to that city. But his holiness dares not go thither, so much is he afraid of the Ghibelin party, and the emperor.

The Pisans offer the emperor sixty thousand livres, provided he will not pass through their city in his march to Rome. Lewis of Bavaria besieges Pisa, and at the end of three days compels them to give him an addition of thirty thousand livres, to stay there no longer than two months. Historians say, they were livres of gold; but in that case the whole would have been equal to six millions of German crowns, a sum more easily produced in writing, than in actual payment.

A new bull is published by John XXII. dated at Avignon, Oct. 23. "We reprobate the said Lewis as an heretic. We strip the said Lewis of all his estate, moveable and immoveable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all persons whatever to supply the said Lewis with corn, linen, wine, wood, &c."

The emperor's heresy consisted in his going to Rome.

1328.

Lewis of Bavaria is crowned at Rome, without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Castruccio

Castruccio Castracani, tyrant of Lucca, at first created by the emperor count of the palace of the Lateran, and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's with the four chief Roman barons, Colonna, Urfini, Savelli, and Conti.

Lewis is consecrated by a bishop of Venice, assisted by a bishop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the Pope. There was little disturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18, the emperor holds a general assembly, where he presides, clothed with the imperial mantle, the crown upon his head, and the sceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano, an Augustin monk, there accuses the Pope, and asks, "If any one present has a mind to defend the priest of Cahors, who calls himself pope John." The order of Augustins was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the Popes*.

Then the sentence was read, by which the emperor deposes the Pope. "We will, says he, follow the example of Otho I. who, with the clergy and people of Rome, deposed pope John XII. &c. We depose from the see of Rome James de Cahors, convicted of heresy and treason, &c."

Young Colonna, secretly attached to the Pope, publishes his opposition in Rome, by fixing it to the church-door, and betakes himself to flight.

At length Lewis pronounces sentence of death upon the Pope, and even upon the king of Naples, who had accepted of the Pope the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to

* Namely, Martin Luther.

be burnt alive. Extravagant resentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22, he by his own authority elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinallucci, of the town of Corbiero, or Corbario, a Dominican, and makes the Roman people agree to his exaltation. Instead of kissing his feet, he invests him by the ring, and causes himself to be crowned again by this new pontiff.

That which happens to all the emperors since the Othos, happened to Lewis of Bavaria. The Romans conspire against him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

1329.

The emperor takes shelter in Pisa, which, however, he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Franciscans, called Michael de Cesena and William of Ockam, who wrote against the Pope. The antipope, Peter de Corbiero, sculks from town to town.

Robert, king of Naples, reduces Rome, and several cities of Italy, under the domination, or rather the protection of the Pope.

The Viscomtis, who are still powerful in Milan, abandon the emperor, who can no longer protect them, and espouse the party of John XXII. who, though still a refugee at Avignon, seems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when these laws are executed by the strong against the weak.

Lewis of Bavaria, while at Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert, son of Rodolphus, elector palatine, who died an
exile

exile in England, and from whom the whole palatine branch is descended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew the lands of the palatine house; he restores to him the palatinate of the Rhine, and the High Palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himself. He stipulates that after the extinction of one of the houses of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the same common stock, the survivor shall enter into possession of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the mean time the vote in the election of emperors shall belong alternately to the two houses. The right of voting, thus granted to the house of Bavaria, was not of long duration; but the quarrel occasioned by this agreement between the two houses was of longer continuance.

1330.

Pope Peter of Corbiero, concealed in a castle of Italy, and surrounded by soldiers sent thither by the archbishop of Pisa, begs pardon of John XXII. who promises to spare his life, and give him a pension of three thousand florins of gold for his subsistence.

This pope friar Peter goes, with a rope about his neck, and presents himself before the Pope, who sends him to prison, where he dies in less than three years. It is not known whether or not he had stipulated that he should not be imprisoned.

Christopher, king of Denmark, is deposed by the states of the country, and has recourse to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, are appointed by the emperor, to try and decide this cause between that prince and his subjects.

This

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard, count of Holstein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commission. King Christopher, with the forces of those princes, and the assistance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent, and reascends the throne.

Lewis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the Pope, and sends an embassy to him for that purpose. John XXII. by way of answer, commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

1331.

John, king of Bohemia, instead of obeying the Pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia, and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himself, and with this view unites himself privately with the Pope. The Guelphs and Ghibelins, alarmed at this union, join against John XXII. and John, king of Bohemia.

The emperor, dreading such a dangerous vicar, excites against him Otho of Austria, brother of that very Frederick who was his rival for the empire; so much are interests varied in a little time.

He instigates the marquis of Misnia, and Carobert king of Hungary, and even Poland itself. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himself. The empire was seldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany, in the midst of all these troubles, is still respected by strangers, and still uninvaded.

The

The king of Bohemia, on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies, one after another. He leaves his son Charles vicar in Italy, in spite of Lewis of Bavaria, and he himself marches into Poland. John, king of Bohemia, was then the real emperor, by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibelins, notwithstanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy against prince Charles of Bohemia. The king his father being victor in Germany, passes the Alps to support his son. He arrives just when that prince had obtained a signal victory near Tirol, Nov. 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his son, and gives him the march, or marquissate, or margraviate of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

1332.

The Pope continues to employ religion for the success of his intrigues. Otho, duke of Austria, gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks, submits his dominions to the holy see, declaring himself a vassal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when such an action was neither punished nor abhorred!

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himself formidable to the emperor, and endeavours to establish his credit in Germany. He and his son had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all decisive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibelins against Guelphs, and both against the Germans; all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war upon one another,

another, instead of uniting to break their chains for ever.

During these troubles, the Teutonic order continues still a body of conquerors towards Russia. The Poles take some of their towns; and John, king of Bohemia, marches to their assistance. He penetrates as far as Cracovia. He appeases the troubles in Silesia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia.

Strasburg, Fribourg in Brisgau, and Basil, unite in these troublesome times against the neighbouring tyrants; and several other towns join in the association. The neighbourhood of four Swiss Cantons become free, inspire those people with sentiments of liberty.

Otho of Austria besieges Colmar, which is supported against him by the emperor. The count of Wirtemberg, and the king of Bohemia, furnish the emperor with troops. We see on both sides an army of thirty thousand men, but this for one campaign only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uses his friends against his enemies. What would have been the case, if the whole had united in order to subdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is ingrossed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Austria reconciles himself to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the misery of the people continues.

1333.

We have seen John, king of Bohemia, fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for the Pope. We have seen Robert, king of Naples,

Naples, the Pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The same king of Bohemia who had besieged Cracovia, goes to Italy, in concert with the king of France, to establish the Pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the consequence? He gives battle, near Ferrara, to Robert, king of Naples, united with the Viscomtis and the Escales, princes of Verona. He is twice defeated, and returns to Germany, after having lost his troops, his money, and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant, on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders dispute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. An accommodation is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

1334.

Mean while, the emperor Lewis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and seems to meddle no more with any affairs whatsoever.

Pope John XXII. being more restless, still solicits the German princes to rise against Lewis of Bavaria: and the Franciscans, who sided with Michael de Cesena, being condemned by the Pope, press the emperor to assemble a council to declare the Pope heretic, and depose him accordingly.

The emperor is more speedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, December 2, in the ninetieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treasury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins.

florins, eighteen millions of which were in specie. "I know it, says Villani, from my brother Romona, who was the Pope's banker." We may boldly answer Villani, that his brother was a great exaggerator. That sum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of these days. At that time such a sum would have purchased all Italy, and yet John XXII. never set foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical Tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he sold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reserves, and reversions, and set a price upon dispensations and absolutions. All these expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more scandal than money; the exactors of such tributes generally pay but a very small share to their employers.

One thing worthy of observation is, that he had some scruples on his death-bed about the manner in which he had affirmed God to be seen in Heaven: but he had none about the treasures he had amassed upon earth.

1335.

Old king John of Luxemburg marries a young princess of the house of France, and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage settles the duchy of Luxemburg upon the son of the marriage. Almost all the clauses of contracts are so many seeds of war.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almost as soon as it is consummated. The old king of Bohemia had a second son, called John of Luxemburg, duke of Carinthia. The young

young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, because his wife had pretensions to that duchy. That princess of Carinthia, called Margaret Great Mouth, pretends that her husband, John of Luxemburg, is impotent. She finds a bishop of Frisingen who dissolves the marriage without formalities, and she gives herself in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Interest has as great a share as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was son of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Margaret Great Mouth brought him Tirol by way of dower, together with her claim upon Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia, and giving her to his son of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that lasts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodshed the parties come to a very singular accommodation; namely, that young John of Luxemburg shall confess his wife had reason to forsake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's son of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Strasburgers against the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Strasburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the bishop frequently put himself at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent upon the see.

1336, 1337.

Abundance of negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III. king of England, meditated against Philip de Valois. The business was to know who should be possessor of France.

True.

True it is, that country, much more confined than it is at present, weakened by the divisions of the feudal government, and without any considerable maritime trade, was not the greatest theatre of Europe, though always an object of great importance.

Philip de Valois on one side, and Edward on the other, endeavour to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Englishman seems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border upon France. In particular he has the emperor on his side; though indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but these create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly consents to exercise that vicariate, in hope of seeing the war against France declared the war of the empire. His commission imports, that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that secret respect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward strengthens himself with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the spiritual forces of the Pope, which were then of little signification.

Pope Benedict XI. still residing at Avignon, like his predecessors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It must be remembered that the emperor, who never received absolution from the Pope, continued still in a state of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights, in the vulgar opinion of those times.

Philip

Philip de Valois, who could do any thing with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the absolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical ministry, and that ministry rouses other princes in its turn. There is one Henry, duke of Bavaria, related to Lewis the emperor, and still, according to custom, taking the title of duke, without having the duchy, though he possessed part of Lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation asks pardon of the Pope for having acknowledged his kinsman emperor. This meaness produces none of those revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

1338.

Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de Valois, king of France, from reconciling the emperor Lewis to the church. We see how almost all the popes have been no more than the instruments of a foreign power. They frequently resembled the gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain upon their knees, but when these prayers are not heard, their godships are ducked in the river.

There is a great assembly of the princes of the empire at Rens upon the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occasion for declaring, "that he who has been chosen by the majority is the true emperor; that the Pope's confirmation is altogether unnecessary; that the Pope is still less intitled to the right of deposing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treason."

This declaration passes into a perpetual law, on the 8th day of August at Frankfort.

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Albert

Albert of Austria, at first surnamed the Counterfeit, and afterwards the Sage, one of the brothers of Frederick of Austria who had disputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers, by whom the Austrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiss again without success. These people who had no riches but liberty, always defend it with unshaken courage. Albert miscarries in his enterprize; in abandoning which, he deserves the name of Sage.

1339.

Lewis the emperor thinks of nothing but living quietly at Munich, while his vicar, Edward king of England, engages fifty princes of the empire in the war against Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all those princes go home; and Edward, assisted by the Flemings, pursues his ambitious aim.

1340.

The emperor who had formerly repented of giving the vicariate of Italy, to a powerful and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariate of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the pensioner of his vicar; and the proud Englishman acting the master and neglecting to pay the pension, Lewis deprives him of the vicariate, which was become a very useless title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Mean while the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers Viscomtis, the government of Milan, which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpelier to be cured by the salubrity of the air, of a distemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheless he loses his eye-sight, and is afterwards known by the name of John the Blind. He makes his will, by which he leaves Bohemia and Silesia to Charles afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Winceslaus born of Beatrice de Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he possessed in France in right of his wife.

In the mean time the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the house of Denmark. The Duke of Sleswic Holstein by this accommodation renounces his pretensions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his sister in marriage to king Waldemar III. and remains in possession of Jutland.

1341, 1342, 1343.

Lewis of Bavaria seems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope Clement VI. born a Frenchman and residing at Avignon, is at length solicited to go and re-establish the pontificate in Italy, and there compleat the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the footsteps of John XXII. in his proceedings against Lewis. He solicits the archbishop of Triers to cause a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately stirs up against him the king of
Bohemia

Bohemia, John the Blind, still restless, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Austria.

Lewis the emperor, who has still reason to fear that the want of absolution may arm the princes of the empire against him, flatters the pope whom he detests, and writes to him, "that he submits his person, dominions, liberty and titles to the disposition of his holiness."

What expressions are these, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burnt alive.

The princes assembled at Frankfort are not so complaisant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

1344.

1345.

John the Blind seems to have become more ambitious since the loss of his eye-sight. On one side he wants to pave the way to the empire for his son Charles; on the other hand he makes war upon Casimir king of Poland for the dependence of the duchy of Schweidnitz in Silesia.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal establishment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage to the king of Poland. John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Silesia. The emperor privately supports the interest of the Pole, but in spite of the emperor, the war is successful to the house of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, son of John the Blind, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Silesia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The

The empress Margaret wife of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and sister of John of Brabant, finds herself heiress of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; and enjoys the succession. The emperor her husband ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquisition, and yet he is not.

At this period Robert count Palatine founds the university of Heidelberg on the model of that of Paris.

1346.

John the Blind and his son Charles make a great party in the empire in the pope's name.

The imperial and papal factions at length disturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibelins had troubled Italy. Clement VII. takes advantage of these disorders. He publishes a bull against Lewis of Bavaria, dated April 13. "May the curse of God, says he, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light upon him in this world as well as in the next; may the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his foes; and may his children fall into the hands of his enemies even before the eyes of their father."

There was no precedent for such bulls; they depended intirely on the caprice of the datary by whom they were expedited. The caprice on this occasion, is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbishops of Mentz, one vainly deposed by the Pope; the other elected at his instigation, by part of the canons. It was to this last that Clement VI. addresses another bull, for the election of an emperor.

E

John

John the Blind, king of Bohemia, and his son Charles marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV. go to Avignon to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Lewis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy see, as well as Ferrara and the other territories, (he meant those of the countess Mathilda) the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and Rome in particular; and that in case the emperor should go to Rome to be crowned, he should quit the city the same day, and never return without the express permission of the pope, &c.

After these promises Clement VI. recommends it to the archbishop of Cologne and Triers and to the new archbishop of Mentz to elect the marquis of Moravia as emperor. These three prelates, with John the Blind, assemble at Rens near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburgh marquis of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charles IV.

Father Maimbourg positively affirms that he bought the vote of the archbishop of Cologne for eight thousand marks of silver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony, who was richer, *gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himself with two thousand marks.*

1. What father Maimbourg affirms, is related only as an hearsay by Cuspinian.

2. How could these secret bargains be discovered.

3. This is certainly a fine proof of the disinterested conduct of the duke of Saxony, to disgrace himself for the paltry consideration of

two thousand marks only, because he is rich. The circumstance of being rich is precisely the reason for a man's selling himself at a higher price, provided he is resolved to sell himself to the best bidder.

4. Will common sense allow us to believe that Charles IV. would buy so dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Lewis of Bavaria is so much the stronger, that the new emperor and his old father, instead of supporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France for Philip de Valois against Edward of England.

Old king John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Creci *, won by the English, on the 25th or 26th day of August. Charles returns to Bohemia destitute of troops and money. He is the first king of Bohemia who caused himself to be crowned by the archbishop of Prague; and it was in consequence of this coronation, that the see of Prague, hitherto suffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbishopric.

1347.

Then Lewis of Bavaria and the anti-emperor, make war upon one another. Charles of Luxemburg is every where defeated.

A very singular scene was at this period exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, insinuating man, seeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and the popes, who durst not return, had been cho-

* His crest and motto, which were three Ostrich feathers and the words *ich dien*, signifying *I serve*, were adopted by Edward the Black prince, and became the bearings of all succeeding princes of Wales.

sen tribune of the people. He reigned some months with absolute power; but the people who had raised, soon destroyed this idol. A long time had elapsed since Rome was rendered unfit for tribunes. But we still see that ancient love of liberty produce divers shocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienzi entitled himself *the candid knight of the holy Ghost, the severe tho' merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous stickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the universe and august tribune*. These fine titles prove him to have been an enthusiast, and consequently capable of seducing the lowest class of the people; but altogether unworthy to command men of spirit and understanding. He in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Crescentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic, tho' very weak, as having nothing of the ancient Roman republic, but party and faction. All its glory consisted in its ancient name.

It is difficult to determine whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century. The popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harrassed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibelins; Jane queen of Naples after having strangled her husband, underwent the same fate; Edward III. ruined France, over which he wanted to reign; and lastly the plague, as we shall see, destroyed a great part of those who had escaped famine and the sword.

Lewis of Bavaria dies of an apoplexy near Augsburg on the eleventh day of October. Others alledge he was poisoned by a duchess of Austria.

Austria. Andrew the priest, and others pretend this duchess of Austria was the same called Great Mouth; but Andrew the priest does not consider that Margaret the Great Mouth is the very same who had quitted her husband for the emperor's son. The historians of those days must have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cause almost all of them to be poisoned. One Hocsemius expresses himself to this effect: "The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poison, administered by the duchess of Oltrogotia or Austria, wife of duke Albert." Struvius tells us, he was said to be poisoned by the duchess of Austria, called Anna. Here then are three pretended different duchesses of Austria, accused of that death without the least probability. In this manner was history heretofore written. By reading father Barre one would believe that Lewis of Bavaria was poisoned by a fourth princess called Maultasch: but this is because in the German language Maultasch signifies great mouth or wry-mouth; and this princess is that individual Margaret who was the emperor's daughter-in-law.

He intitled himself Lewis IV. and not Lewis V. because he did not reckon Lewis IV. fir-named the Infant among the emperors.

It was he who gave occasion to invent the eagle with two heads: there were two eagles in his seals; and the two heads of the eagle preserved almost always since this period, suppose two bodies also, one of which is concealed by the other. The caprice of artists hath determined almost all the armorial bearings of sovereign princes.

CHARLES IV.

THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1348.

CHARLES of Luxemburg * king of Bohemia goes forthwith from town to town, in order to get himself acknowledged emperor.

Lewis margrave of Brandenburg disputes the crown with him.

The old archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him. The count Palatine Rupert and the duke of Saxony join ; not inclining to acknowledge either pretender. They annul the election of Charles of Bohemia, and name Edward III. king of England, who had no notion of it.

The empire was now no more than a burdensome title, since the ambitious Edward refused it ; not chusing to interrupt his conquests in France, to run after a shadow.

On the refusal of Edward the electors addressed themselves to the marquis of Misnia, a relation of the deceased emperor. He also declined it. Mutius says, he preferred ten thousand marks of silver, received from the hands of Charles IV. to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price ; but it is very doubtful that Charles IV. had ten thousand marks to bestow ; he who was, at the

* He was christened Winceslaus, but afterwards received the name of Charles, from Charles the Fair of France, at whose court he was educated.

same time, arrested at Worms * by his butcher ; a debt which he could no otherwise pay, than by borrowing money of the bishop.

The electors refused on every side, at last offer the empire, with which no persons seem willing to meddle, to Gunther of Schwartzburg, a noble Thuringian. This man, who was a warrior, and had little to lose, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his sword.

1349.

The electors chuse Gunther of Schwartzburg near Frankfort ; the too frequent double elections had introduced a singular custom at Frankfort. The first of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited six weeks and three days ; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there was no news of his competitor. Gunther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry † ; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival caused him to be poisoned. The German poison of those times, was feasting to excess ‡. Gunther becomes apoplectic and incapable

* Charles met with divers affronts. The citizens of Nuremberg drove him out of the place, and opened their gates to Lewis of Brandenburg. At Rottenburg on the Neckar, he presented himself in a tournament under the name of Schilhard of Richburg, and was unhorsed by one de-la Prive, to whom he was obliged to pay the forfeit.

† He was obliged to besiege the place with an army raised by the electors for that purpose.

‡ Father Børre says, he was poisoned by a physician whose name was Fredank, supposed to be bribed by Charles. When he presented the medicine to the emperor, he was ordered to swallow part of it, and obeyed ; upon which Gunther took the remainder ; but observing the Physician's

capable of the throne; and sells it for a sum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was said to be twenty-two thousand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

As for Lewis of Bavaria, margrave of Brandenburg, he gives up his rights for nothing, not being sufficiently strong to sell them to Charles IV. who gets the better of the four competitors without fighting, and causes himself to be crowned a second time at Aix-la-chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne, to put the title out of dispute.

The marquis of Juliers disputes the right of bearing the sword, at the coronation ceremony with the marquis of Brandenburg. Ancestors of the marquis of Juliers had performed that office. But this prince did not rank then with the electors, consequently not with the great officers. The marquis of Brandenburg is maintained in his right.

1350.

A plague more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now severely felt all over Europe; and swept away almost every where above one-fifth of the inhabitants; the Germans as headstrong as ignorant accuse the Jews of having poisoned their fountains, and every where burn and destroy them*.

What

countenance beginning to change, he suspected the treachery, and endeavoured by vomits to expel the poison, which therefore had not an immediate effect. As for Fredank, he died in three days.

* At Strasburg, the populace headed by a butcher, deposed the magistracy, and invested their chief with an absolute

What is wonderful is, that Charles IV. protected the Jews that paid him, against the bishop and citizens of Strasburg; the abbot prince of Mourbac and other lords; he was ready to make war with them in favour of the Jews.

The sect of Flagellants revive in Suabia; they are large companies of men who traverse all Germany, whipping themselves with cords knotted with iron, to drive away the plague. The antient Romans in like circumstances instituted comedies; the milder remedy of the two.

An impostor appears in Brandenburg, who calls himself the antient Waldemar returned from the holy land; who pretends to retake possession of his estate unjustly given, during his absence, by Lewis of Bavaria to his son Lewis †.

The duke of Mecklinburg supports the impostor; the emperor Charles IV. countenances him. A slight war ensues; the pretended Waldemar is abandoned and eclipsed.

1351.

Charles IV. is willing to go into Italy, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Visconti rule in the mean time at Milan. John Visconti archbishop of that town, becomes a conqueror. He seizes Bologna; makes war upon the Florentines and Pisans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It

solute power. He caused two thousand Jews to be burned alive, confiscated their effects, and decreed that no individuals of that nation should be admitted into Strasburg for the term of one hundred years.

† The impostor had been groom to the marquis, resembled him in person, and imitated his deportment.

was he who composed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals beginning, "Your mother Pride greets you, together with your sisters Avarice and Immodesty."

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement between John Visconti and pope Clement, who sold him the investiture of Milan for twelve years, at twelve thousand golden florins a year.

1352.

The house of Austria has always demands on great part of Swisserland: the duke Albert intends the conquest of Zurich, which allies itself with the other cantons already confederated. The emperor assists the house of Austria in this war, like a man who wished it not to succeed. He sends troops not to fight; or rather who don't fight. The union and liberty of the Swiss are their defence.

The imperial towns incline to establish popular government in imitation of Strasburgh: Nuremberg drives out his nobles, but Charles IV. restores them. He joins Lusatia to his kingdom of Bohemia; it has since been divided from it.

1353.

The emperor Charles IV. while he was the young prince of Bohemia, had gained battles even against the pope's interest in Italy. Since he has come to the imperial throne, he searches for relics, flatters the popes; employs himself in making laws, but his chief care is the firm establishment of his house.

He comes to an accommodation with the children of Lewis of Bavaria, and reconciles them to the pope.

Albert

Albert duke of Bavaria saw himself excommunicated because his father had been so; wherefore, to prevent the piety of such princes as might think themselves entitled, by virtue of his excommunication, to strip him of his dominions, he humbly asked pardon of the new pope Innocent VI. for the injuries done to the emperor his father by the preceding popes. He signed an act beginning thus: "I Albert duke of Bavaria, son of Lewis of Bavaria, formerly styling himself Emperor, and censured by the holy Roman Church," &c.

It don't appear that he was forced to this servile submission; so that he must, at that time, either have had little honour or much superstition.

1354.

It is remarkable that Charles IV. passing through Mentz, in the way to his estates in Luxemburg, was not received as emperor, because he had not yet been consecrated.

Henry VII. had already given to Wenceslaus lord of Luxemburg the title of Duke. Charles erects it into a duchy, and Bar into a margravate. Hence it has been evidently seen how Bar comes to be held of the empire. Pont-a-Mousson is also made a marquisate. All this country is at length called The Empire.

1355.

Charles IV. goes to Italy to be crowned; rather like a pilgrim than an emperor.

The holy see was at this time situated at Avignon, pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome, the emperor still less. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought

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to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the Great, or else he ought not to have gone at all.

Charles IV. and Innocent VI. fond of ceremonies. Innocent VI. sent to Avignon a detail of all that was necessary to be observed at the coronation of the emperor. He appointed the nuncio from Rome to carry the sword before him, which is only an honour, and no mark of jurisdiction. The pope is to be on his throne surrounded by his cardinals, and the emperor is to begin by kissing his feet; after which he presents him gold, salutes him, &c. During the mass, the emperor performs some duties in the rank of a deacon. He receives the imperial crown at the end of the first epistle. After mass, without either crown or cloak, he holds the bridle of the pope's horse.

None of these ceremonies have been practised since the popes resided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of these customs; but the pope, then at Avignon, finding it impossible either to have his feet kissed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince should neither kiss his feet, nor guide the mule of the cardinal who represents his holiness.

Charles IV. went to this shew with a large retinue, but unarmed; nor did he dare to sleep in Rome, according to the promise he had made to his holiness. Ann his wife, daughter to the count Palatine, was also crowned; and indeed this empty pomp was rather the vanity of a woman, than the triumph of an emperor. Charles IV. having neither men nor money, and coming to Rome only to serve as deacon to
a cardinal's

a cardinal's mass, was insulted in every town in Italy through which he passed*.

There is a famous letter from Petrarch to the emperor, reproaching him with his weakness. Petrarch was worthy of teaching Charles IV. to think nobly.

1356.

Charles IV. acts in every thing contrary to his predecessors: they had favoured the Ghibelins, who were in effect the faction of the empire: he marches some forces against them, countenancing the Guelphs, whereby he only increases the troubles of Italy.

At his return into Germany he applied himself, as much as possible, to establish order, and regulate rank. The number of electorates had been fixed since the time of Henry VII. more by custom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The dukes of Bavaria, above all, pretending a right to vote, as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their house; and the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves electors as well as the elder.

In the diet of Nuremberg, Charles IV. deprives the duke of Bavaria of his right to vote, and declares the count Palatine the only elector of that house.

* Nothing could be more pusillanimous than the behaviour of this emperor. He sneaked out of Rome on pretence of going a-hunting. There was an attempt made to burn him in his lodgings at Pisa, where part of his retinue were massacred by the populace. Many towns, attached to the interests of the empire, shut their gates against him. At Cremona, he was obliged to wait without the walls two long hours for the answer of the magistrates, who at length permitted him to enter as a simple stranger, without arms or retinue.

THE GOLDEN BULL.

THE twenty-three first articles of the Golden Bull are published at Nuremberg with great solemnity. This constitution of the empire, the only one which the public calls a Bull, takes its name from a little gold box * in which the seal is contained, and is esteemed as a fundamental law.

It could only be established among men by the laws of convention. Those which long custom has sanctified, are called fundamental. Several things in this Golden Bull have been altered according to the times.

It was composed by the famous civilian Bartolus. The genius of the times appears in some Latin verses to be found in the exordium: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, spes unica mundi*: as well as in the apostrophe to the seven mortal sins; and in the necessity of having seven electors, because of the seven gifts of the holy Ghost, and the candlestick with seven branches.

The emperor, at first, spoke like an absolute master without consulting any person.

“We declare and ordain by this present edict, which shall continue to all perpetuity, from our certain knowledge, absolute power, and imperial authority.”

He does not therein establish the seven electors; he supposes them established. There is no mention in the two first chapters about the form and security of the journey of the seven electors, who are not to go to Frankfort with-

* It was so named from a little golden seal named *Balla*,
out

out declaring to the world and to Christians a temporal sovereign; that is to say, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards suppose, N^o 8. article the 2d, that this custom has been always inviolably observed; "and moreover that which is above written has been inviolably observed." Charles IV. and Bartolus forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV. himself. One of the most important points is the indivisibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right passes, in the male line, always to the eldest son.

It ought then to have been ordained, that the secular electorates be no more divided, but descend wholly to the eldest son. This is what was omitted in the twenty-three famous articles published at Nuremberg, so very ostentatiously, the emperor attending the publication, with a sceptre in one hand, and the globe of the world in the other. Very few things are attended to in that bull; neither is there any method observed, nor the particulars of the general government of the empire in the least treated of.

A most important thing is expressed in the 7th article of N^o 7. that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire (undoubtedly the secular principalities are understood) the emperor has the disposal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. These confused words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attainted. The particular favour shewn to Bohemia is also remarkable in this bull, the emperor

peror being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the imperial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has since been granted to divers princes, and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may consult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finishing hand is put to the golden bull at Metz; where, during the Christmas, seven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omission of making the electoral successions indivisible. That which is most clear and evident in these articles, is the respect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be seen, that Charles IV. takes delight in making the electors officiate as menials in open court.

The emperor's table three feet higher than that of the empress; and hers three feet above those of the electors; a heap of oats lying before the door of the dining-hall; a duke of Saxony coming on horseback to take a peck of oats from this heap; in fine, all this ostentation was far from resembling the majestic simplicity of Rome's first Cæsars.

A modern author says, that they have not derogated from the last article of the golden bull, since all the electors speak French: yet it is in this precisely that they have derogated; for it is ordained by the last article, that the electors learn Latin and Slavonian, as well as Italian. Now few of the electors value themselves upon speaking the Slavonian.

The whole bull was at length published at Metz, when there was a very full court, and the electors attended the emperor and empress

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at table, each man in his function. It was not for such solemnities as these, that princes did these high offices; originally they were officers of the household, who had, in time, become great princes.

1357.

That Charles IV. was no friend to either the houses of Bavaria or Austria is plain, from the exclusion of their respective dukes in the golden bull. The first consequence of this pacific regulation was a civil war. The dukes of Bavaria and Austria raise troops. They besiege one of the emperor's commissaries in Danustausen. The emperor arrives at that place; he can dissolve the league between Austria and Bavaria no other way, but by giving up Danustausen to the elector of Bavaria, instead of the right to a vote, which he demanded.

There is a great contest in the empire on account of phalburghers or false burghers. A contest, in which it is very likely the authors have been mistaken. The golden bull ordains, that no burghers belonging to any particular prince shall be received in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their sovereign, unless they become residents in these towns. Nothing is more just, nothing more easily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will over-rule the disobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretence of his being admitted a citizen of Basil or Constance.

Why then such dissensions about these false burghers at Strasburg? why were they in arms? can Strasburgh, by any example, support a subject of Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? undoubtedly.

doubtedly no. This is certainly one of the most important and most sacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their subjects of the first great right all men have, to chuse their dwelling-place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This then is the emperor's reason for commanding the people of Strasburgh to receive no strangers on the footing of citizens ; this is the reason that the citizens of Strasburgh endeavour to preserve themselves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

1358.

Charles IV. with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at present a law-giver, and master of a rich and beautiful country, has nevertheless scarcely any credit in the empire ; because nobody wished he should.

When the emperor endeavoured to incorporate Lusatia and Bohemia, Albert of Austria, who has some demands on Lusatia, suddenly makes war on him, while no one person assists him : and he has no way of getting quit of this affair but by a stratagem, and that a very base one. It is pretended that he deceived the duke of Austria by spies ; and that he afterwards paid these spies in false money. This story wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He sells privileges to all the towns ; to the count of Savoy he sells the title of vicar of the empire at Geneva ; he for a certain sum confirms the liberty of the town of Florence ; and he extorts considerably from Venice for the sovereignty of Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, but the Viscontis pay him most dearly for having
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the hereditary power in Milan under the title of governor. Thus it is pretended that the empire, which he bought wholesale, he sold by retail.

1359.

The princes of the empire, excited by the universities of Germany, represent to Charles IV. that in the bull of Clement V. there are many things dishonourable both to him and the Germanic body; that among others, it is expressed, that the emperors are the pope's vassals, and an oath of fidelity is presented to them. Charles, who had lived long enough to know these slight forms need only be attended to, when supported by force of arms, complains to the pope lest he should irritate the Germanic body; but in a very moderate stile, for fear of irritating the pope. Innocent IV. gives for answer, that this proposition is become a fundamental law of the church, taught in all the schools of divinity. To back this answer, he sends a bishop of Cavaillon from Avignon to Germany, to demand one tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues, for the pope's maintenance.

The bishop of Cavaillon returns to Avignon, after having received strong complaints, instead of money. The German clergy exclaim against the pope; and this was one of the first sparks of that revolution in the church which we now see.

A rescript of Charles IV. in favour of the clergy, protecting them against such princes as would prevent them from meddling with worldly wealth, and bargaining with the laity.

1360.

1360.

Charles IV. while making regulations in Germany, abandons Italy. The Visconti still continue masters of Milan; Barnaby is willing to preserve Bologna, which his uncle, a warlike and politic archbishop, had bought for twelve years.

A Spanish legate, called d'Albornos, enters the town in the name of the pope, who continues still at Avignon; and gives Bologna to the pope.

Barnaby Visconti besieges Bologna. How can one credit, at this day, that the holy father promised by agreement to pay one hundred thousand livres in gold annually, for five years, to be master of Bologna? the historians who repeat such exaggerations are certainly but little acquainted with the true value of 500,000 livres in gold.

1361.

The siege of Bologna is raised, without being any expence to the pope. A marquis of Malatesta, who had thrown himself with some troops into the town, makes a sally, beats Barnaby, and causes him to retreat homewards. The emperor meddles no other way in this affair, than by an effectual rescript in favour of the pope.

A war having broke out between the crown of Denmark on the one hand, and the Hans-towns on the other, is terminated as usual by treaty.

1362.

Several of the Hans-towns treat with Denmark at Lubeck, in the terms of a crowned head,

head; a glorious monument of liberty founded on respectable industry. Lubeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Hamburg, Wiesmar, Bremen, and several others, form a perpetual peace with the "king of Denmark, of the Goths, and Vandals; the princes, merchants, and freemen of his kingdom." These are the words of the treaty; which prove that Denmark was free, and the Hans-towns still more so.

The empress Ann having been brought to-bed of Wenceslaus, the emperor sends the weight of the child in gold to our lady at Aix; a custom which began then to be established, and has been pushed to an extravagant excess for our lady of Loretto.

The bishop of Strasburgh purchases, at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of Lower Alsatia; he is opposed by the landgraves of Alsatia, of the house of Oettingen, and purchases his peace, as he did his title, with money.

A great division between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, caused by a woman. Margaret of Carinthia, widow of Henry the Old, duke of Bavaria, son of the emperor Lewis, foe to the house into which she married, gives all her rights upon Tirol and its dependencies to Rodolphus, duke of Austria.

Stephen, duke of Bavaria, makes alliance with several princes. The Austrian has no person of his party but the archbishop of Saltzburg. They conclude a three years treaty, but their secret enmity is more lasting.

1363.

Charles IV. as sedentary now as he had been active in his youth, remains always at Prague.

Italy

Italy is entirely abandoned; each lord there buys the title of vicar of the empire.

Barnaby Visconti still bears a grudge to Bologna, and is master of many towns in Romagna.

The pope, at that time, Urban V. obtains very easily from the emperor ineffectual orders to the vicars of the empire. It is related, that Barnaby at length sells his possessions in Romagna for 500,000 florins of gold to the pope; but was it easy for Urban at Avignon to find such a sum?

1364.

It is also related, that Charles intended to turn the Danube by Prague; more incredible still than the pope's 500,000 florins. The water must be brought over the mountains, barely to make a canal from the Danube to Moldau in Bohemia; and besides, it depends on the house of Bavaria, which commands the course of the river. Charlemagne's project of joining the Danube and the Rhine in a flat country was much more practicable.

1365.

A plague that broke out in France, amidst the terrible wars of Edward III. and Philip de Valois, spreads itself into Germany. Several vagabonds who had deserted from these armies, which were ill paid, and as badly disciplined, joining with other rogues, make excursions into Lorraine and Alsatia, where they find all the passes open, they are called *Malandrins**; never welcome, &c. The emperor is forced to

* *Malandron*. is a Spanish word most used in romances, signifying a robber, from *mal* and *ander*, evil-going.

march against them upon the Rhine with the troops of the empire; they are driven thence, they ravage France and Holland, like locusts laying waste all before them, without any distinction.

Charles IV. visits pope Urban V. at Avignon. He endeavours a holy war, rather to prevent the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, from oppressing Christianity, than to recover Jerusalem.

A king of Cyprus, who beholds the danger more nearly, solicits this holy war also at Avignon. Several crusades had been pursued from time to time, when the Mussulmans were scarcely formidable in Syria, but now that Christianity is shaken, they are laid aside.

The pope, after having proposed the crusades with proper decorum, makes a serious treaty with the emperor for the surrender of his usurped patrimony to the holy see. He grants to the emperor the tenths upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can serve himself by going to Italy, to recover the proper dominions of the emperor, and not to serve the pope.

1366.

The Malandrins return again upon the Rhine, and commit devastations even to the gates of Avignon. This is one of the reasons that oblige Urban V. to take shelter in Rome; after the popes had been for sixty-two years retired to the borders of the Rhone. The Viscontis, more dangerous than the Malandrins, possess all the openings of the Alps; they had invaded Piedmont, and threatened Provence. Urban having only the emperor's word for assistance, embarks on board a galley belonging

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to the guilty and unfortunate Joan queen of Naples.

1367.

The emperor excuses himself from assisting the pope, to be a spectator of the war made in the Tirolese between the houses of Austria and Bavaria. And pope Urban the Vth, after having made some useless alliances with Austria and Hungary, gives at length a sight of a pope to the Romans, on the 16th of October. He is received only as the first bishop of Christianity, and not as a sovereign.

1368.

The town of Friburg in Brisgau, which had endeavoured to gain its freedom, falls again into the power of the house of Austria, by the cession of a count Egnon, who had taken it under his protection; and withdraws it for twelve thousand florins.

The re-establishment of the popes at Rome does not prevent the Visconti ruling in Lombardy; where they were near reviving a monarchy more powerful and extensive than that of the ancient Lombards.

The emperor goes at last into Italy to the assistance of the pope, and rather indeed to that of the empire; he had a formidable army, in which there was some artillery.

This frightful invention began now to be established; it was as yet unknown among the Turks, against whom it had been employed; they had been easily driven out of Europe, but Christians as yet only use it against Christians.

To support the faith in Italy, the pope on one side wins the duke of Austria; on the other, the emperor; each with a puissant army; it was this
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fort of conduct that lost the liberty of Italy, nay of the pope himself. It has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the popes have still called in strangers to their aid, who would, if possible, have carried it away with them.

The emperor pillages Verona; the duke of Austria Vicenza; the Viscontis immediately sue for peace, to wait better times; the war ends in a sum given to Charles, who goes to Rome to be consecrated, according to the usual ceremonies.

1369.

A diet at Frankfort. A severe edict forbidding the towns and princes from making war of themselves. The edict is no sooner published, than the bishop of Hildesheim, and Magnus, duke of Brunswick, having each many lords of his party, are involved in a bloody war.

It could scarcely happen otherwise in a country where the very few good laws are without force. And this continual anarchy serves as an excuse for the emperor's inactivity. He ought to hazard every thing; or remain altogether quiet; and he chuses the latter.

Urban V. having brought the Austrians and Bohemians into Italy, who returned home loaden with spoil, now calls in the Hungarians against the Viscontis; there wanted only Turks.

The emperor, to ward off this fatal blow, reconciles the Viscontis with the holy see.

1370.

Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the
G count

count of Holstein, takes refuge in Pomerania. He asks assistance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation. He applies to pope Gregory XI. who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication; writing to him as to his vassal. It is pretended Waldemar answered him thus:

“ My life I hold of God; my crown of my subjects; my estates of my ancestors; my faith only of your predecessors; which, if you have a mind to make use of it, I send you back by these presents.” This letter is surely apocryphal.

King Waldemar re-enters his dominions, without any assistance, by the disunion of his enemies.

1371.

Germany, though as yet in a rustic state, nevertheless polishes Poland. Casimir, to whom had been given the surname of Great, begins to build some towns after the German fashion, and introduces some laws of Saxon right into his own country, which wants laws.

A particular war between Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, brother to the emperor, and the dukes of Juliers and of Gueldres; in which all the lords of the Low Countries take part.

Nothing more strongly characterizes the fatal anarchy of these times of rapine. The subject of this broil was a troop of highwaymen, protected by the duke of Juliers: and unhappily such an example was not uncommon in those days.

Wenceslaus, vicar of the empire, willing to punish the duke of Juliers, is defeated and taken in battle.

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The conqueror, fearing the emperor's resentment, hastens to Prague, accompanied by many princes, and, above all, by his prisoner: "I return you, said he to the emperor, your brother; forgive me both."

One sees many events of these times thus intermixed with robbery and heroism.

1372.

The edicts against these wars having proved ineffectual, a new diet at Nuremberg ordains that no prince or town should for the future make war before the expiration of sixty days from the receipt of the offence. This was called the sixtieth law of the empire; and was always duly observed, when more than sixty days were requisite to prepare for attacking the enemy.

1373.

For a long time past the affairs of Naples and Sicily have had no connection with those of the empire. The isle of Sicily was at present occupied by the house of Arragon, and Naples by queen Joan; both, at this time, were fiefs. The house of Arragon had submitted, by treaty, ever since the Sicilian vespers, to hold it of the crown of Naples, which was held of the holy see.

The view of the house of Arragon in paying a vain homage to the crown of Naples, was to become independent of the Roman court, and had succeeded therein when the pope was at Avignon.

Gregory XI. ordains that the king of Sicily shall henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the pope at the same time. He revives the antient law, or rather protest, disabling the

king of Sicily, or Naples, from ever being emperor; and adds, that these kingdoms shall be incompatible with those of Tuscany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with enriching himself in Germany, and establishing his house. He buys the electorate of Brandenburg from Otho of Bavaria, who possessed it, to appropriate it to himself and his family. This case was not set down in the golden bull. He at length gives this electorate to his eldest son Winceslaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigismund.

1374.

The holy see had been long at Avignon. Urban the fifth dies, when at Rome but a very little time. Gregory the eleventh determines to re-establish the popedom in his native country.

Such princes and towns as stood possessed of the countess Matilda's estates, enter into an alliance against the pope, who was willing to return into Italy. The most part of the towns, at length, set up their standards, and over their gates the great word, *Libertas*, as it is yet to be seen at Lucca.

1375.

The Florentines began to act in the same manner in Italy, as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece. All the polite arts that were entirely unknown before, revive at Florence. The factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines during the disturbances they created in Tuscany, had stirred up genius and courage; it was liberty elevated them. This people was the most respectable, and least superstitious, of any in Italy,
and

and the least inclined to obey either the pope^s or emperors. Pope Gregory excommunicated them. It was a little strange, that these excommunications, to which they had been so often accustomed, should still make some impression.

1376.

Charles procures his son Wenceslaus to be proclaimed king of the Romans at Ments, upon the Rhine, the same place where he himself had been chosen.

All the electors are there in person. His second son Sigismund assists, as elector of Brandenburg, tho' but a child. The father having lately transferred that title from Wenceslaus to Sigismund. He had, for his own part, his voice of Bohemia. Five electors were then to be gained. It is said, and many historians assure us of it, that he promised to each one hundred thousand florins of gold. It is not at all likely, that each received the same sum; neither is it likely, that the five princes were mean enough to receive it; indiscreet enough to talk of it; or that the emperor should boast of his having corrupted the votes.

So far was he from giving money to the elector Palatine, that he sold to him at the same time Ghottenburg, Falkenburg, and other domains. He also sold, indeed at a very indifferent price, some of the royal prerogative to the electors of Cologne and of Mentz. Thus did he gain money, and spoiled the empire in securing it to his son.

1377.

Charles the IVth, aged 64, undertakes a journey to Paris; and it is added, that it was to have

the consolation of seeing the king of France, Charles the Vth, who loved him tenderly; and the reason of this tenderness for a monarch that he had never seen, was his having espoused formerly one of his aunts. Another reason alledged for this journey, is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promised *Mr. St. Maurus*, a saint in the neighbourhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horseback, for his cure. The true reason was disgust, uneasiness, and a custom in those days established for princes to visit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his son Wenceslaus king of the Romans. He scarcely sees a finer country than his own from the frontiers to Paris. Paris deserves not his curiosity. The old palace of St. Lewis, which still subsists, and the castle of the Louvre, which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey. In Tuscany only they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was any thing serious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the ancient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the Dauphin. It was a long time a question among the civilians, whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while since, been one among sovereigns. It is true, that the last Dauphin Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the second son of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the same right with which he possessed it. It is moreover true, that they pretend Charles IV. himself had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the less insisted upon by his successors. Maximilian the first always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny.
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But this right must have been very little minded, since Charles V. in obliging Francis I. his prisoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the least mention of the homage due to the empire on account of Dauphiny. All the sequel of this history shews how time changes rights.

1378.

A French gentleman, named Enguerant de Couci makes use of the emperor's journey to France to prefer a very strange request, that of making war upon the house of Austria; he was great grand-son of the emperor Albert of Austria by his mother, the daughter of Leopold. He demanded the estates of Leopold, as not being masculine fiefs. The emperor grants him entire permission. He never considered, how it was possible for a private gentleman of Picardy to levy an army. Coucy, nevertheless, has one pretty considerable, furnished by his relations and friends; by the reigning spirit of heroism; by some of his patrimony, which he sold, and by the hope of plunder; which engages many people in extraordinary undertakings.

He marched towards such parts of Alsatia and Swisserland, as belong to the house of Austria. But not having wherewithal to pay his troops; and some contributions gathered about Strasburg, not being sufficient to enable him to keep the field any long time, his army soon dispersed, and his project was at an end. The fate of this gentleman was no more than what happens to all great princes, even now, who raise forces too hastily.

The beginning of the great SCHISM in the West.

GREGORY XI. at length, after having seen Rome in 1377, and brought back the pontifical see from Avignon, where it had been settled seventy-two years, dies on the 27th of March, anno Domini 1378.

The Italian cardinals now prevail, and chuse an Italian pope: it was Prignano, a Neapolitan, a man fierce and impetuous; he takes the name of Urban. Prignano Urban, in his first consistory, declared he would do justice on Charles V. king of France, and Edward III. king of England, who disturbed the peace of Europe. Cardinal de la Grange, shaking his hand at him, answered him that "He lied." Two words that plunge Christianity in a war of more than thirty years continuance.

Most of the cardinals, irritated at the pope's violent and intolerable temper, retire to Naples, declare the election of Prignano Urban as forced and void; and chuse Robert, son of Amadeus III. count of Geneva, who assumes the name of Clement; and establishes an anti-roman see at Avignon. Europe is divided. The emperor and Flanders join the latter; Hungary, which belongs to the emperor, acknowledges Urban.

France, Scotland, and Savoy, are for Clement. One may easily judge, by the side taken by each power, that all acted upon interested principles. The name of a pope is but a word of raillery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement, because she had been formerly protected by

by France, and because this unfortunate queen had called Lewis of Anjou, brother of Charles V. to her assistance.

Wenceslaus duke of Luxemburg dying without issue, leaves all his fiefs to his brother, and after him to Wenceslaus king of the Romans.

The emperor Charles IV. dies soon after; leaving Bohemia with the empire to Wenceslaus; Brandenburg to his second son Sigismund; Lusatia, and the two duchies of Silesia, to John his third son.

It happens, notwithstanding the golden bull, that he has benefited his family much more than Germany.



W E N C E S L A U S.

T H I R T Y - F O U R T H E M P E R O R.

1379, 1380, 1381, 1382.

TH E reign of Charles IV. which had been much complained of, and still is blamed; is an age of gold, when compared to the times of Wenceslaus his son.

He begins by wasting his father's treasures in debaucheries at Frankfort and Aix la Chapelle; without giving himself any trouble about his patrimony, Bohemia, desolated by the plague.

At the latter end of the year all the Bohemian lords revolt against him; he sees himself all of a sudden beset, without daring to hope for any assistance from the empire; and obliged to march against his Bohemian subjects; the rest of those

G. 5. banditti

banditti called Malandrins, who ranged Europe, seeking the service of such princes as would employ them, ravage Bohemia for their pay. Europe, in the mean time, is torn to pieces by the schism between the two popes. Which melancholy dispute, at last, cost the unfortunate Joan queen of Naples her life.

Now that there were no hopes, it was made a point of religion as well as policy to side with one of them. He was certainly wisest who acknowledged neither. Joan queen of Naples had unfortunately declared for Clement, at a time that Urban had it in his power to hurt her. She was accused of having assassinated her first husband, Andrew of Hungary, and living then quietly with Otho of Brunswick her present spouse.

Urban, possessed, as yet, of some power in Italy, stirs up against her Charles de Durazzo, under pretence of revenging the fate of her first husband.

Charles de Durazzo comes into Hungary to assist the anger of the pope, who had promised him the crown. What is most terrible in this affair is, that he had been adopted by queen Joan, who was now far advanced in years. He had been declared her heir, yet preferred stripping her, who had been to him as a mother, of crown and life, rather than wait till nature and time gave him the crown.

Otho of Brunswick, who fights in his wife's behalf, is made prisoner along with her. Charles de Durazzo causes her to be strangled. Naples had, since the days of Charles of Anjou, become a theatre of wicked attempts against their crowned heads,

1383. 1384. 1385. 1386.

The imperial throne becomes at present a scene of horror and contempt. In Bohemia nothing to be seen but seditions against Wenceslaus. All the members of the house of Bavaria reunite to declare war against him. This is a crime by the laws. But there are no longer laws.

The emperor has no other way of assuaging this storm, than in restoring to the count Palatine of Bavaria the towns of the higher palatinate, which Charles IV. had seized when that prince had been distressed.

He cedes other towns to the duke of Bavaria, as Mulberg and Bernau. All the towns on the Rhine, of Suabia, and Franconia, league against him. The princes bordering on France receive pensions. To Wenceslaus remains the bare title of emperor.

1387.

While an emperor thus debases himself, a woman immortalises her name. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark and of Norway, becomes by victories and election queen of Sweden. This grand revolution respects Germany no farther than as this heroine is fruitlessly opposed by the princes of Mecklenburgh, the counts of Holstein, the towns of Hamburgh and of Lubeck.

The alliance of the Swiss cantons strengthens them for the present, and they grow always stronger by war. It was now some years since the canton of Bern had engaged in this union. Duke Leopold bends his views to the taming these people. He attacks them, and loses the battle with his life.

1388.

The leagues of the towns of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine, might form a people free, as the natives of Swisserland, especially under a reign so confused as this of Wenceslaus: were there not too many chiefs; too great a variety of particular interests; besides the nature of their situation, open on every side, did not permit them to separate themselves from the empire like the Swiss.

1389.

Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, gains some glory in Hungary. He was only the husband of the queen, whom the Hungarians had called King Mary; a title they have revived, not long since, in favour of Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles the VI. Mary was young, and the states had no mind her husband should govern: they had rather commit the regency to Elisabeth of Bosnia, mother of their King Mary: so that Sigismund found himself only the husband of the princess under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of King.

The states of Hungary are discontented with the regency; and do not entirely chuse to serve Sigismund. They offer the crown to Charles de Durazzo, a man used to strangle queens, who arrives and is crowned.

The regent and her daughter disguise their sentiments, watch their opportunity, and cause him to be assassinated before them. The palatine of Croatia sets himself up to be judge of the two queens; he causes the mother to be drowned, and the daughter to be imprisoned. It is now that Sigismund shews himself worthy of reigning; he levies troops in his electorate of Brandenburg,

denburg, and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

The palatine of Croatia delivers up his wife, having made her promise, he should be continued in his government. Sigismund crowned king of Hungary, does not believe himself obliged to observe his wife's word; and causes the palatine of Croatia to be quartered in the town of the five churches.

1390.

During these horrors the great schism in the church increases: it might have been extinguished after the death of Urban, by acknowledging Clement; but at Rome they chose one Peter Tomasselli, who was not received in Germany, because France had acknowledged Clement. He requires the annates, or first year's profit of the benefices; which Germany pays, and murmurs.*

It looks as if they determined to make the Jews repay them what they had advanced to the pope. Almost all the inland trade was conducted by them, in spite of the Hans-towns. They imagined them so rich in Bohemia, that they murdered and destroyed them every-where. The same was done in many towns, and above all at Spire.

Wenceslaus, who was sparing of his edicts, issued one annulling all debts due to the Jews: imagining thus to conciliate the nobility and people.

From 1391 to 1397.

The town of Strasburg is so powerful, as to support a war against the elector Palatine, and his bishop, on account of some fiefs. It incurs the

the imperial ban, and is quit for 30,000 florins paid to the emperor's profit.

Three brothers, dukes of Bavaria, enter into compact, by which every Bavarian prince is thenceforth bound neither to sell or give up his tenure to any but his nighest relation ; and not to dispose of it to a stranger without the consent of every member of the house : here is a law, which might be inserted in the golden bull, much to the advantage of the first families in Germany.

Each sovereign and each town take the best care possible of their mutual affairs.

Wenceslaus, shut up in Prague, commits many actions of barbarity and madness ; there were, particularly, times in which he was quite beside himself. This is an effect of excess in eating and drinking, which attends more people than one may imagine.

Charles VI. of France was, in the mean time, attacked with a disorder of nearly the same nature ; losing often the use of reason. The antipopes divide the church and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed ?

Wenceslaus, in one of his fits, threw the monk John Nepomucene into the Moldau, where he was drowned, because he had refused to tell him what the queen his wife had confessed to him. It is said he sometimes walked the streets attended by the public executioners, and put to death on the spot such people as he disliked. The magistrates of Prague cause him to be seized as a common malefactor, and thrown into a dungeon.

They

They permit him baths for the recovery of his health and senses.

He escapes with one servant-maid, whom he makes his mistress. He shuts himself up in Beraun. Here was a fair opportunity for Sigismund his brother king of Hungary to have himself acknowledged king of Bohemia; nor does he let it slip; but he could only get himself declared regent. He shuts up his brother in the castle of Prague; from whence he sends him to duke Albert of Austria at Vienna, and returns to Hungary to oppose the Turks, who began to extend their conquests on that side.

Wenceslaus makes another escape from his new prison, and once more reaches Prague; and, what is wonderful, finds there some partizans.

What is still more astonishing is, that Germany does not interfere in the least in the emperor's affairs, neither when he is in a dungeon at Prague nor Vienna, nor yet when he returns home to Bohemia.

1398.

Is it credible, that Wenceslaus, in the midst of the infamy and turns of such a life, should propose a meeting at Rheims in Champagne, with Charles IV. king of France, to put an end to the scandals of schism?

And at Rheims the two monarchs meet: it is remarked, that at a feast given here by the king of France to the emperor and to the king of Navarre, a patriarch of Alexandria who was present took the first place at table. It is also remarked, that one morning Wenceslaus was found drunk by those who went to confer with him on the business of the church.

The

The universities begin now to gain some credit, because they were new, and had no authority in the church. That of Paris was the first which proposed a demission of the papacy, and the election of a new pope. And it was debated that the king of France should obtain the demission of his pope Clement; and that Wenceslaus also should engage for his pope doing the same.

Neither of the pretenders chose to resign. They were the successors of Clement and Urban. The first was Tomafelli, who, being elected on the death of Urban, assumed the name of Boniface; the second was Pedro de Luna, a native of Arragon, who was called Benedict, and fixed his residence at Avignon.

The court of France keeps its word with the emperor; proposes to Benedict his abdication, which he refusing, is kept prisoner five whole years in his castle at Avignon.

Thus the court of France, in not acknowledging a pope during five years, shewed that the church could subsist without a pope.

It was said that Wenceslaus could drink with his pope, but not treat with him.

1399.

He finds at length a spouse, Sophia of Bavaria, notwithstanding his having hastened the death of his first with ill treatment. He is not known to relapse into any of his fits of frenzy after this match; and minds nothing but, like his father Charles IV. heaping up money*.

* All the other historians say, that, far from heaping up money, he became so extravagant, that all his revenues were insufficient to defray the monstrous expence of his housekeeping,

He sells every thing, and at last disposes of the emperor's title to Lombardy unto Galeazo Visconti, declaring it, according to some authors, intirely independent of the empire, for one hundred and fifty thousand golden crowns. No law prevents the emperor from these alienations. Had there subsisted any, Visconti would never have hazarded so considerably.

The ministers of Wenceslaus, who pillage Bohemia, incline to levy exactions upon the province of Misnia; about which complaints are made to the electors; and straightway these princes, who had taken no steps against Wenceslaus when he was made, assemble to depose him.

After many assemblies of electors, princes, and deputies of towns, a solemn diet is held at Lanstein near Mentz. The three ecclesiastical electors, together with the Palatine, formally depose the emperor in the presence of many princes, who only assist as witnesses. The electors having the sole right of chusing, draw from it the necessary conclusion of their having the sole right of vacating. They revoke the alienations that had been purchased from the emperor; but this makes not Visconti less absolute from Piedmont to the gates of Venice.

The act of deposing Wenceslaus bears date the 20th of August in the morning. The electors a few days after chuse for emperor Frederick duke of Brunswick, who is assassinated by a count Waldeck, while preparing for his coronation.

ROBERT,

R O B E R T,
Count Palatine of the Rhine.
THIRTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1400.

ROBERT, count Palatine of the Rhine, is elected at Rens by the same four electors. His election could not possibly have been on the twenty-second of August, as hath been asserted, because Wenceslaus was deposed on the 20th, and there must certainly have been more than two days consumed in chusing the duke of Brunswick, preparing for his coronation, and assassinating him.

Robert, according to custom, presents himself armed at the gates of Frankfort, and makes his entry there at the end of six weeks and three days. This is the last example we have of this custom.

1401.

Some princes and towns still hold out for Wenceslaus, as a few Romans regretted Nero. The magistrates of the free town of Aix-la-Chapelle shut their gates against Robert, who wanted to be crowned there. He remains at Cologne with the archbishop.

To gain the Germans he is willing to recover the Milanese for the empire, from which Wenceslaus had divided it. He forms an alliance with the towns of Swisserland and Suabia, as if he was only a prince of the empire, and raises troops against Visconti. The circumstance of things was favourable. Venice and
Florence

Florence were already arming against the formidable power of his new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tirol, he sent a challenge to Galeazo; beginning, "To John Galeazo, count of Verona," &c. to which was answered, "To you, Robert of Bavaria, we duke of Milan, by the grace of God, and of Wenceslaus," &c. After which he promises to beat him, and keeps his word, in the defiles of the mountains.

Several princes, who had accompanied the emperor, retire with their few remaining soldiers; and Robert at length wanders away alone.

1402, 1403.

John Galeazo remains master of all Lombardy, and protector of the neighbouring towns, in spite of them.

He dies, leaving, among other children, one daughter, married to the duke of Orleans, the source of so many unhappy wars.

Upon his death, one of the popes, Boniface, who was neither firmly settled in Rome, nor acknowledged by half Europe, makes a successful use of the hatred, which the conquests of John Galeazo had inspired, and possesses himself, by his intrigues, of Bologna, Perugia, Ferrara, and of many towns of the antient inheritance of the countess Matilda, which the holy see had always claimed.

Wenceslaus, awaking from his lethargy, takes it in his head at last to defend the imperial crown against Robert. They mutually accept of the king of France's mediation, whom the electors pray to come to pronounce judgment between Wenceslaus and Robert at Cologne, while

where both should be present, and submit themselves to him.

Very likely the electors asked the king of France's judgment, because they knew he was not in a condition to give it. The return of his malady hindered him from governing his own dominions. Could he then come to decide between two emperors?

The deposed Wenceslaus has now some hopes from his brother Sigismund king of Hungary, who, by a whimsical chance, is himself dethroned, and imprisoned in his own kingdom.

The Hungarians chuse Ladislaus king of Naples for their king, who scarcely arrives on the frontiers of Hungary before Naples revolts; and he returns to extinguish the rebellion.

Let us here draw a picture of Europe. One sees her divided by two popes; Germany rent by two emperors; the disagreement in Italy after Visconti's death; the Venetians possessing themselves of one part of Lombardy; the Genoese of another; Pisa subject to Florence; horrible troubles in France during the madness of the king; civil wars in England; the best provinces in Spain over-run by the Moors; the Turks advancing towards Greece; and the empire of Constantinople drawing towards a conclusion.

1404.

Robert, nevertheless, purchases some little territories surrounding his palatinate; the bishop of Strasburg sells him Offenbourg, Celle, and other signories. This is almost all that remains to him of the empire.

The duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joshua, marquis

marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceslaus had sold it. Sigismund had disposed also of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new possessors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

1405.

The new dukes of Luxemburg and of Lorraine go to war without the empire's siding with either: had things continued thus a few years longer, there had remained neither empire nor Germanic body.

1406.

The marquis of Baden and the count of Wirtenburg make with impunity a league with Straßburg and the towns of Suabia against the imperial authority. The purport of the treaty was, "That in case the emperor presumed to meddle with the rights of any of them, they should unitedly make war upon him."

The Swiss strengthen themselves daily. The electors ravage the dominions of the house of Austria in Sondgau and in Alsace.

1407, 1408.

While the imperial authority daily declines, the schism of the church continues. No sooner one anti-pope dies, but his party set up another. These scandals would have made all people shake off the yoke of Rome, had they been more reasonable and spirited, and had not the princes always had it in their heads to have a pope of their party, that they might have something of the arms of religion therewith to oppose their enemies. This is the real reason of the many leagues that have been known between the see of Rome and many kings; of so many

many contradictions; excommunications demanded privately by some, and despised by others.

The church began already to dread learning, wit, and the polite arts: they had travelled from the court of Robert king of Naples to Florence, where they had erected their empire. The growing emulation of the university began to clear up some knotty points: one half of Italy was at enmity with popes; nevertheless the Italians, more prudent than other nations, never established any sect against the church. They often made war upon the Roman court, but never on the Roman church. The Albigenses and the Vaudois had now begun to appear near the frontiers of France. Wickliff rose up in England*. John Hus, a doctor of the new university of Prague, and confessor to the queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenceslaus, having read Wickliff's manuscripts, preached up his opinions at Prague. Rome did not expect even the first rays of erudition coming from a country which she had so long stiled barbarous. The doctrine of John Hus consisted chiefly of giving to the church certain rights, which the holy see pretended to reserve to herself.

The times are favourable. There has been, ever since the birth of schism, a succession of anti-popes on each side; and it was extremely difficult to know on which side was the Holy Ghost.

* Wickliff, who was principal of Baliol college, in Oxford, wrote and preached against the infallibility and supremacy of the pope, the temporal power of ecclesiastics, the order of Mendicants, auricular confession, and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The ecclesiastical throne being thus split in two, each half is confused and bloody. The same fate attends thirty episcopal sees. A bishop, confirmed by one pope, disputes his cathedral sword in hand with one approved of by another.

At Liege, for example, there are two bishops who stir up a bloody war. John of Bavaria, chosen by a part of the chapter, contends with one elected by another part; and as the opposed popes had only bulls to bestow, John of Bavaria calls into his succour John duke of Burgundy with an army. In fine, to settle which shall have the cathedral of Liege, the town is sacked, and almost reduced to ashes.

So many evils, which in general it is impossible to remedy until they come to extremes, at last produce the council of Pisa, whither several cardinals retiring, summon the rest of the church. This council is afterwards transferred to Constance.

1409.

If there was a possibility of extinguishing the schism, which had so long raged over Christian Europe, in a legal and canonical manner, it was by the authority of this council.

Two anti-popes, the successors of two anti-popes, lend their names to this civil and sacred war. One is the fierce Peter de Luna; the other Corrario, a Venetian.

The council of Pisa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty-four cardinals, with the consent of the council, chuse Philargi, a native of Candia, on the 17th of June, 1409. Philargi, the lawful pope, dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now at Rome unanimously elect Balthazar
Cossa,

Cossa, who assumes the name of John XXIII. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had distinguished himself in his progress on the coast of Naples in favour of Urban. He had, some time since purchased, at a very dear rate, a cardinal's hat, and a mistress named Catharine, whom he carried off from her husband. At the head of a small army he recovered Bologna from the Visconti. He was a soldier without morals; but, nevertheless, he was a pope canonically elected.

The schism seems now to be ended by the laws of the church; but the politics of certain princes give it still a being, if we can call by the name of politics that spirit of jealousy, of intrigue, of rapine, of fear, and of expectation, which sets the world in a flame.

A diet was assembled at Frankfort in 1409, at which the emperor presides, and is attended by ambassadors from the kings of France, England, and Poland. And what ensues? The emperors support one faction of anti-popes, and France another; the emperor and empire believing the right of assembling councils to be theirs. The diet of Frankfort treats the council of Pisa as an unlawful assembly, and demands a regular council. Thus it happened that the council of Pisa, when they imagined every thing settled, had instead thereof left Europe three popes for two.

The canonical pope was John XXIII. chosen solemnly at Rome. The two others were Corrario and Peter de Luna. Corrario wandered about from town to town; Peter de Luna was, by order of the court of France, shut up in Avignon,

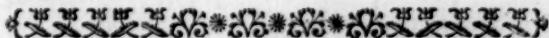
Avignon, where, without acknowledging him, they kept this fantom to produce upon occasion, in opposition to others in the same business.

1410.

While Europe is thus disturbed by popes, a bloody war breaks out between Poland and the Teutonic knights-masters of Prussia about some boats laden with corn. These knights, instituted at first to serve the Germans in their hospitals, were at length become a militia something like the Mammelukes.

The knights are defeated: they lose Thorn, Elbing, and many other towns, which remain in the hands of Poland.

The emperor Robert dies the 10th of May at Openheim. Wenceslaus still calls himself emperor, without performing any of the imperial functions.



J O S H U A.

THIRTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

1410.

WENCESLAUS was no more emperor, except at Prague among his domestics. Sigismund his brother claims the empire. Joshua, margrave of Brandenburg and Moravia, his cousin, also demands it.

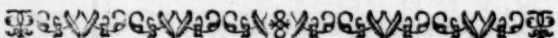
Joshua not only disputes the empire with his cousin, but Brandenburg also.

The elector Palatine Lewis, eldest son to the last emperor Robert, the archbishop of Triers,
H and

and the ambassadors of Sigismund, name Sigismund emperor at Frankfort.

Mentz, Cologne, the Saxon ambassador, and a deputy from Brandenburg in favour of Joshua, elect Joshua in the same town.

Wenceslaus at Prague protests against these two elections. Germany has now three emperors, as well as the church three popes, without either in reality having one.



SIGISMUND,

King of BOHEMIA and of HUNGARY,
Margrave of BRANDENBURG.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1411.

BY the death of Joshua three months after his election, Germany is delivered from a civil war, which he would not have been able by himself to support, but which would have been carried on in his name.

Sigismund is emperor both nominally and effectually.

This election is confirmed by all the electors the 21st of July.

The towns at that time had no bishops but by the decision of battle; for in the canvassing elections, John XXIII. approving one bishop, and Corrariq another, produced a civil war, which happened at Cologne as well as at Liege. The archbishop Theodoric, of the house of Mœurs,

Mœurs, does not take possession of his see till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the house of Berg, in a bloody battle.

The Teutonic knights take up arms against Poland. They are so formidable, that Sigismund leagues privately with Poland against them. Poland at length cedes Prussia to the knights, and the grand-master becomes insensibly a considerable sovereign.

1412.

The great schism of the West is in some measure an embarrassment to Sigismund: he sees himself king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor: titles he would willingly confirm to his posterity. The Venetians, having aggrandized themselves much, had, in the time of a crusade, conquered part of Dalmatia: he defeats them at Frial, and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

On the other hand, Ladislaus, or Launcelot, that king of Hungary whom he had expelled, makes himself master of Rome, and of all the country to Florence. Pope John XXIII. had at first, like his predecessors, called him in to his defence, and by that means given himself a dangerous master, fearing he should have found one in Sigismund. This forced step of John soon cost him the pontifical chair.

1413.

John XXIII. to extirpate schism and confirm his own election, transfers the remainder of the council of Pisa to Rome, where he ought to have had more strength. The emperor convokes a council at Constance to destroy the pope. One sees few Italian popes that are easily duped. This one was entirely duped, both

by Sigismund and the king of Naples, Ladislaus, or Lancelot. This prince, now master of Rome, became his enemy, and the emperor still more so. The emperor writes to the anti-popes, to Peter de Luna, now at Arragon, and to Corrario, who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both these fugitive popes protest against the council of Constance.

Launcelot dies. The pope, delivered from one of his masters, ought not to have put himself into the hands of another. He goes to Constance, hoping the protection of Frederick duke of Austria, inheritor of the Austrian hatred to the house of Luxemburg. This prince in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus*, the title of General of the Troops of the Church, and with it a pension of six thousand golden florins, as vain as his commission. The pope unites himself also to the marquis of Baden, and some other princes. At last he enters Constance the 28th of October, attended by nine cardinals, in great state.

In the mean time Sigismund is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the electors assist at the imperial feast in their proper stations.

1414.

Sigismund arrives at Constance on Christmas-day; the duke of Saxony carrying the sword of the empire naked before him; the burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he had made governor of Brandenburg, bearing the scepter. The golden globe was born by his step-father the count de Cillei, this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor assists at mass in quality of deacon. He reads the gospel; but no feet are kissed, no stirrup

stirrup is held, nor is there a horse led by the bridle. The pope presents him with a sword. There were three thrones erected; one for the emperor, one for the pope, and one for the empress; the emperor being in the middle.

1415.

John XXIII. promises to resign the papal chair, in case the anti-popes should also quit theirs, and provided, "that his resignation every way appeared to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church." This last clause ruined him. He was either forced to this declaration, or the business of a pirate had spoiled him for a pope. Sigismund kissed John's feet as soon as John had read him the particular form. And this lost him the papacy.

Sigismund is easily master of the council by surrounding it with soldiers. Here he appeared in all his glory: there were present the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector Palatine; the governor of Brandenburg; the dukes of Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia; 108 counts; 200 barons, who at this time were something, and twenty-seven ambassadors, who there represented their sovereigns. They vied in luxury and magnificence, as may be easily inferred by the number of jewellers, being 500, who came at this time to Constance. There were also reckoned 500 musicians; and what the customs of these times make very credible, there were 718 courtezans protected by the magistrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly, in the disguise of a postillion, to the territories of John of Austria, count of Tirol. This prince is forced

to deliver up the pope, and to ask the emperor's pardon upon his knees.

Whilst the pope is prisoner in a castle belonging to his protector the duke of Austria, they prepare his process. He is accused of every crime, deposed on the 29th of May, and the council, by the sentence, reserves to itself the right of punishing him.

The 6th of July, of the same year 1415, John Hus, confessor to the queen of Bohemia, and doctor in divinity, is burnt alive by sentence of the fathers of the council, notwithstanding a very formal protection that Sigismund had granted him. The emperor delivers him into the hands of the elector Palatine, who gives him up to execution, he continuing to praise God till his life was stifled by the flames.

These are the principal propositions for which he was condemned to this horrid punishment. "That there is but one catholic church, which contains in her bosom all the chosen." "That temporal lords ought to oblige priests to observe the law; and that a pope is not the vicar of Jesus Christ."

"*Do you believe the universale à parte rei?*" says a cardinal to him. *I believe the universale à parte mentis*, answered John Hus: *You don't believe, in the real presence then!* cried the cardinal. It is manifest that they intended to burn John, and they did it."

1416.

Sigismund, after the condemnation of the pope and of John Hus, taken up with the glory of extirpating schism, prevails upon the kings of Castile, of Arragon, and of Navarre, at Narbonne,

bonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de Luna.

He goes thence to Chamberi, in order to erect Savoy into a duchy, and gives the investiture of it to Amadeus VIII.

He goes to Paris, sits in the king's place, in the parliament, where he makes a knight. It is said that this was too much, and that the parliament was blamed for having allowed it. Why so? If the king had given him his place he ought also to approve of his conferring an honour which was barely titular.

He goes from Paris to London. He is received at his landing by the nobility, who advance in the water sword in hand to meet him, to do him honour, and at the same time to admonish him, that he was not to act as master. This is an acknowledgement of the right which he has in the opinion of some people to the great name of Cæsar.

He said, that he came to London, to negotiate a peace between France and England. It was in those most unhappy times of the French monarchy, that the English king, Henry V. insisted upon France by conquest and inheritance.

The emperor, instead of making peace, joins England against unhappy France. He has some advantage in Hungary. The Turks, who had ravaged the empire of the Caliphs, and threatened Constantinople, over-ran the earth even from India to Greece. They laid waste Hungary and Austria; but as yet, these were but the incursions of a band of robbers. Troops are sent against them, and they retreat.

Whilst Sigismund is on his voyage, the council, after having burnt John Hus, search out another victim in the person of Jerome of Prague. Jerome of Prague, a disciple of John Hus, was greatly his superior in wit and eloquence. He had at first subscribed to the condemnation of his master, but was afterwards ashamed of it. He looked upon this recantation as his only crime and submitted to death with the same intrepidity on the first of June, 1416. Poggio, the Florentine, secretary to John the XXIII. and one of the restorers of letters, who was present at the trial and punishment of Jerome, says, that he spoke with the eloquence of Socrates, and braved the flames, as Socrates drank hemlock.

Socrates indeed and these two Bohemians, were condemned because they were hated by the sophists of their respective times. But what a difference between the manners of the Athenians and those of the Christians of the 15th century! between the mild death of Socrates and the dreadful punishment of fire, into which priests are cast by priests!

The popes having pretended to judge of princes, and to depose them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the same rights. Frederick of Austria, having taken some towns near Tirol, which the bishop of Trent, whom he kept prisoner, reclaimed, the council order him to give up the bishop and the towns, under penalty of being deprived, not only himself, but his children and grandchildren, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederick of Austria, sovereign of Tirol, flies from Constance; his brother

brother Ernest seizes on Tirol, and the emperor puts Frederick under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year, Frederick is re-instated in Tirol, and his brother Ernest keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiss, who had seized some towns belonging to the duke of Austria, refused to give them up, and strengthen'd their league.

1417.

The emperor returns to Constance, where, with great pomp, he gives the investiture of Mentz, Saxony, Pomerania, and other principalities, an investiture which must be taken at every change of an emperor or of a vassal.

He sells his electorate of Brandenburg to Frederick de Hohenzollern burgrave of Nuremberg for four hundred thousand golden florins, which the burgrave had amassed, and which in those times was a very considerable sum. Some authors say, it was only one hundred thousand, and are the more credible.

Sigismund, by contract, reserves to himself the right of repurchasing Brandenburg for the same sum, in case he should have children.

In the sentence pronounced by the council in the presence of the emperor against pope Peter de Luna, he is declared *perjured, a disturber of the public peace, an heretic, forsaken of God, and obstinate*. The title of obstinate was the only one that he truly merited among them.

The emperor proposes to the council to reform the church before they create a pope. Many prelates exclaim against him as an heretic, and they make a pope without reforming the church.

Twenty-three cardinals and thirty-three prelates of the council, deputies of different nations, assemble in a conclave. This is the only example we have of other prelates, besides cardinals having a right to vote since the sacred college had reserved to itself the election of popes; for Gregory III. was chosen by the voice of the people.

On the eleventh of November Otho de Colona is chosen, who changes that great name to Martin. The consecration of this pope was above all others august. The reins of his horse, as he went to church, was held by the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg. He was followed by one hundred princes, the ambassadors of all the kings, and by the intire council.

1418.

In the midst of this great provision of the council, and such apparent pains to restore peace to the church, and the empire to its dignity, how was Sigismund principally employed? in amassing money.

Not content with having sold his electorate of Brandenburg, he hastened, during the holding of the council, to sell, for his own use, some towns that had been confiscated, to Frederick of Austria. The agreement made, restitution ought to have ensued; the delay of which, and his continual want of money, tarnished his glory.

The new pope Martin V. declares Sigismund king of the Romans, by supplying the defects of formality which are found in his election of Frankfort.

The

The pope having promised to labour for the reformation of the church, publishes some constitutions respecting the revenues of the apostolical chamber, and the habits of the clergy.

He grants to the emperor a tenth of the ecclesiastical income in Germany, during one year, to indemnify him from the expences of council, and Germany murmurs at it.

The troubles are appeased this year in Holland, Brabant, and Hainault. All that is important for history to remark is, that Sigismund acknowledges the province of Hainault not to be held of the empire. Another emperor may afterwards admit the contrary. Hainault another time was, as has been seen, held for a little while of the bishop of Liege.

As feudal right is not a natural right, it being no more than a pretension to land cultivated by another, but not the possession of a land which we cultivate ourselves, it has been the subject of a thousand undetermined disputes.

1419.

Very great troubles kindle in Bohemia. The ashes of John Hus and Jerome of Prague excite commotions.

The partizans of these two unfortunate men endeavoured to maintain their doctrine and revenge their death. The celebrated John Ziska puts himself at the head of the Hussites, and endeavours to make use of the opportunity given him, by the weakness of Wenceslaus, the fanaticism of the Bohemians, and the growing hatred of the people to the clergy, in order to form a powerful party, and establish himself a government.

Wenceslaus dies in Bohemia almost forgotten. Sigismund has the empire now entirely to himself. He is king of Hungary and Bohemia, and lord paramount of Silesia. Had he not disposed of his electorate of Brandenburg he might have founded the most powerful house in Germany.

1420.

It is against this puissant emperor, that John Ziska rises, who makes war upon him in his hereditary dominions. The monks were oftenest victims in this war, and with their blood paid the cruelty of the fathers of Constance.

John Ziska inflames all Bohemia. There were at this time great troubles in Denmark, on account of the duchy of Sleswick. King Eric seizes upon this duchy; but the wars of the Hussites are much more important, and more nearly concern the empire.

Sigismund besieges Prague, John Ziska puts him to the rout, and obliges him to raise the siege. A priest marches with him at the head of the Hussites, who bears a chalice in his hand, as a mark of acting in a double capacity.

A month after, John Ziska beats the emperor again. This war continued 16 years: had not the emperor violated his own protection, so many misfortunes could never have happened.

1421.

There had been now for many years no crusades but against Christians. Martin V. caused the Hussites to be preached against in Germany, instead of granting the communion with wine.

A bishop of Triers marches at the head of an army of holy men against John Ziska, who
having

having with him little more than 200 men, cut^d them in pieces.

The emperor marches again towards Prague, and is again beaten.

1422.

Coribut prince of Lithuania joins Ziska, in hope of becoming king of Bohemia. Ziska, who really merited to be so, threatens to leave Prague.

The word Ziska signifies Blind in the Sclavonian tongue, and thus they called this warrior, as Horatius had formerly been named Cocles. He really merited the title of Blind, having lost both his eyes; and this John the Blind was quite a different sort of man from the other John the Blind, who was father to Sigismund. He believed there was a possibility of his reigning, notwithstanding that he had lost his eyes, while he could conquer and be head of a party.

1423.

The emperor, driven out of Bohemia by the avengers of John Hus, had recourse to his old stratagem of selling provinces. He sold Moravia to Albert, duke of Austria; this was disposing of what the Hussites possessed. Procopius, the Shaven, because he was a priest, a very great warrior, becoming the eye and the arm of John Ziska, defends Moravia against the Austrians.

1424.

Ziska, the Blind, supports himself not only against the emperor, but against Coribut, who from his defender, was become his rival. He routs Coribut, after having defeated the emperor.

Sigismund

Sigismund might nevertheless have profited by this civil war amongst his enemies, but he is engaged at the same time at a wedding. He assists at the nuptials of a king of Poland at Presburg, with great state, while Ziska drives out his rival Coribut, and enters Prague in triumph.

Ziska dies in the army, of a contagious disorder. Nothing is better known than the disposal he is pretended to have made of his body on his death-bed. "Let me be left, says he, in the open field. I had rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Let a drum be made of my skin; the very sound of it will put our enemies to flight."

His party does not die with him. It had been formed by Fanaticism, and not by Ziska. Procopius, the Shaven, succeeds to his government and reputation.

1425, 1426.

Bohemia is divided into many factions, but all unite against the emperors, who cannot repair the ruins of this country. Coribut returns and is declared king. Procopius makes war at the same time with the usurper and with Sigismund.

In fine, the empire furnishes an army of an hundred thousand men to the emperor, and this army is entirely defeated. They say that the soldiers of Procopius, who were called Taborites, used two-edged axes in this battle, and that by this novelty they gained the victory.

1427.

While the emperor Sigismund is driven out of Bohemia, and that the embers of John Hus set this country, Moravia and Austria, in a flame,

flame, the wars between the king of Denmark and Holstein continue. Lubec, Hamburg, Wismar, and Stralsund, declare against him. And what was the authority of the emperor Sigismund? He sides with Denmark, he writes to the towns to induce them to lay down their arms, and they pay no attention to him. He seems to have lost his credit, not only as king of Bohemia, but also as an emperor.

He marches once more an army into his own country, and this army is again beaten by Procopius. Coribut, who calls himself king of Bohemia, is put into a convent by his own party, and the emperor has no longer any friends in Bohemia.

1428.

It is plain that Sigismund was badly succoured by the empire, and that he could not raise men in Hungary. He was burdened with titles and with misfortunes. At length he opens a conference at Presburg, to make a peace with his subjects. The party named the Orphans, who were the most powerful at Prague will listen to no accommodation, but answer, *than a free people have no business with a king.*

1429, 1430.

Procopius, the Shaven, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, followed by the Orphans, the taborites, and the priests, who carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialists. Misnia, Lusatia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Brandenburg, are laid waste. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes use of his baggage by way of intrenchment against the German cavalry, with

success. These entrenchments were called Tabors; he goes on with these Tabors, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire, involved in wars among themselves, could not oppose these irruptions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what it was to hold a council, and admit the burning of a couple of priests.

During these troubles Amurath II. ravages Hungary. The emperor endeavours to engage to his assistance the duke of Lithuania, and to create him king: But he cannot come to the spot; the Poles prevent him.

1431.

He again sues to the Hussites for peace; which he cannot obtain; and his troops are again twice beaten. The elector of Brandenburg and the cardinal Julian, the pope's legate, are a second time defeated at Kifemberg, and that in so complete a manner, that Procopius appears to be master of the intimidated empire.

At length the Hungarians, whom Amurath II. had left to breathe, march against the conqueror, and save Germany, which had otherwise been laid waste.

The Hussites repulsed at one place, are formidable in all others. The cardinal Julian, not being able to carry on the war, calls a council, and proposes admitting the Hussite priests.

The council opens at Basil the twenty-third of May.

1432.

The fathers give passports for two hundred people, to the Hussites.

This

This council of Basil, held under Eugene IV. was no other than a prolongation of several others, summoned at different times by Martin V. to meet at Pavia and Sienna. The fathers began with declaring that the pope had no right either to dissolve their assembly or transfer it; and that he ought to submit to them, on pain of punishment. The councils regarded themselves as general states of Europe, judges of popes and kings. They had dethroned John XXIII. at Constance, and they intend the same compliment for Eugenius IV. at Basil.

Eugenius, who believed himself above the council, dissolves it; but in vain. He finds himself cited to appear there, rather than to preside; and Sigismund takes that opportunity to get himself crowned in Lombardy, and afterwards, tho' to no purpose, at Rome.

He finds Italy powerful and divided. Philip Visconti reigns over the Milanese, and over Genoa, the unfortunate rival of Venice, which had lost her liberty, and now only fought for masters. The duke of Milan and the Venetians dispute about Verona, and other frontiers. The Florentines side with the Venetians. Lucca and Sienna declare for the duke of Milan. Sigismund is too happy in being protected by this duke, in his journey to Rome, to receive the vain crown of emperor. He then takes part with the council against the pope; as he had done before at Constance. The fathers proclaim his holiness a contemner of the court, and give him sixty days for his appearance, after which they depose him.

The fathers of Basil resolved to imitate those of Constance. But their examples deceived them.

them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the same.

1433.

The deputies of Bohemia are admitted to the council. John Hus and Jerome of Prague were burned at Constance; their followers are respected at Basil, where their voices are admitted. The Hussite priests who come hither, march only in the train of Procopius the Shaven, who approaches with three hundred armed gentlemen; and the fathers cry out: "This is the conqueror of the church and of the empire." The council allow them the cup at their communion, and they dispute about the rest. The emperor arrives at Basil, where he with great calmness sees his conqueror, and is taken up with a process against the pope.

While they argue at Basil, the Hussites of Bohemia, joining the Polanders, attack the Teutonic knights, and each party believes itself engaged in a holy war. Every ravage is renewed; the Hussites make war among themselves.

Procopius quits the council he had intimidated, to go against the opposite party in Bohemia, and to be beaten. He is killed in a battle near Prague. The victorious faction do what the emperor had never dared to have done. They condemn a great number of prisoners to the stake. These heretics so long armed, to revenge their deceased apostle, now cast each into the flames.

1434.

If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himself, they never neglected the public good. Lewis
of

of Bavaria, duke of Ingoldstad, having tyrannized over his vassals, being detested by his neighbours, and not sufficiently powerful to defend himself, is put under the ban of the empire; and is favoured by giving some money to Sigismund.

The emperor was, at that time, so poor, that he gave up things of the greatest consequence for the most trifling sums.

The last electoral branch of Saxony, of the antient house of Ascania, dies, without leaving any children. Many relations lay claim to Saxony. And to obtain this duchy, it costs the marquis of Misnia, Frederick the Warlike, an hundred thousand florins.

1435.

The emperor retires to Hungary, to negotiate with his subjects of Bohemia. The states prescribe the conditions according to which they chuse to be reconciled, and stipulate, among other things, that he shall not alter their coin any more. This is a clause to his shame; but a shame common to the princes of those times. The people submit to their sovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

At last the emperor having accepted the conditions, the Bohemians submit themselves to him and to the church. Here is a true contract between the king and his people.

1436, 1437.

Sigismund re-enters Prague, and receives homage again; as newly holding his crown from the choice of the nation. After having appeased other troubles, he causes duke Albert of Austria his kinsman to be acknowledged in Bohemia as heir of the kingdom. This is
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the last event of his life, which happened in December 1437.



ALBERT II. of AUSTRIA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438.

IT then began to appear that the house of Austria would become the most powerful in Europe. Albert II. kinsman to Sigismund, sees himself king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, sovereign of several other territories, and emperor. He was king of Hungary and Bohemia by election; but when the father and grandfather have been once elected, it is easy for their descendants to set themselves up an hereditary right.

The party of the Hussites who were called Calixtins, chose for king Cassimir brother to the king of Poland, and he must fight. The emperor, commanded by Albert the Achilles, then Burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards elector of Brandenburg, secures the Bohemian crown to Albert II. duke of Austria, by repeated victories.

In the great diet of Nuremberg the ancient tribunal of the Austrégués is reformed. This was a remedy found out, as has been seen, to prevent the effusion of blood in the quarrels of the lords of the empire. The offended were to name three princes as arbitrators, who ought to be approved of by the states of the empire, and give judgment within a year.

Ger-

Germany is divided into four parts, called circles, Bavaria, the Rhine, Suabia, and Westphalia. The electoral territories are not comprised within these four circles. Each elector, from his own dignity, governing his territories without subjecting them to this regulation. Each circle has a duke or general, and each member of the circle is taxed to a certain degree, either in men or money, for the public security.

In this diet they abolish an old law which still subsisted in several parts of Westphalia, and being contradictory to all law, was unworthy the name of one. It was called the Secret Judgment, and condemned a man to death, without his knowing any thing of the matter.

This manner of judging, which is little better than assassinating, has been used in many states, but more particularly in that of Venice, when any pressing danger, or the interest of the state, which is superior to all law, can give countenance to such barbarity. All ill-founded tradition would fain persuade us, that Charlemagne I. established this bloody tribunal, to keep the conquered and headstrong Saxons within due bounds. Some judges of Westphalia still made use of this cruel custom: All the successors of Charlemagne ought to blush to have left the honour of suppressing it to Albert of Austria.

1439.

The council of Basil continued still on the one hand to trouble the West; on the other the Turks and Tartars, who dispute the East, carry their devastations to the frontiers of Hungary.

The Greek emperor, John Paleologus, who had scarce any more dominions left than Constantinople,

stantinople, vainly imagines it in his power to obtain succour of the Christians ; he humbles himself so far as to come to Rome, to submit the Greek church to the papal jurisdiction.

John Paleologus and his patriarch were received in the council of Ferrara, a council set up by Eugenius IV. in opposition to that of Basil. The Greek emperor and his clergy, in their submission, really maintain, to all appearance, the majesty of their empire, and the dignity of their church. Neither of these fugitives kissed the pope's feet ; they detested this ceremony, received by the emperors of the West, who call themselves the sovereigns of the popes. Nevertheless, they had, in the first ages, kissed the feet of the Greek bishops.

Paleologus and his prelates follow the pope from Ferrara to Florence. There it is solemnly decided and agreed upon, by the representatives of the Latin and Greek churches, " That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inspiration ; the Father communicates every thing to the Son, except his paternity ; and that the Son, from all eternity, has had a productive virtue, whereby the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, as from the Father."

The submission of this primacy was a great, interesting, and glorious point for the see of Rome. On the 6th of July the pope was solemnly acknowledged for head of the universal church.

This union of the Greeks and Latins was soon after disavowed by the whole Greek church ; but the victory of pope Eugenius was not for this the less glorious. While he renders this service

service to the Latins, and finishes, to the best of his power, the schisms of the East and West, the council of Basil depose him from the papal chair, declaring him Rebellious, Simoniac, Schismatical, Heretical, and Perjured.

If we consider the council according to this decree, they will appear only as a troop of factious spirits: if we regard the rules of discipline which they laid down, then will they appear to us as very wise men, and this is because in their deposition of Eugenius, they were influenced only by passions which had no share in their regulations. The most august body, when carried away by passions, always commits more faults than a single man.

It ought not here to be forgotten, that Paleologus, at his return to Constantinople, was become so odious to his own church for having submitted to that of Rome, that his own son refused him burial.

Nevertheless, the Turks advanced even to Semandria in Hungary. In the midst of these alarms, Albert of Austria, from whom much was expected, dies on the 27th of October, leaving the empire weak as he had found it, and Europe unhappy.

FREDERIC of AUSTRIA.

Third of that name.

THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

1440.

THERE is a meeting at Frankfort, as usual, for the electing a king of the Romans. The states of Bohemia, who were without a sovereign, enjoyed in common with the other electors, a right to vote, a privilege which never had been given to any but Bohemia.

Lewis, landgrave of Hesse, refuses the imperial crown. History furnishes many examples of the same nature. The empire had now for a long time been looked upon as a dowerless spouse, who had need of a very rich husband.

Frederic of Austria, duke of Stiria, son of Ernest, who was much less powerful than the landgrave of Hesse, is not so difficult.

In the same year, Albert, duke of Bavaria, refuses the crown of Bohemia, which was offered to him; but this new refusal has its foundation upon a motive which princes ought to set themselves as an example. The widow of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, was, after his death, brought to bed of a son, named Ladislaus. Albert of Bavaria believed that some respect ought to be paid to the blood of this infant. He looked upon Bohemia as the child's inheritance. He would not deprive him of it. Interest does not always sway sovereigns. There is also some honour amongst them; and they ought to consider, that when
this

this honour is secure, it is superior to uncertain dominion.

After the example of the Bavarian, the emperor Frederic III. also refuses the crown of Bohemia. Thus did the precedent of virtue influence. Frederic III. scorns to be less generous than the duke of Bavaria. He charges himself with the guardianship of the child Ladislaus, who, by birth-right, ought to possess the Higher Austria, wherein is Vienna, and was called to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by the voice of the people, who in him respected the blood whence he sprung.

The council of Frisingen is held, in which those who are killed in tournament, or who have not been confessed within the year, are deprived of burial. These strange and ridiculous decrees have never any force.

1441.

A great diet at Mentz. The anti-pope, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix), created by the council of Basil, sends to that diet a Legate à latere, where he was obliged to quit the cross and purple which Amadeus had bestowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimsical sort of a man, who having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit, quitted his retreat at Ripaille, in order to be pope. The fathers of the council of Basil had elected him, though he was a secular. They have in this violated all custom, and these fathers were no longer regarded at Rome but as a seditious faction. The diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

The knights of the Teutonic order govern so

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despo-

despotically in Prussia, that the people give themselves up to Poland.

The emperor educates at his court Ladislaus the young king of Bohemia, and the kingdom is governed in the name of this young prince; but in the midst of contradictions and troubles. All the electors and many princes assist at the coronation of the emperor at Aix la Chapelle. Each of them is followed by a little army. In those days of ceremony they placed their glory in appearing with magnificence and ostentation; in our days they place it in not appearing at all.

A great example of the liberty of the northern people. Eric king of Denmark and of Sweden, designs his nephew to succeed him in his throne. The states oppose him therein; declaring that by their fundamental laws the crown ought not to be hereditary. Their fundamental laws at this day are very different. They depose their old king Eric, who aspired at being too absolute, and called to the crown, or rather to the first magistracy, Christopher of Bavaria.

1443, 1444.

Politics, laws and customs were then very different from what they are in our days. France in that age was seen united with the house of Austria against the Swiss. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. marches against the Swiss, whose liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors speak of a great victory gained by the Dauphin near Basil; if he had gained such a great battle, how happened it that he could not, without some difficulty, obtain leave
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to enter Basil with his domestics? This is certain, that the Swiss never lost that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional strength, in spite of their dissensions.

It was not against the Swiss he ought then to have marched; he ought to have gone against the Turks. Amurath II. after having abdicated the empire, reassumed it at the intreaty of the Janissaries. This Turk, who might be ranked amongst philosophers, was numbered with heroes. He pushed his conquests in Hungary. The king of Poland, Uladislaus, the second of the Jagellons, caused himself to be elected by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladislaus of Austria, brought up always near the emperor. He had concluded with Amurath the most solemn peace that ever Christians made with Mussulmans.

Amurath and Uladislaus solemnly swear to it. The one upon the alcoran, the other upon the gospel.

Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his proceedings against the partizans of John Hus, for having formerly presided at the council of Basil, and for the crusade, which he had preached against the Turks, was at that time, by too blind a zeal, the cause of reproach and misfortune to the Christians.

The peace was scarcely confirmed before the cardinal excited them to the breaking of it. He flattered himself he might have engaged the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet, and that the roused Greeks would make one last effort. A pretext for violating the oaths

was wanting. Amurath had observed all the conditions with such exactness, that he left no subterfuge to the infringers. This legate had no other resource than that of persuading Uladislaus, the Hungarian chiefs, and the Polanders, that they could violate their oath. He harangued, he wrote, he assured them that the peace sworn upon the gospel was to no effect, because it was made against the inclination of the pope. In effect, the pope, who was then Eugenius IV. wrote to Uladislaus, "That he commanded him to break a peace, which could not be made without the concurrence of the holy see." We already see the introduction of that maxim, "That no faith is to be kept with heretics." From whence it is to be concluded, that it ought not to be kept with Mahometans.

Julian at length prevails. All the chiefs allow themselves to be carried away by the current, and above all, John Corvinus Huniades, that famous general of the Hungarian armies, who had so often beat Amurath and Mahomet II.

Uladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and still more by false morality, surprises the territories of the Sultan. He is soon met near the Uxine bridge, in the country formerly called Mæsia, now called Bulgaria. Battle is given him near the town of the Varna.

Amurath carried in his bosom the treaty of peace they had so lately concluded. He drew it out in the midst of the fight, while his troops were in motion, and prayed God to punish the perjured, and revenge this outrage committed against the law of nations.

This is what gave rise to the fable, that the
peace

peace had been sworn upon the eucharist, that the host had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the time of battle. The perjured this time received the chastisement they deserved, the Christians were vanquished, after a long resistance. King Uladislaus was run through the body, his head, cut off by a Janissary, was carried, in triumph, from rank to rank through the Turkish army, and this spectacle finished the rout. Some people have affirmed, that the cardinal Julian, who assisted in this battle, endeavouring, in his flight, to pass a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others say, that the Hungarians themselves killed him. It is certain that he perished in this journey.

1445.

Germany ought to have opposed the progress of the Ottomans. But at that time Frederick, who had called in the French to his assistance against the Swiss, seeing that his defenders overrun Alsatia and the neighbouring country, goes to chase out these dangerous allies. Charles VII. reclaims the right of protection in the town of Toul, although it was an imperial town. He exacts, under the same title, presents from Mentz and Verdun. This right of protection upon these towns in their indigence, is the origin of that sovereignty which the kings of France have at length obtained.

Instead of carrying on a long, brisk, and well-conducted war against the Turks, a short one is made upon the frontiers against the French.

The ecclesiastical war between the council of Basil and pope Eugenius IV. still subsists. Eu-

genius bethinks himself of deposing the archbishops of Cologne and Triers ; because they had been partizans of the council of Basil.

He had no right to depose them as archbishops, and yet much less as electors. But what does he do ? he names at Cologne a nephew of the duke of Burgundy, and at Triers a natural brother of that prince ; for a pope can never be either puissant, or have it in his power to hurt, but in arming one prince against another.

1446.

The other electors and princes take part with the two bishops vainly deposed. The pope had foreseen this ; he proposes an accommodation, re-establishes the two bishops, he soothes the Germans ; and, in fine, Germany, which had remained neuter in the dispute between the anti-pope and him, acknowledges Eugenius to be the only lawful pope. The council of Basil soon falls into contempt, and in a short time dissolved insensibly of itself.

1447.

A Germanic convocation. This council had nevertheless established certain useful regulations, which the Germanic body afterwards adopted ; and which it supports to this day. The elections in the cathedral churches and abbies are re-established.

The pope never named priests to small benefices but during six months of the year.

There is nothing paid to the apostolical chamber for small benefices ; many other laws of the same nature are confirmed by pope Nicholas V. who thereby pays homage to the council of Basil, which in Rome is looked upon as an unlawful assembly.

1448.

1448.

The Sultan, Amurath II. again defeats the Hungarians, commanded by the famous Huniades; yet Germany does not arm itself upon these dreadful news.

1449.

Germany is taken up with domestic wars. Albert the Achilles, elector of Brandenburg, engages in one against the town of Nuremberg, which he endeavours to subdue; almost all the imperial towns join in the defence of Nuremberg, while the emperor remains a quiet spectator of these divisions.

He does not chuse to give the young Ladislaus up to Bohemia, where he was demanded; and leaves some room to suspect his intending to keep to himself the possessions of his pupil.

This young Ladislaus ought to be intirely king of Bohemia, duke of a part of Austria, of Moravia, and Silesia; these were, indeed, sufficient temptations for virtue.

Amadeus of Savoy resigns the papacy*, and becomes again an hermit at Ripaille.

1450, 1451, 1452.

Bohemia, Hungary, and the Higher Austria, again demand the young Ladislaus for their sovereign.

A gentleman, named Eisinger, stirs up Austria in favour of Ladislaus. Frederic still

* But not before he had endeavoured to bribe the emperor to acknowledge him, with the offer of his daughter, a maiden of exquisite beauty, and a portion of two hundred thousand ducats. This proposal Frederick rejected with disdain; saying to one of his courtiers, by way of pleasantry, "This man would fain purchase holiness, if he could but find a seller."

excuses himself, under pretence of Ladislaus not being as yet of age. He sends his brother Albert of Austria to quell the sedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonso of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the interest of the emperor, because he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were masters of Ravenna, of Bergamo, of Brescia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peasant's son, who was become the most powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the successor of the Visconti. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza. The holy see had recovered Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different sovereigns who had mastered them. Things were in this state at the journey of Frederick III. into Italy; a journey the most useless and most mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attacked by robbers on the road to Rome*. They took part of his baggage, and he ran the risk of his life. What a manner of travelling was this for him who came to be crowned Cæsar, and chief of the Christian world?

He made one innovation at Rome, subsisting even to this day. Frederick III. dares not to

† Does not Mr. Voltaire mean a tumult at Viterbo, excited by the populace, in order to make prize of the canopy under which the emperor rode, and the horse on which he was mounted? On this occasion he snatched a truncheon from one of his attendants, and, charging the multitude, overturned all that fell in his way. The pope's legates, by whom he was attended, followed his example, as did the gentlemen of his retinue, and, after a long scuffle, the mob was entirely routed.

go to Milan, to propose their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicolas V. himself gives it to him at Rome, and this alone gives the popes a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards as they create the kings of Naples.

The pope confirms to Frederick III. the guardianship of young Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and duke of Austria, a guardianship of which endeavours had been used to deprive him, and the pope excommunicates all those who had disputed it with him.

This bull is all that the emperor carried with him from Rome, and with it he is besieged at Neustadt in Austria, by those whom he called rebels; that is to say, by those who demanded his pupil.

He at last gives up the young Ladislaus to his people. He has been a good deal praised for being a faithful tutor, although he resigned his charge but by force of arms. Would they have made it a virtue in him not to have attempted his pupil's life?

1453.

This year was the memorable epocha of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Certainly now or never was the time for crusades. But it is not astonishing that the Christian powers, who had themselves, in their antient crusades, wrested Constantinople from its lawful masters, should at length suffer it to be taken by the Ottomans. The Venetians had been a long time possessed of part of Greece; all the rest was in the hands of the Turks. There remained but one town, and that the capital of this ancient empire, now besieged by

more than 200,000 men, and in this very town they disputed about religion. One of the points of disputation was, whether it was allowed them to pray in Latin; another, whether the light upon mount Tabor was created or eternal; another, if they might be allowed to use unleavened bread.

The last emperor Constantine had always near him the cardinal Isidore, whose presence alone angered and discouraged the Greeks: "We had rather," say they, "behold the turban here, than the cardinal's hat." All the historians, and even the most modern, repeat some old stories that were then trumped up by the monks. Mahomet, according to them, was only a Barbarian, who destroyed Constantinople by fire and sword, and who being in love with a captive, one Irene, cut off her head, to satisfy his Janissaries. This is all equally false; Mahomet was better brought up, more polished, and understood more languages than any Christian prince of those times. There was only a part of the town taken by assault by the Janissaries. The conqueror generously granted a capitulation to the rest, and faithfully observed it. And as to the murder of his mistress, they must be very ignorant of the Turkish customs, to imagine that the soldiers concerned themselves with what passed in the emperor's bed-chamber *.

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* We wish Mr. de Voltaire had mentioned the authority on which he contradicts the whole stream of history, in favour of Mahomet II. That this conqueror was a true Turk in cruelty, may be gathered from the following circumstances, related by Khalkondylas. After having given
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A diet is assembled at Ratisbon to endeavour opposing the Ottoman arms. Philip duke of Burgundy attends at this diet, and offers to march, if he is seconded, against the Turks. Frederick was not idle at Ratisbon, for this very year Austria was erected into an archduchy, as the charter proves.

1454.

The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope, by the name of Pius II. solicits all the princes to defend Christianity. He addresses himself to the Teutonic knights, and reminds them of their vows; but they are too much ingrossed in fighting with their subjects of Pomerania and Prussia, who shake of their yoke, and give themselves up to Poland.

1455.

There is no person to oppose the progress of Mahomet II. and, by a cruel fatality, almost all the princes of the empire ruin themselves by civil wars, one against another.

quarter to the grand duke, and promised the duchess that he would take care of her and her family, he, in the heat of intoxication, sent his chief eunuch to demand the youngest of the grand duke's sons, a lad of fourteen, extremely beautiful, whom he had destined as the object of his unnatural lust. The duke refusing to surrender his son to such brutal prostitution, Mahomet immediately ordered the grand duke, with his whole family, and all the great men and officers to whom he had given quarter, to be put to death. Besides, all the world knows, that, as soon as he ascended the throne, he sent the captain of the Janissaries to strangle his brother, an infant in the cradle; and that, through the whole course of his life, he was notorious for brutality and breach of faith,

The house of Brunswick was contending for the salt-work ; the house of the Palatinate for the title of elector, which the governor endeavours to assume. The duchy of Luxemburg was invaded by the duke of Saxony, and defended by the duke of Burgundy, for 22,000 florins. The affair of the duke of Luxemburg becomes more serious than any other ; young Ladislaus King of Bohemia and Hungary, reclaims that duchy. It does not appear that the emperor takes any part in these quarrels. The possession of the duchy of Luxemburg remains at length in the house of Burgundy.

1456, 1457.

This Ladislaus, who might have been a very great prince, dies hated and despised. He had fled to Vienna when the Turks besieged Belgrade. He had left the glory of raising the siege to the celebrated John Huniades, and the friar John Capistran. The emperor takes care for him of Vienna and the Lower Austria ; duke Albert his brother of the Higher, and Sigismund, their cousin, of Carinthia.

1458.

Frederic III. vainly endeavours to get Hungary to himself ; it devolves upon Matthias, son of the great Huniades, its defender. He endeavours also to reign in Bohemia, and the states elect George Podibrade, who had fought for them.

1459.

Frederick III. opposes the son of the valiant Huniades, and the brave Podibrade only by artifices, which shew his weakness, and this weakness emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count Palatine, the elector of Mentz, and many

ny other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war against him, in favour of the king of Bohemia.

He is beaten by his brother Albert, and gets out of this difficulty only by giving up several places in Austria. He is treated by all Germany rather as a member than as principal of the empire.

1460.

The new pope Pius II. late Æneas Silvius, convokes an assembly of the Christian princes at Mantua, to form a crusade against Mahomet II. but the misfortune of these antient armaments was, that as they had formerly been made without reason, they contributed to impede those which were founded upon reason. Germany is always divided; for example: A duke of one part of Bavaria, of which Landshut is the capital, employs his thoughts rather upon supporting his antient rights upon Donawert, than on the general good of Europe. And on the contrary, during the madness of the antient crusades, they had sold Donawert to assist in going against Jerusalem.

This duke of Bavaria, Lewis, leagues against the princes of his house; and, together with Ulric count of Wirtemberg, raises an army of 20,000 men.

The emperor supports the rights of Wirtemberg, which had been long an imperial town, against the pretensions of the duke. He makes use of the famous Albert, the Achilles, to quell the duke of Bavaria and his league.

Other troubles are raised by the count of Holstein. The king of Denmark, Christian, possesses himself by right of succession also of Schleswick,

Schleswick, by giving some money to the other claimants, and subjects Holstein to the emperor.

1461, 1462, 1463.

Much greater troubles ensue from the quarrel of Bavaria, which rages in Germany; and there are still others caused by the disagreement between the emperor and his brother, Albert duke of Upper Austria. The emperor is fain to submit; and is obliged, by agreement, to cede the government of his own territory of that part of Austria, in which Vienna is contained, to Lower Austria. But the delay of the payment of 40,000 ducats, gave occasion to renew the war between the two brothers. A battle ensues, and the emperor is beaten.

His friend Albert, the Achilles of Brandenburg, is, notwithstanding his surname, beaten by the duke of Bavaria. These intestine troubles eclipse the glory of the empire, and make Germany truly unfortunate.

1464.

We see yet another disgrace. There has been always a sort of prejudiced opinion in many nations, that he who possessed certain particular pledges, or signs, had an undoubted right to the kingdom. In the unhappy empire of Greece a garment and a pair of scarlet slippers were sometimes sufficient to constitute the emperor. The iron crown of Monza gave a right upon Lombardy; and when rivals disputed the imperial crown of Germany, he who could seize upon those antique arms, the lance and sword of Charlemagne, was secure of the greatest party. In Hungary he was the best off who possessed a certain golden crown. This ornament was in
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the treasury of the emperor Frederick, who did not chuse to part with it at the time that he gave up Ladislaus his pupil to the Hungarians.

Matthias Huniades makes a new demand of his golden crown upon the emperor, and declares war against him.

Frederick III. at last delivers up this palladium of Hungary. They make a treaty which never had any thing like it. Matthias acknowledges Frederick for his father, and Frederick calls Matthias his son: nay, it is stipulated, that in case this pretended son dies without children, and without nephew, the pretended father shall be king of Hungary. In fine, the father gives the son 60,000 crowns.

1465, 1466.

This was a time in which the Christian powers were guilty of many mean actions. There had still subsisted two parties in Bohemia, the Catholics and the Hussites. King George Podibrade, instead of imitating Scanderbeg and the Huniades, favours the Hussites against the Catholics in Silesia; and pope Paul II. authorises the revolt of the Silesians by a bull. At length he excommunicates Podibrade, who is deprived of his kingdom. These unworthy quarrels take from the Christian cause very powerful assistance. Mahomet II. had no musti to excommunicate him.

1467.

The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg most of the princes side with Podibrade, in presence of the pope's legate; and duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut says, that, instead of giving Bohemia to Frederick, the imperial

crown ought to be given to Podibrade. The diet order that a body of 20,000 men be kept up to defend Germany against the Turks. Had Germany been well governed, they had rather opposed them with 300,000. The Teutonic knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Prussia; and at length, by a solemn treaty, they acknowledge themselves feudatories of Poland. The treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467.

1468.

The pope gives Bohemia to Matthias Huniades, otherwise called Corvinus, king of Hungary; that is to say, the pope, whose great interest it was to oppose a bulwark to the Turks, especially after the death of Scanderbeg the Great*, instead of so doing, encourages a civil war amongst the Christians, and abuses the emperor and empire, by daring to oppose a king who was an elector; for the pope had no more right to depose a king of Bohemia, than that prince had to give away the see of Rome.

Matthias Huniades wastes time, troops, and negotiations, to possess himself of Bohemia. The emperor, with great mildness, assumes the office of mediator. Some of the princes of

* This was the famous George Castriot, sovereign of Epirus or Albania, who had been seized in his infancy, circumcised, and educated in the Mussulman religion, by order of Amurath II. who had caused his three elder brothers to be put to death. As he grew up, he dissembled so effectually as to escape suspicion, and managed matters in such a manner, that he recovered his inheritance from the Turkish dominion. Then he renounced the religion of Mahomet, embraced Christianity, and signalized his reign by a great number of glorious victories obtained over the Ottoman Porte,

Germany

Germany involve themselves in war; others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Constance forms an alliance with the Swiss cantons.

An abbot of St. Gal joins Tockemburg to his rich abbey, and it costs him no more than 40,000 florins. The inhabitants of Liege war unsuccessfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbour. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

1469, 1470, 1471, 1472.

Matthias Huniades disputes still about Bohemia; nor does the sudden death of Podibrade extinguish the civil war. The Hussite party chuse Ladislaus prince of Poland. The Catholics declare for Matthias Huniades.

The house of Austria, which ought to be very powerful under Frederick III. for a long time loses more than it gains. Sigismund of Austria, the last prince of the branch of Tirol, sells to Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, Brisgau, Suntgau, and the country of Ferrete, which belonged to him, for 80,000 golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, than for sovereignties to be sold at a very mean price. This was dismembering the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already possessed all the Low Countries. It was not to be foreseen, that at some time or other the possessions of the house of Burgundy should revert to the house of Austria. The laws of the empire forbid these alienations; the consent of the emperor ought moreover to be obtained, and even the asking of it was neglected.

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At the same time Charles duke of Burgundy purchased the duchy of Gueldres, and the country of Zutphen, for near the same price. This duke of Burgundy was the most powerful of those princes who were not kings; nay, few kings were so powerful. He was at the same time a vassal of the emperor and of the king of France, yet very formidable to both.

1473, 1474.

This duke of Burgundy, as enterprising as the emperor, was inactive; is uneasy to all his neighbours at the same time. No person could have a clearer title to the name of Rash.

He invades the Palatinate: he attacks Lorraine in Switzerland. It was then that the kings of France treated with the Swiss for the first time. There were yet but eight united cantons, Switz, Uri, Unterwald, Lucerne, Zurich, Glaris, Zug, and Berne. -

Lewis XI. gave them 20,000 franks a year, and four florins and a half a man per month,

1475.

It has been always the good luck of the Turks, that the Christians were divided among themselves, as if to facilitate the conquests of the Ottoman empire.

Mahomet, master of Epirus, of Peloponesus, and of the Negro-Pont, scatters terror everywhere. Lewis XI. thinks of nothing but sap-
ping the foundation of the duke of Burgundy's grandeur, which had inspired him with jealousy. The provinces of Italy were employed in supporting themselves against each other, Matthias Huniades was taken up with disputing Bohemia against the king of Poland, and Frederick III. thought of nothing but amassing money, that
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he might one day be enabled more firmly to establish his power.

Matthias Huniades, after having gained one battle, contents himself with Silesia and Moravia: he leaves Bohemia and Lusatia to the king of Poland.

Charles the Rash invades Lorrain: he finds himself by this usurpation master of one of the finest countries in Europe, from Lyons even to the sea of Holland.

1476.

His ambition is not satiated: he wants to restore the antient kingdom of Burgundy, and thereby inclose the Swiss. These people defend themselves against him, as they had before done against the Austrians. They defeat him entirely in the battle of Grandion, or of Morat. Their pikes and back-swords triumph over the heavy artillery and the shining military force of Burgundy. The Swiss were the only people who at that time fought from no other motive but that of liberty. The princes, nay even the republics themselves, such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, had hitherto scarcely fought for any thing but their advancement. Never people defended more nobly a valuable liberty than the Swiss: they were wanting in nothing but historians.

It was in this battle of Morat that Charles the Rash lost that beautiful diamond which afterwards fell into the hands of the duke of Florence. A Swiss, who found it among the spoils, sold it for a crown.

1477.

Charles the Rash at last perishes near Nantz: he was betrayed by Campo-Casso, a Neapolitan,

tan, and killed in his fight, after the battle, by Baufmont, a gentleman of Lorraine.

By his death the duchy of Burgundy, the Artois, Charolois, Maçon, Bar-sur-seine, Lile, Doway, and the towns upon the Somme, revert to Lewis XI. king of France, as fiefs to that crown; but Flanders, which was titled Imperial, with all the Low Countries, and the Franche-Comté, devolve upon the young princess Mary, daughter to the last duke.

The best step that could be taken, was Frederick III. marrying his son Maximilian to this rich heiress. Maximilian espoused Mary in the town of Essant, on the 17th of August; and Lewis XI. who ought to have given her in marriage to his son, makes war upon him.

The feudal right, which in reality is but the right of the strongest, and in its consequence the source of eternal discord, kindles this war against the princess. Ought Hainault to return to France? Is it an imperial province? Has France any rights upon Cambray? Has it any upon the Artois? Ought the Franche-Comté still to be esteemed a province of the empire? Does it belong to the succession of Burgundy, or ought it to revert to the crown of France? Maximilian would have chosen rather the whole inheritance. Lewis XI. is willing to ingross all that is convenient for him. It is this marriage then which is really the origin of so many unhappy wars between France and Austria; there being no acknowledged right, was the occasion of so many people being sacrificed.

Lewis XI. at length possesses himself of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low Countries

tries of all that he could possibly grasp in the Artois, or in the Hainault.

1478.

A prince of Orange, of the house of Chalons in the Franche-Comté, endeavours to preserve this province to Mary. This princess defends herself in the Low Countries, without her husband being able to furnish her any succour from Germany. Maximilian as yet was but the indigent husband of a sovereign heroine. He presses the princes of Germany to take part in his cause. They all rather attend to their own interest. A landgrave of Hesse carries off an elector of Cologne, and keeps him in prison. The Teutonic knights take Riga in Livonia. Matthias Huniades is upon the point of making it up with Mahomet II.

1479.

At length Maximilian, assisted only by the natives of Liege, puts himself at the head of his wife's army, which is called The Flemish Forces, although Flanders, properly speaking, that is to say from Lile to Ghent, was of the French party. The princess Mary had a stronger army than the king of France.

Maximilian defeats the French in a battle at Guinegaste *, in the month of August. This battle was not one of those which at once determines the fate of a war.

1480.

A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. sends a legate into Flanders: they made a treaty of two

* This is the place at which the English afterwards defeated the French in an engagement called The Battle of the Spurs, because the French made more use of their spurs than of their swords on that occasion.

years. Where, all this time, is the emperor Frederick III? He can do nothing for his sons, neither during the war, nor by negotiations: but he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough.

1481.

However, the Turks besiege Rhodes. The famous grand-master Daubuisson, at the head of his knights, obliges them to raise the siege at the end of three months.

But the basha Acomat enters the kingdom of Naples with fifty gallies. He takes Otranto by assault. All the kingdom is near being ruined. Rome herself trembles. The indolence of the Christian princes escapes this torrent only by the sudden death of Mahomet II. and the Turks abandon Otranto.

A whimsical agreement between John king of Denmark and Sweden, and his brother Frederick duke of Holstein. The king and the duke ought to govern Holstein as a fief of the empire, and Schleswic as a fief of Denmark, in common. All these agreements are in general the sources of war; but this above all others.

The cantons of Friburg in Switzerland, and of Soleuse, join with the other eight. This by itself is but a trifling event. Two small towns cut but a small figure in the history of the world; but becoming members of a body always free, this liberty sets them above the greatest provinces that compose it.

1482.

Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her possessions in the name of Philip the Minor, his son. These towns are all privileged.

ledged. These privileges cause almost perpetual dissensions between the people who would support, and the sovereign who would subject them to his will. Maximilian reduces Zealand, Leiden, Utrecht, and Nimeguen.

1483, 1484, 1485.

All the towns surrender one after another, but without any agreement, and are reduced gradually. The seeds of discontent still remain.

1486.

So far are they from uniting against the Turks, that Matthias Huniades, king of Hungary, instead of making a proper use of the death of Mahomet II. to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What is the reason of this war of the pretended son against the pretended father? It is difficult to guess. He wants to possess himself of Austria. What right has he to it? His troops beat the Imperialists: he takes Vienna. Here is his sole right. The emperor appears insensible to the loss of Lower Austria: he roves about the Low Countries; thence he goes to Frankfort, to secure among the electors the title of King of the Romans to his son. A man could not have less personal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his house.

Maximilian is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 9th of April, by the archbishop of Cologne; pope Innocent VIII. giving his consent thereto; for the popes always grant what they believe to be necessary.

The emperor, who had credit sufficient in the diet of Frankfort to make his son king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain 50,000 florins a month, to enable him to recover Austria.

stria. This is one of those strange contradictions often to be met with in history. At this time was made the league of Suabia, to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort; a menacing law, which put all those who attacked their neighbours under the ban of the empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia associated themselves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demolish the strong holds of the *Moblandrins*, or robbers. They also obliged duke George of Bavaria to desist from insulting his neighbours. This was a militia for the public good. It did not last long.

1487.

The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades, which none but a vanquished man would have made. He leaves to him the Lower Austria, until he should pay him all the expences of the war, reserving to himself the right of succeeding his adopted son in the kingdom of Hungary.

1488.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, finds himself at the same time attacked by the French, and by his own subjects in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of Bruges, on whom he would willingly have levied some taxes against the laws of the country, all of a sudden clap him in prison, where they hold him four months; and give him his liberty only upon condition that he shall withdraw the few German troops which he has with him, and make peace with France.

How happened it that the ministry of the young Charles VIII. king of France, neglected so favourable a conjuncture? This ministry was then weak.

1489.

Maximilian secretly espouses by proxy the duchess Anne of Bretagne. Had he espoused her effectually, and produced children by her, he would have doubly pressed France, which was surrounded at that time by Franche-Comté, Alsatia, Bretagne, and the Low Countries.

1490.

Matthias Corvinus Huniades being dead, let us see if the emperor Frederick, his adopted father, succeeded him by virtue of treaties. Frederick parts with his right to the emperor Maximilian.

But Beatrix, widow of the former king, makes the states swear to acknowledge him only whom she should espouse; and soon weds Ladislaus Jagellon king of Bohemia, whom the Hungarians crown. Maximilian nevertheless recovers Lower Austria, and carries the war into Hungary.

1491.

The same treaty that Frederick III. made with Matthias is renewed between Ladislaus Jagellon and Maximilian. Maximilian is acknowledged presumptive heir to Ladislaus Jagellon in Hungary and Bohemia.

Fate, even at this distance, was preparing Hungary for subjection to the house of Austria.

The emperor does a bold action in these times of prosperity. He puts his kinsman Albert of Bavaria, duke of Munich, under the ban of the empire. It is astonishing to think

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what a number of princes of this house have been thus treated. What was the occasion of it? Tirol was given solemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigismund of Austria, and this donation, or secret sale, was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunegonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederick III.

The emperor pretended that the empire could not be alienated, and the whole empire was divided upon this question; an indubitable proof that the laws were not at all clear, and perhaps there was nothing so much wanting in society.

The ban of the empire was in such cases no more than a declaration of war; but this was very soon concluded. Tirol remained in the possession of Austria: some compensations are given to Bavaria, and the duke of Bavaria delivers up Ratibon, which had been for some time in his hands.

Ratibon was an imperial town: the duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his estate, establishing his title upon antient right: it had been newly declared an imperial town: there scarcely remained to the duke of Bavaria above one half of the rights of custom.

1492.

Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagined he might establish the grandeur of his house upon a peaceable foundation, by marrying his daughter Margaret of Austria to Charles VIII. king of France, with whom she was brought up; and soon after, by marrying Anne of Bretagne by proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII. on the 6th of December, 1491; and that they are about to send back his daughter Margaret to him. Women

men are no longer the subjects of war among princes, but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Matilda had so long troubled the peace of Italy, so does that of Mary of Burgundy kindle perpetual discord,

Maximilian surprises Arras; after which he concludes an advantageous peace, by which the king of France cedes to him Franche-Comté in pure sovereignty, the Artois, and the Charolois and Nogent, on condition of homage.

It is not to Maximilian properly that these countries are ceded, but to his son Philip, as the representative of his mother Mary of Burgundy.

It must be acknowledged that no king of the Romans ever began his career so gloriously as Maximilian. The victory of Guinégaſte over the French, the taking of Arras, and the obtaining Artois by the ſtroke of a pen, covered him with glory.

1493.

Frederick III. dies the 19th of Auguſt, aged ſeventy-eight. He had reigned fifty-three years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the moſt glorious*.

* He was undoubtedly a weak prince, a devotee, and a pedant. He choſe for his device the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, which he thus explained: *Auſtriae eſt imperare orbi univerſo*; and this ſome of his ſucceſſors have interpreted into a prophecy, which it is to be hoped will never be fulfilled.

M A X I M I L I A N.

FORTIETH EMPEROR.

ABOUT the time of Maximilian's coming to the empire Europe began to wear a very different aspect. The Venetians at length opposed themselves as a bulwark against the Turks, who already possessed a very large territory. The Venetians still kept Cyprus, Candy, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia : they extended their sovereignty in Italy ; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions ; the gold of the world flowing in upon them through the channels of commerce.

The popes were become sovereigns of Rome, but sovereigns extremely confined in this capital ; and most of the territories which had been formerly given them, and which had been always disputed, were lost by them.

The house of Gonzagna possessed Mantua, a town belonging to the countess Matilda, and a fief of the empire which the holy see never possessed. Parma and Placentia, which now belonged to them, were in the hands of the Sforzas dukes of Milan. Ferrara and Modena were ruled by the house of Este ; Bologna belonged to the Bentivoglio ; Perugia to the Baloni ; Ravenna to the Polentini ; Farenza to the Manfredi ; Immola and Forli to the Rimario ; almost all the patrimony of St. Peter, and that country which is called Romania, was possessed by particular sovereigns, the most of whom easily obtained charters as vicars of the empire.

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The Sforzas had not, during fifteen years, condescended to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of Free, under the direction, though not in the power, of the Medicis.

The states of Savoy, as yet very much oppressed, standing in need of both money and commerce, were then much less considerable than the Swiss.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we shall find it begin again to flourish. Its members, that had been so long divided, reunite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Anne of Bretagne with Charles VIII. completed the strengthening of this kingdom, which had received some considerable improvements under Lewis XI. by the acquisition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, she had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

Spain, as yet more unhappy than she had been for near 700 years, at this time began to revive. Isabella and Ferdinand, after having driven the Moors out of the kingdom of Grenada, extended their views to Naples and Sicily.

Portugal was employed in an enterprize of glory unheard of till that time; she began to open a new channel of commerce to mankind, by teaching a passage to the Indies by sea. Here are the sources of all the great events that have since actuated all Europe.

1494.

The Turks under Bajazet cease not as yet to be terrible, though less so than under Mahomet. They make incursions into Hungary and some

part of the Austrian dominions; but these are only a few scattered billows, that after the mighty storm contend upon the surface. Maximilian goes to secure Croatia and Carniola.

He marries at Inspruc the niece of Lewis Sforza, otherwise called Lewis the Moor, the usurper of Milan, who had poisoned his pupil the natural heir. This was not the only house where crimes had the sanction of nobility. Money only constituted this match. Maximilian weds Blanche of Sforza at once, and gives the investiture of the Milanese to Lewis the Moor, which Germany resents.

At the same time Lewis the Moor calls also Charles VIII. into Italy, and gives him money. A duke of Milan keeps at the same time in pay an emperor and a king of France.

He deceives them both: he believes that he may divide the conquest of Naples with Charles VIII. and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the emperor shall invade France. The beginning of the fifteenth century is famous for the deepest intrigues and the blackest treacheries. It was the crisis of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavoured to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

1495.

A new imperial chamber established at Frankfurt, of which the count de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is first president. It was the same chamber which was afterwards transferred to Worms, to Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ratisbon, and at length to Vetzlar, where some processes were determined, which had subsisted since its foundation.

Wirtemberg

Wurtemberg erected into a duchy.

A great dispute, to determine whether the duchy of Lorrain be a fief of the empire. Duke Reignier does homage, and takes an oath of fidelity as duke of Lorrain and Bar; at the same time protesting, that he did it only in consideration of holding certain fiefs. Which ought to weigh most, his homage or his protestation?

While Charles VIII. called into Italy by Lewis the Moor, and by pope Alexander IV. rapidly conquers all before him, and makes himself master of all the kingdom of Naples by means of a bastard of the house of Arragon, this same Lewis the Moor, and the same pope Alexander IV. league with Maximilian and the Venetians to drive him out. Charles chuses to wait for them, appearing to be very formidable, though in reality not so.

1496.

Maximilian goes into Italy, whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been always seen there, a strong hatred against the French and Germans, defiance and divisions between the several powers: but what is most to be remarked is, that he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thousand horse with him, and four or five thousand infantry: he looked rather like the pensioner of Lewis: he wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluce, and to the duke of Modena, by their presence to assist at his coronation at Pavia, which all these lords refuse. Every thing concurs to shew him that he came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itself independent.

Is it the emperor's fault if he has so little credit in Italy? it appears not. The princes and diets of Germany scarcely furnish him any subsidies. He draws but little assistance from their territories. The Low-countries belong not to Maximilian, but to his son. The voyage to Italy was ruinous.

1497.

The feudal rights is always the occasion of troubles. A diet at Worms having ordered a slight tax for the service of the Empire, the Frieſlanders refuse to pay it. They always pretend that they are not a fief of the empire. Maximilian ſends the duke of Saxony, in quality of governor, to reduce the Frieſlanders. A people poor and very fond of their liberties, deſcended of the ancient Saxons at Xeaf, part of whom had fought Charlemagne. They defend themſelves; but not ſo ſucceſſfully as the Swiſs.

1498.

Charles VIII. dies; and, in ſpite of his affiliations, in ſpite of treaties, Maximilian makes an irruption on the ſide of Burgundy, a fruitleſs irruption, after which they again enter into new treaties. Maximilian perſiſts to reclaim all the ſucceſſion of Mary of Burgundy, for his ſon Philip le Beau.

Lewis XII. gives up many places to this young prince, who pays homage to the chancellor of France at Arras, for the Charolois, Artois, and Flanders; and they mutually agree to ſubmit their pretenſions on the duchy of Burgundy, to the deciſion of the parliament of Paris.

Maximilian treats with the Swiſs, who are
looked

looked upon as invincible, in their own territories.

The ten united cantons form a league with the Grisons. Maximilian hopes to regain them by mildness. He writes them a soothing letter. The Swiss in their assembly at Zurich cry out, that no confidence is to be placed in Maximilian.

1499.

The Austrians attack the Grisons. The Swiss defeat the Austrians, and support not only their own liberty, but that of their allies. The Austrians are again beaten in three battles.

The emperor at length makes peace with the ten cantons as with a free people.

1500.

The imperial town of Basil, Schaffhausen, and Apenzel, join the Swiss union, which is composed of the 13 cantons.

The Aulic council, projected about this time by Maximilian. This is an image of the ancient tribunal which formerly accompanied the emperor. This chamber is approved by the states of the Empire, in the diet of Augsburg. It is permitted to carry causes thither, as well as to the imperial chamber; but the aulic council having more power, causes its decrees to be better executed, and becomes one of the greatest supports of the imperial power. The form of this chamber was not quite settled, till the year 1512.

The Empire is divided into six circles, in which the electoral territories are comprized as well as the rest of the Empire; tho' this regulation had not yet sufficient force, till twelve years after the diet of Cologn.

Charles V. born in the town of Ghent, the 24th of February being St. Matthias's day. We have remarked this, because the day was always favourable to him. They forthwith give him the title of duke of Luxemburg.

Fortune begins to declare the very same year in favour of this child. Don Michael the infant of Spain dies, and the infanta Johanna, mother to the young prince, becomes presumptive heir to that monarchy.

About this time, the new world was discovered, the fruits of which discovery Charles the V. was one day to reap.

1501.

Maximilian had been the vassal of France for part of the succession of Burgundy. Lewis XII. demands, that he should be the same for the Milanese. He comes from conquering that province under Lewis the Moor, uncle and feudatory of the emperor, without Maximilian's appearing in the least disturbed at the fate of a country so dear to all his predecessors.

Lewis XII. had also conquered and divided the kingdoms of Naples, with Ferdinand king of Arragon, without Maximilian's appearing any more disturbed.

Maximilian promises the investiture of Milan, upon condition that madam Claudia, daughter of Lewis XII. and of Anne of Bretagne should marry the young duke Charles of Luxemburg. He intends declaring the Milanese a feminine fief. There are certainly, by nature, neither feminine fiefs nor masculine. Whether a daughter shall or shall not inherit, all that depends on custom imperceptibly established.

Lewis

Lewis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milanese as a feminine fief in effect, because he had no other pretensions to it, than in the right of a grandmother, Valentia Visconti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milanese and Bretagne should one day pass to his grandson, in which case Lewis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the house of Austria.

The arch-duke Philip, and his wife Johanna's daughter to Ferdinand and Isabella, caused themselves to be acknowledged heirs to the kingdom of Spain. Philip there takes the title of prince of Asturias. Maximilian sees nothing but real grandeur for his posterity, and has scarce any thing for himself but titles; for he has but the shadow of power in Italy, and of precedence in Germany. He could carry his smallest designs into execution only by policy.

1503.

He endeavours ineffectually to make Austria an electorate.

The electors continue to meet for two whole years, to support their privileges.

The extinction of the great fiefs in Germany, awakens the attention of the German princes.

The popes begin to form a temporal power, and Maximilian permits it.

Urbino, Camarino, and some other territories are forced from their new masters by one of pope Alexander the Sixth's bastards. That is the famous Cæsar Borgia, adeacon, an archbishop, and a secular prince. He employs more art in getting possession of seven or eight small towns, than the Alexanders, the Gengis, and the Tamerlanes had shewn, in the conquest.

quest of Asia. His father the pope and himself thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Lewis XII. had been a long time in alliance with these two blood-stained men, because he stood in need of them. As for the emperor, he seemed intirely to have forgotten Italy.

The town of Lubec declares war against Denmark. Lubec seemed to be endeavouring at being in the North, what Venice was in the Adriatic; and the troubles that reigned in Sweden and Denmark, prevented its being crushed.

1504.

The quarrels of Denmark and Sweden have nothing to say to the history of the Empire; but it ought not to be forgotten that the Swedes having chosen a governor, of whom king John of Denmark not approving, he condemned the senators of Sweden as rebels and traitors, and remitted their sentence to the emperor for him to confirm it.

This king John had been elected king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; notwithstanding which, there was a necessity for an emperor whose power was very weak, to approve and confirm his sentence. This very king John, tho' with three crowns, had very little power himself, especially in Sweden, from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we see examples, marks sufficiently the respect always paid to the Empire. It was always addressed when there seemed to be a necessity for it, as the holy see was often solicited to strengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheless fail-
ed

ed not to procure a proper respect to be paid to the rescripts of that authority, which they attributed to him. He commanded the states of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwise proceed against them according to the rights of the empire.

This year a civil war sprung up, between a branch of the Palatine, and the possessors of the house of Bavaria. The branch of the Palatine is at last condemned in the diet of Augsburg. Yet this does not make the war the less. Unhappy constitution of a state, where the laws are without force! The branch of the Palatine loses in this war more than one territory.

A treaty of a very singular nature is concluded at Blois, between the ambassadors of Maximilian and his son Philip on the one part, and the cardinal d'Amboise in the name of Lewis XII. on the other.

This treaty confirms the alliance with the house of Austria, by which Lewis XII. should be in reality invested with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Lewis XII. should break the marriage of madam Claudia, with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince should have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milanese, and the county of Asti, by way of reparation: on the other hand, should the treaty be broken on the side of Maximilian, or of Philip prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the house of Austria should not only quit his pretensions upon the duchy of Burgundy, but also on the Artois, the Charolois, and other territories. It is scarce credible that such a treaty was serious. If Lewis XII. should

should marry the princess, he must lose Bretagne; if he broke the marriage, he was to lose Burgundy. Nothing else can be said in excuse of such promises, than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

1505.

Isabella queen of Castile dies, and by her will disinherits her kinsman Philip, father of Charles of Luxemburg; and Charles is not to reign till the age of twenty. This was in order to preserve the kingdom of Castile to her husband Ferdinand of Arragon.

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johannah, daughter of Isabella, heiress of Castile, was, as it is well known, called Johannah the Foolish. She well deserved the title. An ambassador of Arragon comes to Brussels, and engages her to sign her mother's will.

1506.

An agreement between Ferdinand of Arragon and Philip. The latter consents to reign in common with his wife and Ferdinand. In all public acts the name of Ferdinand was put first; after it that of Johanna and that of Philip. A sure way to confound three persons, as will appear in the sequel.

The states of France, in concert with Lewis XII. and the cardinal d'Amboise, oppose the treaty, which give madam Claudia and Bretagne to the house of Austria. They marry her to the presumptive heir of the crown, count d'Angoulesme, afterwards Francis I. Charles VIII. had got the wife of Maximilian, Francis I. the wife of Charles V.

While so many treaties were making on this side the Alps; while Philip and Johanna were
gone

gone into Spain, and Maximilian kept fair on all sides, at the same time not letting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes pursued their new design of establishing a great sovereignty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much used. Pope Alexander VI. had begun, Julius II. finished it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglio's, and Lewis XII. or rather the Cardinal d'Amboise, assist him therein.

He had already reunited to the see of Rome, the territory which Cæsar Borgia had taken for himself. In effect, Alexander VI. fought for his son, but Julius II. conquered for the see of Rome.

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Lewis XII. guardian of his son Charles. This will was formed on the hatred which he had for his step-father Ferdinand. And, in spite of their disagreement, on account of madam Claudia's marriage, he looked upon Lewis XII. to be a much honestest man than Ferdinand the Catholic. A mighty religionist, but a most perfidious monarch! who had deceived the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinsman.

1507.

A strange affair! the Low-countries refuse to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for regent, during the minority of Charles. They say that Charles was a Frenchman, because he was born at Ghent, the capital of Flanders, during the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext, the seventeen provinces governed themselves for eighteen months, without Maximilian's being able to remedy the insult. There was no conquered
country

country more free than the Low-countries at this day; England had not obtained near so much liberty.

1508.

A war against the house of Guelders, who had been long since driven from their dominions, part of which having recovered, they incessantly struggled for the rest, obliges the states at last to cede the regency to Maximilian, and Margaret of Austria, his favourite daughter is declared governess.

Maximilian intends to try if he can recover some credit in Italy, by getting himself crown'd at Rome. The enterprize was difficult. The Venetians, now become more powerful than ever, haughtily declare they would oppose his progress in Italy, if too strongly attended. The governor of Milan for Lewis the XII. joins the Venetians. Pope Julius the II. tells him that he gives him the title of emperor, but that he does not advise him to go to Rome.

He advances towards Verona, in spite of the Venetians, who had not sufficiently guarded the passes. Here they keep their word with him, and force him to retire to Inspruc.

The famous Venetian general Alviano, intirely defeats the emperor's little army near the Trentin. The Venetians possess themselves of almost this whole province, and their fleet takes Trieste, capital of Istria and other towns. Alviano enters Venice in triumph.

Maximilian then, as a last resource, sends a circular letter to all the states of the empire, injoining them to give him the title of Roman Emperor elected; a title which his successors have ever since taken at their accession. Custom

tom heretofore had given the name of emperor to those only who were crowned at Rome.

1509.

The empire at that time had no footing in Italy, where there were no more than two great powers, and many small ones. Lewis XII. on the one side, master of the Milanese and of Genoa, who having a free communication by Provence, threatened the kingdom of Naples, heretofore imprudently divided with Ferdinand of Arragon, who took every thing to himself with that perfidy which is usually called policy. The other new power was Venice, the rampart of christianity against the infidels; a rampart broken indeed in a hundred places, yet still making some resistance by the towns that remained to them in Greece, by the isles of Candy, Cyprus, and Dalmatia. Besides, she was not always at war with the Ottoman empire, and gained more by her commerce with the Turks than she lost by her possessions.

Her dominions upon Terra Firma began to be something. She had seized upon Faenza, Rimini, Ceseno, some territories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They possessed Ravenna, and justified most of these acquisitions, because, that having assisted the houses dispossessed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, these territories were awarded to them as their recompence. The Venetians had for a long time possessed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquisate of Trevisa, and Frionia. They had near the Milanese Bressia, and Bergamas. Francis Sforza had given them Créma,

Lewis

Lewis XII. had ceded to them Cremona, and Guiara d'Adda.

All this did not compose in Italy a state so very formidable, that Europe should fear the Venetians as conquerors. The real power of Venice was in St. Mark's treasury. It was there they had wherewith to retain an emperor and a king of France.

In the month of April 1509, Lewis XII. marches against his old allies the Venetians, at the head of 15,000 horse, 12,000 French infantry, and 8000 Swiss. The emperor advances against them on the side of Istria and Frioul. Julius II. the first warlike pope, enters the towns of Romania at the head of 10,000 men.

Ferdinand of Arragon, as king of Naples, declares also against the Venetians, because that they held some ports in the kingdom of Naples, on account of some money which they had formerly lent upon them.

The king of Hungary also declares against them in hopes of having Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy having some pretensions upon the kingdom of Cyprus, gives also a helping hand to the enterprise. The duke of Ferrara, a vassal of the holy see, also joins in it. In fine, so far from attacking the great Turk, the whole continent of Europe joins at once to oppress the Venetians.

Pope Julius the II^d was the first promoter of this singular league of the strong against the weak, so well known by the name of the League of Cambray. And he who would have shut strangers out of Italy for ever, floods the whole country with them.

Lewis

Lewis XII. has the misfortune to beat the Venetians compleatly, in the battle of Guirard'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary soldiers of Venice could hold out against the other sovereigns of Italy, but not against the French gens d'armes. The misfortune of Lewis XII. in beating the Venetians was, that he laboured for the emperor. Master as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

The fear of the power of Venice was badly founded. Venice was only rich, and they must shut their eyes not to see, that the new channels of commerce by the Cape of Good Hope and the American seas, would finish the sources of the Venetian power. Lewis XII. had received from Maximilian 100,000 golden crowns for joining this league, without which the emperor could not possibly have marched towards the Alps.

The 14th of June, 1509, the emperor gives the investiture of the Milanese to cardinal d'Amboise, who receives it for Lewis XII. in the town of Trent. The emperor not only gives this duchy to the king, but in default of his issue to count d'Angoulesme, Francis I. This was the price of the ruin of Venice.

Maximilian received for this grant 60,000 golden crowns. Thus, for three ages past, had every thing been sold. Lewis XII. might have employed this money to settle himself in Italy; and he returns to France, after having reduced Venice almost to her islands.

The

The emperor then advances on the side of Friouli, and reaps all the fruits of the French victory. But Venice, during the absence of Lewis XII. acquires new courage, and her money procures her new armies. She forces the emperor to raise the siege of Padua, and, by giving up every thing that he asks, concludes a treaty with the promoter of the league, Julius II.

The principal design of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly called in these nations to support him, one against the other, and vice versa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predecessors, by delivering Italy, and strengthening himself, sought an immortal name. Maximilian refuses to aid Julius in driving out the French.

1510.

Julius II. at length makes his own use of the Swiss, whom he spirits up against Lewis XII. as also old Ferdinand, king of Arragon and of Naples. He endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and Venice; and, at the same time, devises the seizing Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma, and Placentia.

A great diet is held at Augsburg, in the midst of so many different interests. Here they debate, whether Maximilian shall give peace to Venice.

Here they confirm the liberty of the town of Hamburg, which had been long disputed by Denmark.

Maximilian and Lewis XII. are again united, that is to say, Lewis XII. assists the emperor

ror in pursuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the least contribute to preserve to Lewis Milan and Genoa, whence the pope endeavours to drive him out.

Julius II. at length gives the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand king of Arragon, though he had promised it to Lewis XII. Ferdinand, already master of Naples, stood in no need of this ceremony; but then it cost him 7,000 crowns rent, whereas formerly 48,000 used to be paid to the holy see.

1511.

Julius II. declares war against the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy. This warlike pope intends the conquest of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonso d'Este, an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march, and gives them to the house of Mirandola, but as fiefs of the holy see. These are but trivial wars; but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predecessors; since he found the art of making them in some measure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little service to them, since they could not enable them to curb the enterprises of the pope.

Julius II. gives up Modena, of which he had been some time possessed, to the emperor; and he only parts with it for fear that the troops which the king of France had in the Milanese should have belied it.

1512.

The pope at length prevails upon Maximilian secretly to sign a treaty with king Ferdinand and him against France. These are fruits that Lewis XII. gathers from his league of Cambray,

bray, and so much money given to the emperor.

Julius II. who intended chasing the Barbarians out of Italy, instead of it introduces, all at once, the Swiss, the Arragonians, and the Germans. Gaston de Foix, nephew to Lewis XII. governor of Milan, a young prince, who acquires great glory and reputation, by supporting himself, with a very small army, defeats the allies at the battle of Ravenna, but is killed in the victory, and, by that means, the fruits of it are lost. Such, almost, always has been the fate of the French in Italy. They lose the Milanese after that famous battle of Ravenna, which, at another time, had given them the empire of Italy. Pavia is almost the only place that remains to them.

The Swiss who, excited by the pope, had made an hand of this resolution, receive from his holiness, instead of money, the titles of Defenders of the holy see.

Maximilian, in the mean time, continues the war against the Venetians; but these rich republicans make a good defence, and daily repair their former losses.

The emperor and the pope incessantly treat. And it is in this very year, that Maximilian offers himself to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the popedom. He sees no other way of re-establishing the imperial dignity in Italy, and, from this view, he sometimes assumes the title of *Pontifex maximus*, in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no exclusion from the papacy, it being justified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having disappointed him in his views of being coadjutor to him,

him, Maximilian begins to devise the succeeding him; for which purpose he gains some cardinals, and endeavours to borrow money to purchase the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archduchess Margaret, his daughter, is a testimony of this, the original being still to be seen.

The investiture of the duchy of Milan, which three years before had cost Lewis XII. 160,000 golden crowns, is given to Maximilian Sforza, at a much easier rate. To the son of that Lewis the Moor, whom Lewis XII. had kept so harshly, yet so justly, in prison. The same Swiss who had betrayed Lewis the Moor to Lewis XII. brings his son back in triumph to Milan.

Pope Julius II. dies, after having laid the certain foundation of the pope's temporal grandeur; for as for his spiritual, it daily diminishes. The temporal grandeur might have formed the equilibrium of Italy; yet it has not. The reason of this is the weakness of a sacerdotal government and the nepotism.

1513.

A war breaks out between Denmark and the Hans-towns, Lubec, Dantzic, Vismar, and Riga. There were many examples of this kind, which we shall not see in these days. The towns are beaten, and the princes get the better in almost all parts of Europe; so very hard is it to preserve true liberty!

Leo X. less warlike than Julius, but not less enterprising, more cunning but less capable, forms a league against Lewis XII. with the emperor, with Henry VIII. king of England, and old Ferdinand of Arragon. This league was

concluded

concluded at Mechlin on the fifth of April, by the care of that Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low-countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

The emperor was to possess himself of Burgundy, the pope of Provence, the king of England of Normandy, the king of Arragon of Guienne. This last had lately usurped Navarre from John d'Albert, by means of a papal bull, seconded by an army. Thus do the popes, always weak, give kingdoms to the strongest. Thus rapaciousness always acts by the hands of religion. Lewis XII. at length unites with those very Venetians he had before so imprudently lost. The papal league is broken almost as soon as formed. Maximilian only gets some money from Henry VIII. It was all that he wanted. What weakness! what knavery! what cruelty! what inconstancy! what rapacity is manifested in all these great affairs!

Lewis XII. vainly attempts to recover the Milanese. La Trimouille marches thither with a few troops. He is defeated at Navarre by the Swiss, and begins to be doubtful whether the Swiss do not intend to take Milan themselves. Milan and Geno, as well as Naples, are lost to France.

The Venetians, who formerly had in Lewis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only an useless ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare against them, and beat their famous general Alvianos, as Lewis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who signed the league of Mechlin against France, that keeps his

his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III. or an Henry V.

Maximilian, who had promised him an army, follows the king of England as a volunteer, and Henry VIII. gives 100 crowns a day, as pay, to that successor of the Cæsars, who would have set himself up for pope. He is present at that victory which Henry gains in the new battle of Guinegaste, called the Battle of the spurs, being the very same place in which he himself had won a battle in his youth.

Maximilian is afterwards paid a very considerable sum. He receives 200,000 crowns to make war in reality. France, thus attacked, by a young and powerful king, was certainly, after the loss of her men and money in Italy, in imminent danger.

Maximilian, nevertheless, with part of Henry's money, procures the Swiss to attack Burgundy. Ulric duke of Wirtemberg, here leads the German cavalry. Dijon is besieged. Lewis XII. loses Burgundy, after the Milanese, all by the hands of the Swiss. Nor can la Trimouille oblige them to retire, without promising them, in the name of his master, 400,000 crowns. What are the vicissitudes of this world! what may we not hope for, what have we not to fear! since we see the Swiss, their hands still reeking with blood, shed in defence of their liberty against the house of Austria, now arming in defence of that house, and even the Hollanders preparing to do the same.

1514.

Maximilian, seconded by the Spaniards, continues the war against the Venetians. This was all that remained of the old league of

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Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed; and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Lewis XII. driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Arragon, beaten and abused by his subjects, vanquished by Henry VIII. of England, who revives the claims of his ancestors upon France, has no other resource than that of marrying Mary, sister of Henry VIII. for his second wife.

This very Mary had been promised to Charles of Luxemburg. It seems to have been the luck of France to carry off all the women promised to the house of Austria.

1515.

The great point at which Maximilian always aims, is the establishing his house. He concludes a marriage between Lewis prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his grand-daughter, Mary of Austria, as well as between the princess Ann of Hungary, and one of his grand-sons, Charles or Ferdinand, who were afterwards successively emperors.

This is the first contract whereby a girl is promised to either one husband or another, as her parents shall think proper. Maximilian does not forget to mention, in this contract, that his house shall inherit Hungary, according to the antient conventions between the houses of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheless, these two kingdoms have been always elective, which does not at all agree with conventions of this nature, because the votes of the nation are necessary to support the Austrian authority.

Charles

Charles being declared of age at fifteen, pays homage to the king of France, Francis I. for Flanders, the Artois, and Charolois. Henry of Nassau takes the oath of fidelity in the name of Charles.

Another new marriage is proposed for the archduke Charles. Francis I. promised him madam Raignier his step-sister; but this appearance of union covers an insatiable discord.

The duchy of Milan is still the object of the ambition of Francis I. as it had been of Lewis XII. He also, like his predecessor, begins by an alliance with the Venetians, and buys victories.

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milanese in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza retires to live privately in France, upon a pension of 30,000 crowns. Francis I. obliges pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promise to surrender Modena and Reggio, to the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swiss, whom he had defeated, and thus in one campaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, grand-father to Charles V. dies the 23d of January, after having prepared much glory for his grand-son, whom he very little regarded.

The success of Francis I. revives Maximilian. He raises troops in Germany, with the money which Ferdinand had sent him before his death: for the states of the empire never furnished him with any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I. pays no regard to any of his promises; nei-

ther does he surrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia ; so much had the popes always at heart the great design of keeping strangers out of Italy ; of making them destroy one the other ; and of acquiring, by that expedient, a right over the Italian liberty, of which they were the avengers ; glorious design, worthy of antient Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome to accomplish.

The emperor Maximilian descends by the Trentine, besieges Milan with 15,000 Swiss ; but this prince, who was always raising money, and always wanting it, not paying his Swiss regularly, they mutinied. The emperor, fearing to be stoppt by them, secures himself by flight. Here then you see the last efforts of the famous league of Cambray, which had stripped Lewis XII. and obliged an emperor to fly, for fear of being imprisoned by his hirelings.

He proposes to Henry VIII. king of England, to cede him the empire and the duchy of Milan, merely with a view of extorting money from him ; a circumstance almost incredible, had it not been attested by letter under Henry's hand.

Another marriage is again stipulated with the archduke Charles, now king of Spain. Never prince had been promised to so many wives without having got one. Francis I. gives him his daughter Louisa, aged one year.

This marriage, which turned out no better than the others, is stipulated in the treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles shall do justice to the house of Navarre, stripped by Ferdinand the Catholic ; and that he should engage the emperor his grand-father, to make
peace

peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, although it should have brought in to the emperor's treasury 200,000 ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was also to give Charles 100,000 crowns a year, until he had full possession of the kingdom of Sicily. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimsical. One would imagine them gamesters endeavouring to deceive each other.

Immediately after this treaty the emperor makes another with his grand-son Charles and the king of England against France.

1517.

Charles passes into Spain. He is acknowledged king of Castile, jointly with Johanna his mother.

1518.

Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the Christian princes against the Turks, who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim II. conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embellish Rome, and finish the basilica of St. Peter, begun by Julius II. and absolutely one of the finest monuments of architecture ever made by men.

He thought it would be allowed him to drain the money of Christianity by the sale of indulgences. These indulgences were originally exemptions from certain imposts, granted either by the emperors, or by the governors to certain countries that had been oppressed.

The popes, and also some bishops, had applied these temporal indulgences to spiritual affairs, but in a very contrary manner.

The indulgences of the emperors were exemptions of the people, those of the popes were taxes on them; much more so since the belief of purgatory had become generally established, and that the vulgar, who are, in every country, at least eighteen out of twenty, are led into a persuasion, that by obtaining a bit of paper at a very trifling price, they buy off years of punishment. A public sale of this kind is one of those ridiculous affairs, which people of the least sense in these times never think of. But then one ought no more to be surprised at it, than the people of the East to see the Bonzes and Talapains sell a remission of all sins for a sixth part of a farthing.

There are every-where offices of indulgence, where they are leased out as the rights of entries and exits. Most of these offices were held in houses of entertainment. The preacher, the farmer, the distributor, were all gainers. Hitherto all was carried on very peaceably. In Germany the Augustines, who had been long in possession of the farming of these follies, became jealous of the Dominicans, to whom this liberty was granted, and this was the first part of the quarrel that inflamed all Europe.

This revolution was begun by the son of a black-smith, born at Eisleben. This was Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, employed by his superiors to preach against a merchandise which they had no longer the vending of. The quarrel was at first between the Augustines and the Dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who granted them to Christians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The people,

people, once spirited, began to judge that which they adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederick the old elector of Saxony, surnamed The Wise. He who, after the death of Maximilian, had the courage to refuse the empire. The doctrine of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himself, in the beginning, with saying, "That the communion ought to be administered in common bread and wine : that sin remained in the infant after baptism : that auricular confession was really useless : that neither popes nor councils could make articles of faith : that purgatory could not be proved by the canonical books : that monastic vows were an abuse ; and that all princes ought to unite in abolishing the mendicant friars."

Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, as we have already said, was the protector of Luther and of his doctrine. It is reported that this prince had sufficient religion to constitute a Christian ; sufficient reason to see the abuses of it ; and a strong desire to reform them. Perhaps much rather with a view of dividing the immense wealth which the clergy possessed in Saxony. He did not imagine then that he laboured for his enemies, and that the rich archduchy of Magdeburg would fall to the house of Brandenburg, already become his rival.

1519.

While Luther, cited to the diet at Augsberg, withdraws himself, after having made his appearance, summons a future council, and prepares without knowing it, one of the greatest revolutions that ever was made in the Christian church, since the extinction of Paganism ; the

224 AN INTERREGNUM.

emperor Maximilian, who had been already forgot, dies at Inspruc on the 12th of January, of a surfeit of melons.

AN INTERREGNUM,

To the first of October, 1520.

THE electors of Saxony and the Palatinate jointly govern the empire, to the day of the emperor-elect's coronation.

Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, put in for the imperial crown. Either one or the other had it in his power to revive at least some shadow of the Roman empire. The neighbourhood of the Turks, already become very formidable, put the electors under the dangerous necessity of chusing a puissant emperor. Christianity required that either Francis or Charles should be elected: but it was the interest of pope Leo X. that neither one nor the other should be put in the road of being his master. Charles, Francis, the great Turk, and Luther, were all of them objects equally, at that time, to influence the pope with fear.

Leo X. crosses, as much as possible, the two competitors. Seven great princes were, at the most critical juncture, to dispose of the foremost place in Europe, and votes are, nevertheless, bought. In the midst of these intrigues, and during this interregnum, the antient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes that great and useful lesson, of not abusing their power. The league of Suabia renders itself praise-worthy.

thy, by making war upon duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, who oppressed his vassals.

This league of Suabia is really established for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards sells them for a scandalous price to Charles of Austria. Then every thing is done for money! how comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, thus plunders such a house, and purchases, for a very trifle, the estate of another.

Leo X. attempts governing despotically in Tuscany.

The electors meet at Frankfort. Can it be true, that they offer the imperial crown to Frederick, surnamed The Wise, elector of Saxony, the great protector of Luther? was he solemnly elected? No. In what then consists his refusal? In this; that his character had made him the object of public election, he having before given his interest to Charles, and his recommendation influencing the other votes.

Charles V. is unanimously elected on the 28th of June, 1519.



CHARLES V.

FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

THIS year is that of the first capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this sufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of justice.
L. 5. opens.

opens a passage to injustice. There ought to be a stronger bulwark against the abuse of authority of a prince so powerful in himself.

By this certain contract of the sovereign with the constituents, the emperor promises, that if he has any estates to which he shall appear not properly intitled, he will give them up at the first intimation of the electors. This is promising a great deal.

Some considerable authors pretend, that they swore him also to a constant residence in Germany; but the capitulation expressly says, "that he shall reside there as long as he possibly can." To exact a piece of injustice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is just.

The day of Charles the fifth's election is marked by a battle between a bishop of Hildesheim and a duke of Brunswick, in the duchy of Lunenburg. They dispute about a fief, and in spite of the establishment of the *Austregues*, of the imperial chamber, and the aulic council, in spite of the authority of the two vicars of the empire, there are bloody engagements almost daily, for the most trifling matters, between the bishops, the princes, and the barons. Some laws, indeed, subsisted, at that time, in Germany; but the coercive, which is the chief power of laws, was wanting.

The news of Charles's election is carried to him in Spain by the elector Palatine. The grandees of Spain at that time reckoned themselves equal to electors; the peers of France rank above them; and the cardinals take the right hand of both.

Spain,

Spain, fearing to become a province of the empire, Charles is obliged to declare that kingdom independent. He goes to Germany; but first makes a voyage to England, even so early to engage in a league with Henry VIII. against Francis I. He is crowned at Aix la Chapelle, the 23d of October, 1520. At the time of the accession of Charles V. to the empire, Europe insensibly assumes a new aspect. The Ottoman power fixes itself at Constantinople on a foundation not to be overturned.

The emperor, king of the Two Sicilies, and of Spain, prepares to form a league against the Turks. The Venetians, at the same time, stand in awe of the sultan and emperor.

Pope Leo X. is master of only a trifling territory, and already finds one half of Europe endeavouring to escape from his spiritual authority; for, about the year 1520, from the extremity of the North, all the way to France, the people were revolting both against the abuse of the Roman church, and against its laws.

Francis I. king of France, rather a brave soldier than a great prince, had more desire than he had power to pull down Charles V. Had his prudence and his strength been equal, how could they have succeeded against an emperor, king of Spain and Naples, sovereign of the Low-countries, whose frontiers extended even to the gates of Amiens, and into whose ports of Spain the treasures of a new-found world began already to be poured*.

* About this time Ferdinando Magalianus, a Portuguese, in the service of Charles V. discovered that passage into the South Sea, called from his name the Straights of Magellan; and Cortes made a conquest of Mexico.

Henry VIII. king of England pretends at length to hold the balance between Charles V. and Francis I. A great example of what the courage of the English, assisted by the riches of their commerce, was able to do. In this review of Europe it is observable, that Henry VIII. one of the principal personages, was one of the greatest scourges the earth ever felt; absolute even to brutality; furious in his anger; barbarous in his amours; a murderer of his wives; and a tyrant as capricious in the government of his kingdom, as in the management of religion: yet did he die in his bed; and Mary Stuart, who had only a criminal weakness *, and Charles I. who could be reproached with nothing but goodness, died upon the scaffold.

A king still wickedder than Henry VIII. that is Christian II. after reuniting to his power Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, a monster always stained with blood, and surnamed the Nero of the North, yet at last is punished for all his crimes; altho' the brother of Christian V. is dethroned, and dies in prison in old age, the object of contempt and detestation.

Thus have I drawn, in miniature, the principal Christian princes who made a figure in Europe, when Charles V. took the reins of the empire.

Sciences flourished at that time in Italy more than ever. But she was never more distant from that great end proposed by Julius II. of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almost always at war; but happily for the people, the little armies,

* And even that very doubtful,

which.

which were raised for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth; and in the midst of the most obstinate disputes, Europe had not above one-fifth of the soldiers which she now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which consumes the substance of a government in always keeping on foot those numerous armies, which in time of peace can only be employed against the people, and may one day become fatal to their masters.

The principal force of the Christian armies consisted always in cavalry: foot was generally despised: therefore the Germans called them *Lands-Knechte*, tillers of the earth. The janissaries were the only formidable infantry.

France almost always made use of foreign infantry. The Swiss as yet made no other use of their liberty, than to sell their blood, and he generally believed himself sure of victory in whose army there was the greatest number of Swiss. They preserved this reputation until the battle of Marignan, where Francis I. defeated them with his cavalry, when he first attempted an invasion of Italy.

War began to grow more an art under Charles V. than it had ever been before. His great successes; the progress of science in Italy; the reformation, in point of religion, of one half of Europe; commerce opened with India by the ocean, and the conquests of Mexico and Peru, will make this age eternally memorable.

1521.

A diet at Worms, famous for re-establishing the imperial chamber, which no longer subsisted but in name.

Charles

Charles V. establishes two vicars, not of the empire, but of the emperor. The vicars of the empire are Saxony and the Palatine, whose decrees are irrevocable. The vicars of the emperor are governors accountable only to the sovereign. These governors were his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had given his possessions in Austria, the count Palatine, with twenty-two assistants.

This diet summons to appear before them the dukes of Brunswick and of Lunenburg on the one part, and the bishops of Hildesheim and of Minden on the other, who maintained a continual war upon each other. They despise their decree, and are put under the ban of the empire, which they also hold in contempt, persisting in mutual hostility. The power of Charles V. is not yet sufficiently strong to give force to his laws. Two bishops, armed and rebellious, dispose the people very much, not only against the church, but its possessions.

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Hus. The priests were not the strongest party in this diet. They confer with him; but neither side rightly understand the other, so that they agree upon nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to destroy the Roman religion. On the 6th of May the emperor publishes an edict against Luther in his absence, enjoining, under pain of disobedience, every prince and sovereignty of the empire to imprison him and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony, who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X. against

Francis I. was willing to appear as a Catholic.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Christian II. his brother-in-law, assuring him of succour. Sentiments of horror against tyranny are always predominant in general assemblies; the enthusiasm of virtue must communicate itself, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims against an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of ninety-four senators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the securing to himself the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

The same year, pope Leo X. more cunning perhaps than wise, and finding that between Francis I. and Charles V. he should be only involved, makes, almost at the same time, a treaty with each; the first, in 1520, with Francis I. to whom he promises the kingdom of Naples, reserving to himself Gaietta, and this by virtue of that chimerical law, that a king of Naples can never be emperor. His second treaty was in 1521, with Charles V. to drive the French out of Italy, and give the Milanese to Francis Sforza, a younger son of Lewis the Moor, and above all, to obtain for the holy see Ferrara, of which they always attempt to deprive the house of Este.

The first hostility that engages the empire against France, is this. The duke of Bouillon, Robert de la Mark, sovereign of the castle of Bouillon, solemnly declares war by a herald against

against Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was stirred up by Francis I. who in publick denied it.

Charles, united with Henry VIII. and pope Leo X. makes war upon Francis I. on the side of Picardy, and towards the Milanese. In 1520 it had been already begun in Spain; but Spain is but an appendix to the annals of the empire.

Lautrec, governor for the king of France in the Milanese, a very unfortunate general, because he is rash and imprudent, is driven out of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, by Prospero di Colonna.

Leo X. dies on the 2d of December. George marquis de Malaspina, attached to France, and supposed to have poisoned the pope, is arrested, and clears himself of a crime it would have been very hard to prove.

This pope had 12,000 Swiss at his command.

Cardinal Wolsey, tyrant of Henry VIII. who was the tyrant of England, has a mind to be pope. Charles V. dupes him, and manifests his power by giving the papacy to his preceptor Adrian, a native of Utrecht, and then regent of Spain.

Adrian is elected on the 9th of January, and preserves his name, notwithstanding the established custom of the eleventh century. The emperor absolutely governs the papacy. The old league of the towns of Suabia is confirmed at Ulm for eleven years. The emperor has some reason to fear it, but he inclines to please the Germans.

1522.

Charles again repairs to England. He receives

ceives at Windsor the order of the garter, and promises to marry his cousin Mary, daughter to his aunt Catharine of Arragon and Henry VIII. she who was afterwards married to his son Philip. He submits, by an astonishing clause, in case he should not marry this princess, to forfeit 500,000 crowns *. This is the fifth time of his having been promised, without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII. who begins to think of reviving the pretension of his ancestors upon that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting 500,000 crowns is explained. This money lent is to serve one day as a portion, and this singular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a sort of security. The emperor gives the prime minister, cardinal Wolsey, pensions, which do not recompence him for the loss of the papacy. Why is the most powerful emperor that has been seen since the days of Charlemagne obliged, Maximilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII? He makes war on the side of the Pyrenæan mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy, all at the same time. Germany bears no part in his expence; Spain very little; the mines of Mexico furnish yet no regular produce; the

* According to Sleidanus, the emperor obliged himself to espouse his cousin the princess Mary, then seven years of age, and to pay the yearly sum of 130,000 ducats to the king of England, while Henry should continue to make war upon the French king, until Charles should consummate his marriage with the princess Mary, or Henry should have acquired lands in France sufficient to yield that revenue.

expences of his coronation, and his first establishments of every kind, were immense.

Charles V. is every-where successful. Cremona and Lodi are all that remain to Francis I. in the Milanese. Genoa, which he had hitherto possessed, is taken from him by the Imperialists. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the last prince of that race, to enter Milan.

But in the mean time the Ottoman power threatens Germany. The Turks are in Hungary. Solyman, as formidable as Selim and Mahomet II. had been, takes Belgrade, and thence proceeds to the siege of Rhodes, which capitulates in about three months.

This year is pregnant with great events. The states of Denmark solemnly depose their tyrant Christian, whom they look upon as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindness in confining themselves barely to deposing him. Gustavus Vasa banishes the Catholic religion in Sweden. All the North, even to the Weser, is ready to follow this example.

1523.

While a controversial war threatens Germany with a revolution, and while Solyman menaces Christianity in Europe, the quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. occasion new misfortunes both to Italy and France.

Charles V. and Henry VIII. in order to crush Francis I. engage in their cause the constable of Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and revenge, rather than by a patriot love of his country, undertakes to cause a diversion in the heart of France, as soon as the enemies of Francis shall attack his frontiers. They promise him in marriage Eleonora, sister of Charles V.

V. widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is still more essential, Provence, with other territories, which they are to erect into a kingdom.

To give the last stroke to France, the emperor enters into alliance with the Venetians, pope Adrian, and the Florentines. Duke Francis Sforza remains possessed of Milan, which is wrested from Francis I. But the emperor does not yet acknowledge Sforza to be duke of Milan; and defers deciding upon that province, until he shall become so absolutely master of it, that the French can have no more pretension.

The imperial troops enter Champagne. The treachery of the constable of Bourbon being discovered, he is obliged to fly, and goes to command for the emperor in Italy.

In the midst of these great troubles a trivial war breaks out between the electors of Triers and the noblesse of Alsace, which appears like a small vortex moving within a great one. Charles V. is too much ingrossed with ruminating on his vast designs, and his variety of interests, to attend to the pacifying these transitory quarrels.

Clement VII. succeeds Adrian the 29th of November. He was of the house of Medicis. His papacy will be eternally remarkable for his unfortunate connections; for that weakness which at length caused the destruction of Rome, sacked by the army of Charles V. it will be always distinguished by the loss of the Florentine liberty, and by the irrevocable defection of England, torn from the Roman church.

1524.

The first step of Clement VII. is the sending
a legate

a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage Germany to arm against Solymán, and to answer a writing, intituled, "The Hundred Complaints against the Court of Rome." He succeeds in neither one nor the other.

It was not at all extraordinary that Adrian, the preceptor, and afterwards the minister of Charles V. a man born with the genius of a subaltern, should enter into a league which must render the emperor absolute master of Italy, and soon of all Europe. Clement VII. had nevertheless sufficient courage to detach himself from this league, in hopes to hold an equal balance.

There was at that time a man of the same family, who was indeed a great man. This was John de Medicis, Charles V's general. He commanded for the emperor in Italy, together with the constable of Bourbon. It was he that in this year completed the driving the French out of that little part of the Milanese which they still possessed; who beat Bonivet at Biagrasia, where the famous chevalier Bayard lost his life.

The marquis de Pescara, whom the French call Pescacie, a noble rival to John de Medicis, marches into Provence with the duke of Bourbon: the latter determines on the siege of Marseilles, in spite of Pescara, and the enterprize miscarries; but Provence is ravaged.

Francis I. when he ought to have assembled an army, pursues the Imperialists, who withdraw: he passes the Alps: he, to his misfortune, enters that duchy of Milan, which had been so often won and lost. The house of Savoy was not yet sufficiently strong to stop the progress of the French arms.

At that time the antient papal policy displayed itself; and the fear which a powerful emperor inspired, makes Clement VII. an ally to Francis I. to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army: thus, by dividing his forces, he weakens himself, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himself and Rome.

1525.

The king of France besieges Pavia. The count de Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, Pescara, and Bourbon, endeavour to raise the siege by forcing a passage at Mirabel Park, where Francis I. was posted. The French artillery alone put the Imperialists to the route. The king of France ought not to have moved, and he was beaten. He engages in the pursuit, and is intirely defeated. The Swiss, who made up the force of his infantry, abandoned him and fled; and he was not persuaded of the ill consequences of having an intire mercenary body of infantry, nor of having relied too much on his own courage, until he fell a captive into the hands of the Imperialists, and of that Bourbon whom he had abused and forced into rebellion.

Charles V. received the news of his excessive good fortune at Madrid, where he still was, and dissembled his joy. They send him his prisoner. He then appears absolute master of Europe; and had been so effectually, had he pursued his fortune at the head of 50,000 men, instead of remaining at Madrid. But his successes raised him enemies; and the more so, since he, who passed for one of the most active princes, did not make a proper use of them.

Cardinal

Cardinal Wolsey, who was out of humour with the emperor, instead of persuading Henry VIII. whom he governed, to enter France, then abandoned, and an easy prey, engages him to declare against Charles V. thereby seizing that balance which had escaped the feeble hands of Clement VII. Bourbon, whom Charles flattered with the hopes of a kingdom, made up of Provence, Dauphiné, and the estate of the constable, is as yet no more than governor of the Milanese.

One must necessarily believe that Charles V. had some secret weighty engagements in Spain, since at that critical time he neither entered France, entirely open to invasion, nor Italy, which to him might have been an easy conquest; nor yet Germany, where new disputes, and the love of independency, created fresh troubles.

The different sectaries knew very well what they would not believe, but did not know what they would believe. All agreed in exclaiming against the abuses of the court of Rome and its church, and they introduced other abuses. Melancthon opposes Luther upon some articles.

Storck, a native of Silesia, goes farther than Luther had done. He is the founder of the sect of Anabaptists, whose apostle is Muncer. They both preach sword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party. Muncer established his among the people of the country, whom he soothed and spirited with a notion of equality, nature's primitive law, which had been destroyed by force and associations. The first fury of the peasants displayed itself in Suabia, where they were greater slaves than

than elsewhere. Muncer goes to Thuringia, and there, whilst he preaches equality, makes himself master of Mulhausen ; and, whilst he preaches up disinterestedness, causes the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peasants rise in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace.

Indeed these sort of savages draw up a manifesto which a Lycurgus would have signed. They insist "upon paying only the tithes of their corn, which shall be employed to relieve the poor ; that they shall have free liberty of water and chace ; that they shall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them against the cold ; and that their daily labour shall be lessened." They lay claim to the rights of human nature, but they support them like wild beasts. They massacre all the gentlemen they meet. A natural son of the emperor has his throat cut.

It is very remarkable, that these peasants at last set a gentleman at their head, like the revolted slaves mentioned in antiquity, who, finding themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king the only master that had escaped the slaughter.

They seize upon Heilbron, Spire, Wurtzbourg, and the countries round these towns.

Muncer and Storck lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, engages in a bloody battle with them near Franchusen, in the county of Mansfield. In vain do the two prophets sing canticles in the name of the Lord : these fanatics are entirely defeated. Muncer, taken after the battle, is condemned to lose his head : he abjures
his

his tenets before his death: he had been no enthusiast: he had only conducted those that were: but his disciple Fisser, condemned along with him, dies fully persuaded of them. Storck returns to preach in Silesia, and sends disciples into Poland. The emperor, in the mean time, negotiates at his ease with the king of France, his prisoner at Madrid.

1526.

The principal articles of the treaty whereby Charles V. imposes laws upon Francis I. are these:

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolois. He renounces his right to sovereignty upon the Artois and upon Flanders: he cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St. Amand, Lile, Douay, Orchies, and Hesdin: he desists from his pretensions upon the Two Sicilies, the Milanese, the county of Aste, and upon Genoa: he promises no longer to protect the duke of Gueldres, whom he had always supported against this powerful emperor, nor the duke of Wirtemberg, who claimed his duchy, which had been sold to the house of Austria: he promises to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it: he signs an offensive and defensive league with the conqueror, who had ravished from him so many territories, and promises to marry Eleonora his sister.

He is obliged to receive into favour the duke of Burgundy, to restore him his estate, and to indemnify not only him but all his party.

Nor was this all: the two eldest sons of this king were to be delivered up as hostages for fulfilling

fulfilling the treaty, which is signed the 14th of January.

While the king of France brings his two sons to be left captives in his stead, Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, enters his apartments booted, to make him sign the contract of marriage with Eleonora, whom he had never seen, and who was then four leagues off. A strange way this of taking a wife!

It is affirmed, that Francis I. made a formal protestation against all his promises, in the presence of a notary, before he signed them. It is difficult to believe, that a notary of Madrid either would or could enter the prison of a king, to witness such an act.

The dauphin and the duke of Orleans are sent into Spain, exchanged for their father upon the river Andoye, and carried into bondage.

Charles might have had Burgundy, had he caused it to have been ceded before he had released his prisoner. The king of France exposed his two children to the emperor's anger by not keeping his word. There had been a time when such an infringement would have cost these two princes their lives.

Francis I. causes it to be represented by the states of Burgundy, that he cannot part with so fine a province of France. He ought not then to have promised it. Such was the situation of this king, that every party was sorry for him.

On the 22d of May, Francis I. whose misfortunes and necessities had procured him many friends, signs a league at Cognac with pope Clement VII. the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swiss, against the emperor. This league is called Holy, be-

M

cause

cause the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby stipulates, to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have stripped of it, in possession of the Milanese.

He concludes with fighting for his old enemies. The emperor finds France, England, and Italy, at once arming against his power; because that power itself was not sufficiently strong to prevent such a revolution, and because he remained idle at Madrid, when he ought to have proceeded in making a proper use of the victories won by his generals.

During this confusion of intrigues and of wars, the Imperialists were masters not only of Milan, but of almost the whole province; Francis Sforza possessing no more than the castle of Milan: but as soon as the league is signed, there is a rising in the Milanese. They take part with their duke. The Venetians march and take Lodi from the emperor. The duke of Urbino enters the Milanese at the head of the pope's army. In spite of so many enemies, the good fortune of Charles preserves Italy to him: he ought to have lost it for staying at Madrid; but it is defended for him by the old Antonio de Leva and his other generals. Francis I. cannot march troops fast enough from his own weakened kingdom; the pope's army acts slowly, and that of Venice faintly. Francis Sforza is obliged to give up his castle of Milan. A very small number of Spaniards and Germans, properly commanded and accustomed to victory, procure all these advantages for Charles, at a time of his life when he scarcely does any thing himself: he remains still at Madrid: he applies himself to the regulating ranks and forming titles:

titles : he marries Isabella, daughter to Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal ; while the new elector of Saxony, John the Constant, professes the reformed religion, abolishing that of Rome in Saxony : while Philip Landgrave of Hesse does the same in his dominions, Frankfort establishes a Lutheran senate ; and while a great number of Teutonic knights, destined to the defence of the church, quit it in order to marry, and appropriate to the use of their families the commanderies of the order.

Fifty of the knights Templars had been formerly burned, and the order extirpated for no other reason but because they were rich. The Teutonic order was powerful : Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand master of it, divides Prussia with Poland, and remains sovereign of that part called Ducal Prussia, doing homage, and paying tribute to the king of Poland. This revolution is commonly placed in 1525.

Things being thus circumstanced, the Lutherans haughtily demand the establishment of their religion in Germany at the diet of Spire ; while Ferdinand, who holds this diet, requests assistance against Solyman, who returns to the attack of Hungary. The diet grants neither the liberty of religion, nor the succours in behalf of Christianity against the Ottomans.

The young Lewis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he shall be able alone to sustain the attacks of the Turkish empire. He hazards a battle with Solyman. It was called The Battle of Mohats, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its consequences to the Christians as the battle of Varnes. Almost all the noblesse

of Hungary perished therein. The army is entirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a morass. The writers of those times tell us, that Solyman caused 1500 Hungarian prisoners, who were of the noblesse, to be beheaded; yet that he wept at seeing the picture of the unfortunate king Lewis. It is scarcely credible, that a man, who in cold blood could strike the heads off 1500 noblemen, should weep for the death of one. These two facts are equally doubtful.

Solyman takes Buda, and menaces the surrounding countries. This misfortune of Christianity aggrandizes the house of Austria. The archduke Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. demands Hungary and Bohemia, as estates which ought to devolve to him by family compacts, by way of inheritance. This right of inheritance was reconciled by the right of election made by the people, the one supporting the other. The states of Hungary elect him on the 26th of October.

In the mean time another party declare John Zapoli count of Scepus, Vaivode of Transilvania, king in Alba Regalis. Perhaps no kingdom since that time was so unfortunate as Hungary. It was almost always divided into two factions, and over-run by the Turks. Ferdinand, in the mean time, has the good luck to drive out his rival in a few days, and to be crowned at Buda, whence the Turks had withdrawn themselves.

1527.

On the 24th of February Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia without any competitor, and he acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera*

libera et bona voluntate, by the free and good will of those who had chosen him.

Charles V. remains still in Spain, while his house acquires two kingdoms, and his fortune in Italy outsoars his projects.

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange. However, they subsist upon rapine, to which they give the name of Contribution. The holy league was considerably disordered. The king of France had neglected that vengeance which he sought after, and had not yet sent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians stir but little; the pope still less; and he is reduced to raise very bad troops. Bourbon leads his soldiers straight to Rome, which he storms on the 27th, but is killed in scaling the walls. However, the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge, and is made prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged and destroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

It is said that the pillage amounted to fifteen millions of crowns. Charles, for only requiring half that sum as its ransom, might have reigned in Rome: but after the troops had lived there for nine months at discretion, he was obliged to part with it. His luck was the same with all others who had sacked that capital.

There had been too much blood spilt in this disaster; but many soldiers, who were enriched by the spoil, remained inhabitants of the country; and in Rome and the neighbourhood round it, in some few months, were reckoned not less than 4700 young women with child. Rome,

that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans: the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of strangers under the Cæsars. At this day there is but one single family in Rome that can call itself Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this mistress of the world subsist.

During the imprisonment of the pope, Alphonso I. duke of Ferrara, from whom Julius II. had taken Modena and Reggio, recovers his possessions, when Clement VII. capitulates in the castle of St. Angelo. The Malatestas possess themselves again of Rimini. The Venetians, allies to the pope, take Ravenna, to guard it for him, say they, against the emperor. The Florentines, shaking off the yoke of the Medicis, set themselves at liberty.

Francis I. and Henry VIII. instead of sending troops into Italy, send ambassadors to the emperor, who was then at Valadolid. Fortune, in less than two years, had put into his hands Rome, the Milanese, a king of France, and a pope, without his making use of these opportunities.

Strong enough to pillage Rome, he was not able to keep it and the old claim, of the emperors, their pretence upon the dominion of Rome remaining still eclipsed.

At length Francis I. sends an army into the Milanese, under that very Lautrec who had before lost it, leaving his two children still in bondage. This army once more retakes the Milanese, which they had won and lost in so short a time. This diversion and the plague, which ravage Rome and the conquering army

at

at the same time, pave the way for the pope's deliverance. Charles V. on one side, sings Te Deum, and makes processions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheless holds in captivity; on the other, he sells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clement VII. lays down 100,000, and makes his escape without having paid the rest.

While Rome is sacked, and the pope ransomed in the name of Charles V. the protector of the Catholic faith, such sects as were enemies to that religion make new progress. The sacking of Rome and the pope's captivity give the Lutherans fresh spirits.

Mass is legally abolished at Strasburg, in consequence of a public dispute. Ulm, Augsburg, and many other imperial towns, declare themselves Lutherans. The council of Berne admit the cause of the Catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, disciples of Zuinglius, to be pleaded before them. These sectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the Eucharist. The Zuinglians affirm, that God is in the bread only by faith; and the Lutherans affirm, that God is with the bread, in the bread, and upon the bread; but all agree, that the bread exists. Geneva and Constance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calvinists; of people of sound sense, but simple and austere. The Bohemians, the Germans, and the Swiss, are those who ravaged one half of Europe at the siege of Rome.

The Anabaptists renew their fury, in the name of the Lord, from the Palatinate to Wirtzburg. They are dispersed by the elector

Palatine, assisted by the generals Truchses and Fronsberg.

1528.

The Anabaptists appear again in Utrecht, and cause the archbishop of that town, who was the sovereign of it, to sell it to Charles V. lest the duke of Gueldres should make himself master of it.

This duke secretly protected by France, opposes Charles V. whom nothing could hitherto withstand. Charles makes peace with him, on condition that the duchy of Gueldres and the county of Zutpen should revert to the house of Austria, in case of the duke's dying without male issue.

The quarrels of religion seem to demand the presence of Charles in Germany, while war summons him to Italy.

Two heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux, the one on the part of France, the other on that of England, declare war against him at Madrid. Francis I. had no business to declare it, because he had already done it in the Milanese, and Henry VIII. still less, because he had not done it at all.

It is an idle fancy to think, that princes neither act nor speak but like politicians. They do both like men. The emperor sharply reproaches the king of England, with his intended divorce from Catherine of Arragon, who was Charles's aunt, and charges the herald Clarencieux, to tell him, that cardinal Wolsey advised both the divorce and the war, to revenge himself for the loss of the papacy. As to Francis I. he reproaches him with the breach of his promise, and declares he will fight him
hand

hand to hand. It is true, that Francis I. had broke his word; but it is no less true, that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

Francis I. answers him in these terms: "You lie in your throat, and as often as you repeat it, you lie,* &c. Appoint the place of combat, we shall meet you properly prepared." The emperor sends a herald to the king of France, to notify the place of combat, whom the king receives on the 10th of September in the most magnificent manner. The herald would have spoken before the delivery of his letter, wherein was ascertained the place of engagement; but the king silences him, and will only see the letter, which therefore was never produced. Thus the time of two kings is taken up, with giving each other the lye by heralds at arms. There is in this procedure an air of knight-errantry and ridicule, very different from our manners.

During all these bravadoes, Charles V. loses the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is also near losing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already seized upon Abbruzzo intirely. The Venetians had possessed themselves of most of the marisime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrew Doria, then in the French service, had with the gallies of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who six months before was master of

* This answer gives a higher idea of the French king's spirit, than of his veracity or good breeding; and yet, when the difference became very critical, his spirit seemed to flag, as we have observed in another part of this work.

Italy, is near being driven out of it; but it is the fate of the French, to lose always in Italy what they had gained.

The contagion reaches their army Lautrec dies. Naples is evacuated. Henry duke of Brunswick with a new army approaches to defend the Milanese against the French, and against Sforza.

Doria, who had contributed so much to the success of France, disgusted at Francis I. and fearing an arrest, quits his service, and passes over to that of the emperor with his gallees.

The war continues in the Milanese, and pope Clement VII. negotiates while he waits the event of it. It was no longer a time to excommunicate an emperor, or transfer his scepter into other hands by divine appointment. This formerly might have been the case, had he refused to lead the pope's horse by the bridle; but the pope, after his imprisonment, after the sacking of Rome, ineffectually supported by the French, fearing even the Venetians, his allies, willing to establish his family at Florence, perceiving besides Sweden, Denmark, and one half of Germany, fallen from the Roman church; the pope, I say, in these extremities, respected and feared Charles V. so very much, that instead of breaking the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catherine, the aunt of Charles, he was ready to excommunicate that very Henry VIII. his ally, because Charles required it.

1529.

The king of England, a slave to his passions, bends his thoughts upon nothing but being separated from his wife Chatherine of Arragon, a very

a very virtuous woman, by whom he had a daughter some years before, and marrying his mistress Ann of Bolein, or Bollen, or Boulén.

Francis I. still leaves his two children captives to Charles V. in Spain, and makes war against him in the Milanese. Duke Francis Sforza still leagued with that king, and seeks the countenance of the emperor, willing to preserve his duchy by the hands of the stronger, and fearing to lose it, either by the one or by the other. Germany is rent by the Protestants and Catholics. The sultan Solyman prepares to attack it, and Charles V. remains at Valadolid.

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greatest generals in his time, 73 years old; sick of the gout, and carried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milanese, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them disperse, and quit a country that has been so fatal to them. The pope still continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiation, before the French receive this last stroke. The emperor treats the pope very generously; first, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholics; and in truth he had some need of it, for the scandal of sacking of Rome. Secondly, to engage the pontiff to oppose the arms of religion to the scandal that was like to fall upon his aunt at London, by making void her marriage, and bastardizing his cousin Mary, that very Mary, to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, because the French were not rooted out of Italy, when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Servia, Modena, and Reggio to pope Clement VII. leaving him at liberty to pursue his pretensions on

Ferrara. He promises him also, to give Tuscany to Alexander de Medicis. The treaty, so advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

Immediately after, he agrees to terms with Francis I. who purchases his children for 2,000,000 of golden crowns, paid down, and 500,000 crowns to be given by Francis to Henry VIII. being the sum forfeited by Charles V. for not marrying his cousin Mary.

Francis had certainly nothing to say to Charles the Vth's debts; but he was conquered, and his children ought to be redeemed: 2,500,000 golden crowns certainly impoverished France, but was not equal to the value of Burgundy, which remained to the king; besides, it was so contrived with the king of England, that the forfeit was never paid.

France, then impoverished, appears no longer formidable; Italy waits the orders of the emperor; the Venetians temporize, while Germany fears the Turks, and wrangles about religion.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Spire, where Lutherans take the name of Protestants from the protesting of Saxony, Hesse, Lunenburg, Anhalt, and fourteen imperial towns, against the edict of Ferdinand, and appeal to a future council.

Ferdinand leaves the protestants to believe and act as they please: he did well. Solyman, who had no religious disputes to appease, still intends the crown of Hungary for John Zapoli, Vaivode of Transilvania, an opposer of Ferdinand, and this kingdom was to have become tributary to the Turks.

Soly-

Solyman subdues Hungary, enters Austria, takes Altemburg by assault, besieges Vienna on the 26th of September; but Vienna is always the stumbling block of the Turks. It is the fortune of the house of Bavaria, to defend Austria in these perils. Philip the Warlike, brother to the elector Palatine, the last elector of the eldest Palatine branch, defends Vienna. Solyman raises the siege in 30 days; but remains master of Hungary, and gives the investiture of it to John Zapoli.

Charles at last quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free, and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks besiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive on his knees, the benediction of him, whom he had held captive, whose dominions he had desolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himself at his feet, and asks his pardon. He gives him the investiture of the Milanese for 100,000 golden ducats paid down, and 500,000 payable in ten years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Christiern in marriage; after which he himself is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederick III. he receives from him three crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the Empire. The pope, in giving him the scepter, addresses him thus: "Emperor, our son, take this scepter, to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy

to command." In giving him the globe, he says to him; "This globe represents the world, which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and constancy." The ceremony of the globe recalls to mind the image of the ancient Roman empire, master of the best part of the known world, and in some measure belonging to Charles V. sovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

Charles kisses the pope's feet in the time of mass, but he had no mule to lead. The emperor and pope eat in the same state, each at a table by himself.

He promises to the pope's nephew Alexander de Medicis, his bastard Margaretta, with Tuscany as a portion.

By these regulations and concessions it is evident, that Charles V. did not aspire at being king of the Christian continent as Charlemagne had been. He only aimed at being the principal personage, at having the chief influence there, and preserving his right of sovereignty over Italy. Had he intended to have ingrossed all to himself, he had drained Spain of men and money, to have established himself at Rome, and governed Lombardy as one of his provinces. But this does not do; for the more he had ingrossed, the more he had to fear.

1530.

The Tuscans, seeing their liberty sacrificed by the union between the emperor and the pope, have the courage to defend themselves against both; but this courage is useless, opposed to strength. Florence besieged, surrenders upon condition.

Alexander de Medicis is received as their
love-

sovereign, and acknowledges himself a vassal of the empire.

Charles V. disposes of principalities like a judge and a master. He gives up Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, in spite of the prayers of the pope. He erects Mantua into a duchy. It was at this æra he gave Malta to the knights of St. John, who had lost Rhodes. The donation bears date the 24th of March. He makes them this present as king of Spain, and not as emperor. He avenges himself as much as possible upon the Turks, by opposing to them this bulwark, which they could never destroy.

After having thus disposed of territories, he goes to endeavour to give peace to Germany; but it is much harder to settle the quarrels of religion, than the interests of princes.

The confession of Augsburg was made about this time, which serves as a rule to the protestants and a rallying of their party. This diet of Augsburg began the 20th of June. On the 26th the protestants present their confession of faith in Latin and German.

Strasburg, Menninguen, Lindau, and Constance, there present their act of Separation, and call it, The confession of the four towns. They were Lutherans like the rest, and differed but in few points.

Zuinglius also sends thither his confession, altho' neither he nor the canton of Berne were either Lutherans or Imperialists.

Disputes run high. On the 22d of September, the emperor publishes a decree, injoining the protestants to desist from farther innovations, to leave full liberty to the catholic religion in

in their different territories, and to prepare a presentation of their griefs, for a council to be convoked in six months.

The four towns form an alliance with the three cantons of Berne, Zurich and Basil, whereby they are to be furnished with troops, should any encroachments be made upon their liberty.

The diet makes out the process of the grand master of the Teutonic order; Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have seen, had become a Lutheran, possessed himself of ducal Prussia, and chased out the catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is nevertheless master of Prussia.

The diet fixes the imperial chamber in the town of Spire. It is by this, that it is finished; and the emperor appoints another at Cologne, in order to have his brother Ferdinand there elected king of the Romans.

Ferdinand is chosen on the 5th of January by all the electors, except John the Constant, of Saxony, who fruitlessly opposes him.

The protestant princes at that time, and the deputies of the Lutheran towns unite themselves at Smalcalde, a town of Hesse. The league for their general defence, is signed in the month of March. Their zeal for their religion, and fear of seeing the empire, which was elective, become an hereditary monarchy, were the motives of this league between John duke of Saxony, Philip landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wirtemberg, the prince of Anhalt, the count of Mansfield, and the towns of their communion.

1531.

Francis I. who caused the Lutherans in his own
domi-

dominions to be burnt, promises to assist those of Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them; the Anabaptists only are prosecuted, who had settled in Moravia. Their new apostle, Hutter, who travelled about making proselytes, is taken at Tirol, and burned at Inspruck.

This Hutter preached neither sedition nor slaughter, as most of his predecessors had done. He was a man infatuated with the simplicity of the primitive times, and would not allow even his own disciples to carry arms. He preached up reformation and equality, and therefore they burned him.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, a prince worthy of greater power and better fortune, is the first who undertakes to re-unite the sects that are separated from the Roman communion. A project which has been since vainly attempted, and would have saved much blood to Europe. Martin Bucer was charged, in the name of the Sacramentarians, to reconcile them to the Lutherans. But Luther and Melancthon were inflexible, and in that shew themselves more obstinate than cunning. The princes and the towns have in view the two objects, their religion, and the reduction of the imperial power to narrower bounds. Had it not been for this last article, there had been no civil war. The Protestants persist in refusing to acknowledge Ferdinand for king of the Romans.

1532.

The emperor, made uneasy by the protestants, and threatened by the Turks, stifles for some time the rising troubles, by granting to the Protestants all they asked in the diet held at Nurem-

Nuremberg in the month of June; and suppressing all proceedings against them, gives them intire liberty even to the holding a council; nay leaves even the rights of his brother Ferdinand undecided.

He could not have yielded more; but it was to the Turks the Lutherans owed this indulgence.

The condescension of Charles encourages the Protestants to manifest their duty. They furnish an army against Solyman, and raise, by way of common subsidy, 150,000 florins for that service. The pope also exerts himself, by furnishing 6000 men and 400000 crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now see an army of above 100,000 men, composed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the same spirit, to march against the common enemy. The count Palatine, Philip, destroys a body of Turks who had advanced as far as Gratz in Stiria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Constantinople. Solyman, in spite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong steps, bringing with him near 200,000 slaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, disband their army; the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the present danger. But few troops remained under imperial ensigns. At that time every thing was done of a sudden. There was no established fund for the maintenance

nance of an army any long time, and very few designs were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was every-thing. Charles V. then made war in person, which others had so long made for him; for till that time, he had seen none but the siege of the little town of Mouzon, in 1521, ever since which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

1533.

He returns into Spain by way of Italy, leaving to his brother the king of the Romans, the care of governing the Protestants.

He is no sooner in Spain, than his aunt Catharine of Arragon is repudiated by the king of England, and her marriage annulled by Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury. Clement VII. could no longer excuse himself from excommunicating Henry VIII.

The Milanese were still nearest the heart of Francis I. This prince seeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavours to draw off the latter from the emperor's interest. He sends him secretly a minister named Maraviglia, born in the Milanese, with orders not to assume any character, although he gave him credential letters.

The subject of this man's commission is seen into. Sforza, to clear himself with the emperor, quarrels with Maraviglia; a man is killed in the fray, and Sforza orders the minister's head to be struck off, nor is the king of France able to revenge it.

All that he can do, is to secretly assist Ulric duke of Wirtemberg, to re-enter his duchy,

and

and shake off the yoke of the house of Austria. This prince being a Protestant, expected his re-establishment from the league of Smalcalde, and the king of France's assistance.

The princes of the league had sufficient authority in the diet of Nuremburg to have it determined, that Ferdinand king of the Romans should surrender the duchy of Wirtemberg of which he was possessed. The diet in this acted conformable to the laws. The duke had a son, who certainly ought not to be punished for the faults of his father. Ulric had not been guilty of treason against the empire, consequently his issue ought not to be deprived of his possessions.

Ferdinand promises to conform to the decree of the empire, but neglects it. Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, surnamed very justly, the Magnanimous, takes the part of the duke of Wirtemberg: he goes to France; borrows of the king 100,000 golden crowns; raises an army of 15,000 men, and restores Wirtemberg to its master.

Ferdinand sends troops thither under the command of the very count Palatine, Philip the Warlike, who had beaten the Turks.

1534.

Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse beats Philip the Warlike. Then the king of the Romans submits to a composition.

Duke Ulric was re-established, but the duchy of Wirtemberg declared a masculine fief of the arch-duchy of Austria; and as such ought to revert, in case of the failure of male issue, to the arch-ducal house.

In this year Henry VIII. separates himself from the Roman communion, and declares himself head of the English church. This revolution was made without the least trouble. In Germany it was very different. There religion caused much bloodshed, particularly in Westphalia.

The Sacramentarians at length became the most powerful in Munster, and drive out bishop Waldec. The Anabaptists succeed to the Sacramentarians, and possess themselves of the town. This sect spreads itself in Friezeland and Holland. A taylor of Leyden, named John, goes to the succour of his brethren with a troop of prophets and assassins. He caused himself to be proclaimed king, and solemnly crowned at Munster, on the 24th of June.

Bishop Waldec besieges the town, assisted by the troops of Cologne and Cleves. The Anabaptists compare their enemy to Holofernes, and believe themselves the people of God. A woman, willing to imitate Judith, goes out of the town with the same intention; but, instead of returning to her Bethulia, with the bishop's head, she is hanged in the camp.

1535.

Charles, at that time in Spain, meddled but little in the affairs of the Germanic body, which to him was a continual source of uneasiness, without the least advantage. He seeks for glory in another quarter. Not strong enough in Germany to carry on a war against Solyman, he intends revenging himself on the Turks by turning his arms against the famous admiral Cheredin, who had possessed himself of Tunis, after having driven out the king Muley-Hussein.

The

The dethroned African came to offer himself as a tributary to Charles, who passed over into Africa in the month of April, with about 25,000 men, 200 transports, and 115 gallies. Pope Paul III. granted him a tenth, which was pretty considerable, of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the Austrian territories. He joined nine gallies to the Spanish fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in person, which was superior to his in number, but very ill disciplined.

Historians report that Charles, before the battle, expressed himself thus to his generals: "Tho' straw may ripen medlars, our tardiness rather rots than ripens the courage of our soldiers." Princes seldom express themselves thus; they ought to be made to speak nobly, or rather no words ought to be put into their mouths which they never said; almost all their harangues are fictions cooked up in history.

Charles gains a compleat victory, and re-establishes Muley-Husslein, who gives up to him the fortress of Gouletta, with an extent of country for ten miles round, declaring himself and his successors vassals to the kings of Spain; submitting to pay, as a tribute, 20,000 crowns a year.

Charles returns a conqueror to Sicily and Naples, bringing with him all the Christian slaves whom he had set at liberty; bestowing liberally among them wherewith to carry them to their respective homes. These were so many mouths who every-where published his praises. Never did he enjoy before so fine a triumph.

In this zenith of glory, having repulsed Solymán, given a king to Tunis, and obliged Francis

Francis I. to abandon Italy, he presses Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman church daily increase.

Calvin began to rule in Geneva; the sect to which he had the credit of giving his name, spread itself in France, and was to be feared by the Roman church, who scarcely retained more than the territory of the house of Austria and Poland.

In the mean time Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dies without children; Charles V. seizes upon that duchy, as a fief devolving to him. His power and his riches increase. His will is a law in Italy, where he is more master than in Germany.

At Naples he celebrates the marriage of his natural daughter Margaret with Alexander de Medicis, the created duke of Tuscany, in the most brilliant manner, whereby he increases the affection of the people.

1536.

Francis I. did not lose sight of the Milanese, that sepulchre of the French. He demands the investiture of it at least for his second son Henry. The emperor gives him but empty words. He might have refused him plainly.

The house of Savoy was no longer attached to France, whose ally it had a great while been. The emperor had every thing; there was scarcely a prince in Europe who had not some pretensions at the cost of his neighbours. The king of France had demands upon the county of Nice, and upon the marquisate of Saluce. He sends an army thither, which possesses itself of almost all the duke of Savoy's territories, which were not then what they are at this day.

France's real reason for having and keeping the Milanese was to command and fortify Piedmont; once mistress of the Alps, she had been, sooner or later, sovereign of Lombardy.

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, altho' so powerful, had yet no army of consequence in Italy. It was the custom then to have them only for the present occasion; but he at length engages the Venetians in his interests; as also the Swiss, who recal their troops from the French army. He soon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph; but not as a master, which he might formerly have done. He takes a seat at the consistory, below that of the pope. One is astonished to hear a victorious Roman emperor pleading his cause before the pope. He pronounces a discourse against Francis I. as Cicero had done against Antony. But he does what Cicero did not; proposes fighting his antagonist in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity, with the spirit of knight-errantry. After having spoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. published the bull of convocation.

The king of France had sent troops sufficient to possess themselves of the duke of Savoy's territories, then left almost defenceless; but this army was not sufficiently formidable to resist one soon after led by the emperor, composed of a number of brave fellows, tutored by victories in Italy, Hungary, Flanders, and Africa.

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of 50,000 men, while his fleet hovers upon the coast, consisting

sinking of 140 vessels, commanded by Doria. All Provence, exclusive of Marseilles, is subdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the antient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

He, on the other hand, presses France in Picardy with an army of Germans, which, under count de Reux, take Guise, and proceed still farther.

In the midst of these disasters, Francis the Dauphin, son of Francis I. dies of a pleurisy at Lions. Twenty authors have affirmed, that the emperor caused him to be poisoned. No calumny can be more absurd, or more contemptible. What had the emperor to fear from a young prince who had never opposed him? What could he gain by his death? Of what mean, and of what shameful crime has he been guilty, to lay him under such a suspicion? They pretend, there was poison found in the box of Montecuculi, a domestic of the Dauphin's, brought into France by Catharine de Medicis.

Montecuculi was quartered, because poison was found in his possession, and that the Dauphin was dead.

The question was put to him, whether he had ever conversed with the emperor? He answered, that having been once presented to him by Antonio de Leva, that prince had asked him, what order the king of France observed in his meals. Was this a reason strong enough to throw the suspicion of so abominable and useless a crime upon Charles V.

The invasion of Provence is fatal to the French, without being serviceable to the emperor,

ror, out of whose power it is to take Marseilles. Great part of his army is destroyed by sickness. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is obliged to evacuate Picardy. France, tho' on the brink of ruin, still holds out. That which had lost Naples to Francis I. loses Provence to Charles V. Enterprises so very distant from one another, seldom succeed.

The emperor returns to Spain, leaving Italy subdued, France weakened, and Germany still in trouble.

The Anabaptists continue their depredations in Friezeland, Holland, and Westphalia, which they call "Fighting the Lord's battles." They go to succour their prophet king John of Leyden, and are defeated by George Schenk, governor of Friezeland. The town of Munster is taken. John of Leyden and his principal accomplices are shewn about in a cage, and afterwards torn with red hot pincers. The Lutheran party increase their strength; animosities also increase. The league of Smalcald does not as yet produce a civil war.

1537.

Charles is not at ease in Spain. There is a necessity to support the war which Francis I. had inconsiderately begun, and still continued to wage against the emperor.

The parliament of Paris summon the emperor, declare him a rebellious vassal, and deprive him of the counties of Flanders, the Artois, and the Charolois. This edict surely was good, after his having conquered those provinces. The imperial troops, in spite of it, advance in Picardy. Francis I. goes in person to besiege Hesdin in the Artois; but is obliged to quit it.

There are several trivial engagements fought, but the success of them undecisive.

Francis I. resolves to make a great stroke, and hazards Christianity to revenge himself on the emperor. He engaged with Solyman that he would invade the Milanese, with a powerful army, at the same time that the Turks should make a descent upon the kingdom of Naples and upon Austria.

Solyman keeps his word ; but Francis is too weak to be true to his. The famous Captain Pacha Cheredin makes a descent, with part of his gallies, upon Apulia ; also near Otranto. He ravages the country, and carries off 16,000 Christian slaves. This is that Cheredin, viceroy of Algiers, whom authors call Barbarossa. This nick-name had been given to his brother, who died in the year 1519, after having made some conquests on the coast of Barbary.

Solyman advances into Hungary. Ferdinand king of the Romans comes up with the Turks, between Buda and Belgrade. A bloody battle ensues, in which Ferdinand is put to flight, with the loss of 24,000 men. One would have imagined Italy and Austria were in the hands of the Ottomans, and Francis I. master of Lombardy ; but this is not the case. Barbarossa, not finding Francis I. appear to assist him in the Milanese, retreats with his booty and his slaves to Constantinople. Austria is left in security. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from the Artois and Picardy. His two sisters, the one Mary of Hungary, governess of the Low-countries, the other Eleonora of Portugal, wife of Francis I. having managed a treaty upon the frontiers, the emperor consents to it, that he

may have fresh troops wherewith to oppose the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to pass into Italy.

The Dauphin Henry was already in Piedmont, where the French were masters of almost all the towns, some few excepted, which were defended by the marquis del Vasto, whom the French call Duguaft. A treaty is then concluded for some months in this country. This was not making war seriously, after projects of so great and so dangerous a nature. He who lost most by this peace was the duke of Savoy, plundered both by friends and enemies; for both Imperialists and French keep still the possession of most of his towns.

1538.

The treaty between Charles V. and Francis I. is prolonged at the expence of the duke of Savoy for ten years.

Solyman is angry that his ally don't pursue his victory. All things are done by halves in this war.

Charles, having past into Italy to conclude the treaty, marries his bastard daughter, widow of Alexander de Medicis, to Octavio Farnese, grand-son to a bastard of Paul the third duke of Parma, Placentia, and Castro. These duchies had been formerly the inheritance of the countess Mathilda; she had given them to the church, and not to the pope's bastards. They have since been annexed to the duchy of Milan. Pope Julius II. joined them to the ecclesiastical state, whence they were detached by Paul III. who gave them to this son. The emperor might very justly have claimed the sovereignty of them;

them; but he rather chose to favour the pope than quarrel with him.

After all these great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont, Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aguemortes, with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his prisoner, as if he had never given him the lye, as if he had never challenged him to single combat, as if the king of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not suffered Charles V. to be treated as a prisoner.

1539.

Charles V. is informed in Spain, that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is upon the brink of revolting, in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low-countries have certain rights; no assistance was ever obtained in this flourishing country by arbitrary imposition. The states always furnished their sovereign, when it seemed needful, with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own contribution. The states of Flanders having granted 120,000 florins, to the governors of the Low-countries, appoint 400,000 to be raised upon the people of Ghent, who oppose this incroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governors causes the principal citizens to be arrested; an insurrection ensues; the inhabitants take up arms: it was one of the richest and largest cities in Europe. They offer to give themselves up to the king of France, as to their sovereign; but he makes a merit of refusing their proposal; still flattering himself with hopes

of obtaining from the emperor the investiture of Milan for one of his sons. And what ensues ? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan.

The emperor then demands a passage for himself thro' France, that he may punish the rebels of Ghent. The Dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayon. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerant. Charles V. enters Paris on the first of January. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Prisoners are in his name set at liberty. He presides in parliament, and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigismund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honourable and useless title.

Knighthood had been in great esteem in Europe ; but it had never been more than a name given insensibly to Lords of fiefs, distinguished for their military atchievements. By little and little these lords of fiefs had erected knighthood into a sort of imaginary order, composed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the constitution of a state ; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more respected than another in some castles, but it was not upon the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the states of France, the cortes of Spain, or the parliament of England, but upon the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords
bannerets

bannerets in the armies were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had castles and territories in quality of Worthies; but they only called them Worthy, because they were supposed to have done some worthy action.

In the main, that which is called knighthood belongs rather to romance than history. It was little more than an honourable mummerly. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailiff of a town in France, because that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and, in effect, the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not so. This nobility was acknowledged in France only by curtesy, out of respect to the emperor. But what is most likely is, that Charles V. by this procedure, would have insinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigismund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make another; nor could this prerogative be refused to an emperor to whom they had granted that of setting prisoners at liberty.

Those who have imagined that the detaining Charles prisoner was a subject of debate, speak without any proof*. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greatest infamy, if, thro' a mean treachery, he had detained him prisoner, whose captive he had been by force of arms.

* Thuanus says the constable Montmorency dissuaded Francis from taking any dishonourable advantage of his guest; certain it is, the constable was soon after disgraced, being suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the emperor.

There are some state crimes which have the sanction of custom ; there are others which no custom can authorize, and which the chivalry of those times would have discountenanced. It is said that the king only exacted from him a promise of conferring the Milanese on the duke of Orleans, brother to the Dauphin Henry, and that he satisfied himself with his bare word. Here he piqued himself more upon his generosity than his cunning.

Charles enters Ghent at the head of 2000 horse and 6000 foot, which he brought with him. The people of Ghent might have raised 80,000 armed men, yet they give him no opposition.

1540.

On the 12th of May the privileges of Ghent were taken from it, twenty-four of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance, towards the rebuilding it, 300,000 ducats, and to furnish 9000 ducats yearly for the support of the garrison. There is seldom a better use made of law in the hands of the strong. When the blood of the ministers of Mary of Burgundy had been here shed before her eyes, the town escaped without punishment, while for supporting its real rights it was almost ruined.

Francis I. sends his wife Eleonora to Brussels to solicit the investiture of Milan ; to facilitate which he not only renounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offensive one with the pope against them. It was the emperor's design to make him lose his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The

The Lutheran religion, and the league of Smalcald, acquire new strength in Germany, by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful sovereign of Misnia and Thuringia. He was a very zealous catholic, and his brother Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his last will, disinherited his brother and his nephews, in case they did not return to the religion of their ancestors, and left his dominions to the house of Austria. This was quite a new case. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his estate on account of his religion. John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Hesse, George's kinsman, preserve the succession to the natural heir, by furnishing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here, as well as those of Saxony and Hesse, become Lutherans.

Lutheranism signalizes itself by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of George, indulges her husband, whom she could not please, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter of a Saxon gentleman, proposes the question to Luther, Melancton, and Bucer, whether he could, in conscience, have two wives? and whether the law of nature could, in this point, be reconciled to the Christian law? The three apostles, extremely confounded, give him, privately, their permission in writing. All husbands might be permitted to do the same; for, in a case of conscience, a landgrave cannot be allowed greater liberties than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties

ficulties ensuing from keeping two wives, exceeds, greatly, the disgust arising from having only one.

The emperor does his best endeavours to overturn the league of Smalcald ; and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg, surnamed Alcides. Several conferences are held between the Protestants and Catholics, the common consequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

1541.

On the 18th of July the emperor publishes, at Ratibon, an Interim, an Inhalt, so it is commonly called, or an edict, whereby every person is left to his own belief without molestation.

This edict was necessary now, when armies were to be levied against the Turks. We have before remarked, that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been considered as the protector of John Zapoli, who had always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkish invasion ; for John being dead, Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his son.

The imperial army besieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda ; but the Turks come to his assistance, and give the Christians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The Sultan, at length, weary of fighting and conquering so often for Christians, seizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Transylvania to the young prince, who, according to his doctrine, could have no hereditary

ditary right to an elective kingdom as Hungary was.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is answered by the Sultan, that he must renounce all claim to Hungary, and besides do him homage for Austria.

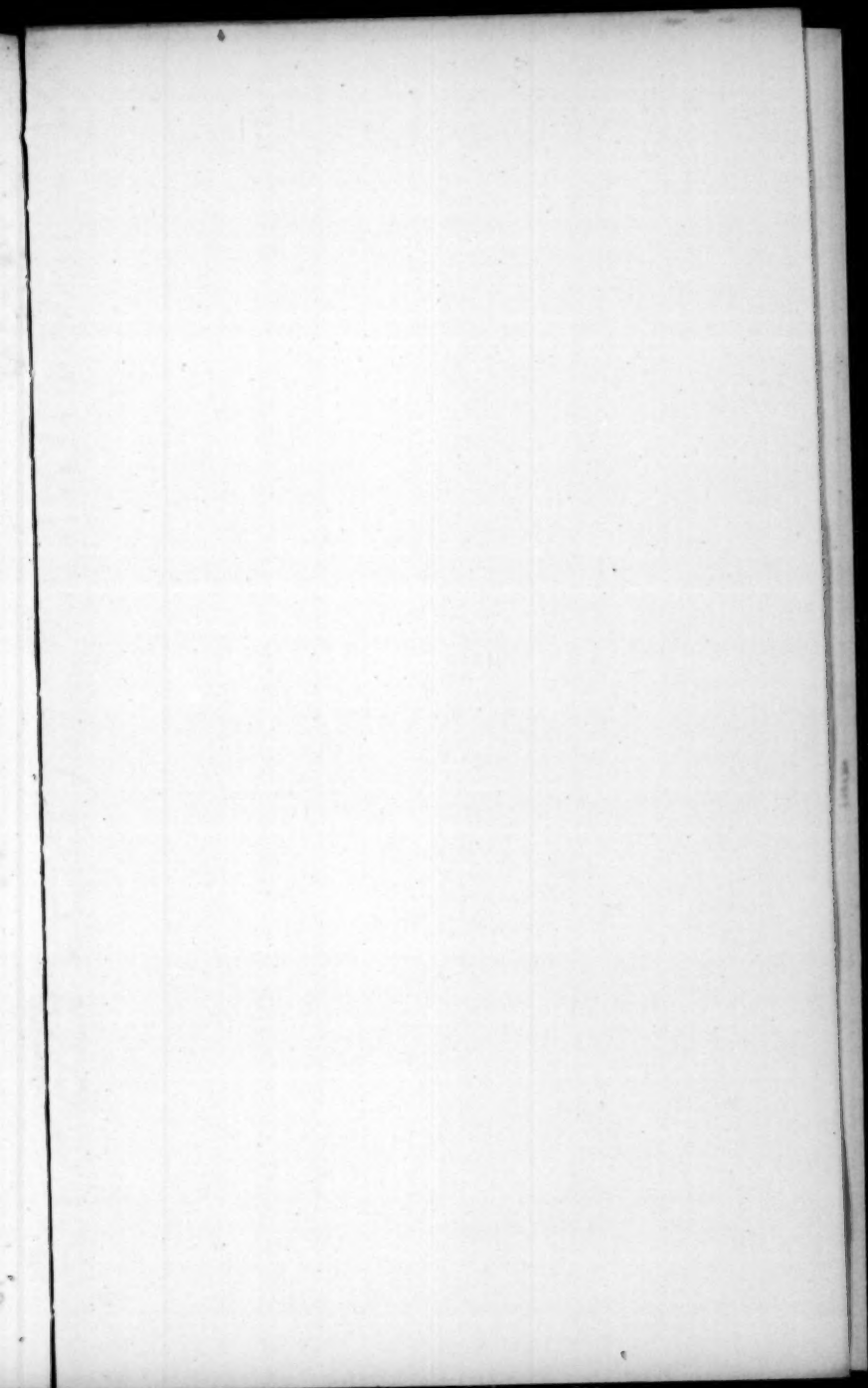
Whilst things were in this situation, and the Turkish army diminished by the plague, Solyman returns to Constantinople; and Charles passes over into Italy. Instead of projecting the rescue of Hungary from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain than that of the empire. Master of Tunis and Algiers, all Barbary would have been subjected to the Spanish yoke; while Germany was to defend itself against the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coast of Algiers on the 23d of October, with almost as many people as attended him at the siege of Tunis. But a violent storm having sunk fifteen of his gallies, eighty-six of his vessels, and his troops having been annoyed on land by the Moors, and storms in conjunction, Charles is forced to reembark on board the remainder of his ships, and arrives at Carthagen in November, with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation suffers considerably. He is blamed for his rashness in this undertaking; yet had he succeeded, he had been still the avenger of Europe. The famous Hernan Cortez, the conqueror of so many American nations, served as a volunteer in this expedition against Algiers. Here he saw the difference

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Guelders, invaded by Charles V. was with count Mansfeld in the duke of Orleans's army.

The king of France has still another army in Piedmont. The emperor is astonished to find France, which he had so often oppressed, still mistress of such force, and so many resources. War is waged equally between them, without any advantageous decision for either one party or the other. The council of Trent assemble during this war. The imperialists arrive there on the 28th of January. The Protestants refuse to attend, and the council is suspended.

The END of VOL. XVI.







POPE ALEXANDER.

Miguera pinx.

J. Hall sculp.

14 A A i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SEVENTEENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

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A N N A L S
OF THE
E M P I R E
FROM THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE.

C H A R L E S V.

^{1543.}
ON the 26th of August is completed at Nuremberg that transaction of the duke of Lorrain with the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent sovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the Imperial Chamber two-thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the mean time, there is published a new league against Francis I. between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they re-unite. That very Henry VIII. whose excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himself to him who was thought to be his irreconcilable

able enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and possesses himself of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves asks him pardon upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce the sovereignty of the duchy of Gueldres, and gives him the investiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, although a free town, the empire and France had wrangled. No sooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to bear down France, but Francis I. calls the Turks to his assistance a second time. Cheredin, their admiral, comes with gallies to Marseilles. He goes to the siege of Nice with the count d'Enguien: he takes that town, but the castle is succoured by the Imperialists, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This descent of the Turks was not very memorable, because they had been armed in the name of the most Christian king.

At the same time that Charles V. makes war against France, and Milan in Piedmont, and in ~~Bohemia~~, while he treats with the pope and the Protestants; while he presses Germany to secure him from the Turkish invasions; he wages war against the king of Denmark.

Christiern II. kept in prison by those who had been formerly his subjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer possessed, and which were elective. Gustavus Vasa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holstein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark, by name Christiern III. who attacked the emperor in Holland with a fleet of forty ships; but

but a peace is soon clapt up. This Christiern III. renews with his two brothers, John and Adolphus, the antient treaty, relating to the duchies of Holstein and of Schleswick. John and Adolphus, and their descendants, were to possess these duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles assembles at that time a great diet at Spire; at which Ferdinand his brother, and all the electors and princes, as well Catholic as Protestant, are present. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand succour against the Turks and against the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the Enemy of God. The king of France intends to send ambassadors to this great diet. He dispatches a herald to procure him a passport, and they put his herald in prison.

The diet grant him subsidies and troops; but these only for six months. They consist of but four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot: but a feeble assistance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this succour without doing much in favour of the Lutherans. He gains an important point by obtaining in this diet, that the imperial chamber of Spire shall be made up of one half Lutherans and the other half Catholics, of which the pope loudly, but vainly complains*.

The

* Father Barre, author of a large history of Germany, puts these words into the mouth of Charles V. "The pope is happy in that the princes of the league of Smalcald did not propose my becoming a Protestant. In that case, I know not what I should have done." It is well known,

The old admiral Barbarossa, who had passed the winter at Toulon and Marseilles, again cruises on the coast of Italy, and carries off his galleys, loaden with plunder and slaves, to Constantinople, where he finished a career that had been a long time fatal to Christianity.

The king of France gathered a less odious and more honourable success from the battle of Cerisoles, which count d'Enguien gained in Piedmont over the marquis Del Vasto, a famous general of the emperor, on the 11th of April; yet this victory could not open a passage to the French in the Milanese, while the emperor penetrates to Soissons, and menaces Paris.

Henry VIII. is, for his part, in Picardy. Notwithstanding the battle of Cerisoles, France is in more danger than ever. Nevertheless, by one of those mysteries, which history can scarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed, but the mistrusts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England. This

that this was the emperor Joseph's answer to Clement XI. when he complained of his condescensions to Charles XII. Father Earre is not satisfied with imputing to Charles V. this discourse, which he never held; but he has also inserted in his book a great number of facts and discourses, taken word for word from the history of Charles XII. He has copied above one hundred pages. It is not impossible that they may have said and acted in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, exactly as in the eighteenth; but it is not at all likely. There was a necessity for making this note, because journalists having perhaps seen, in the history of Charles XII. and that of Germany, so many accounts absolutely alike, might have accused the writer of Charles the XIIth's Life of plagiarism; never considering that the latter historian had written twenty years before the former.

peace

peace is concluded on the 18th of September, at Crepi. This treaty imports, that the duke of Orleans, second son of the king of France, shall espouse a daughter, either of the emperor or the king of the Romans; and that he shall have the Milanese, or the Low Countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles, in parting with the Milanese, bestows only a fief of the empire; but in giving up the Low Countries, he strips his son of his inheritance.

As for the king of England, his conquests are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preserved from every attempt.

1545.

The council of Trent opens in the month of April. The Protestants declare, that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry, duke of Brunswick, stripped, as we have seen, of his possessions by the league of Smalcald, repossesses them by the assistance of his brother the archbishop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and sword.

Philip the famous landgrave of Hesse, and Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of George, reduce him to the last extremities. He surrenders to these princes at discretion, marching bare-headed, together with his son Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments these dangerous victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As soon as the council meets, Paul III. with the consent of the emperor, gives, in the most solemn manner, the investiture of Parma and Placentia to his eldest son Peter Lewis Farnese, whose son Octavius had already married the

widow of Alexander de Medicis, who was Charles V's bastard. This coronation of a pope's bastard made a strange contrast with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector Palatine made use of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies soon after at Eisslaben on the 18th of February, 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the satisfaction of withdrawing one half of Europe from the Roman church, and he esteemed this glory beyond any that conquest can bestow.

1546.

The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low Countries or the Milanese, removes one uneasiness of Charles: however he had others that were very sufficient: the Protestant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was scarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other, they did not openly disavow his authority; but then they respected it as little as if it had been entirely abolished among the Protestant princes.

These princes shew their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They send ambassadors to these two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favours the league of Smalcald.

Lutheranism had made such a progress, that the elector of Cologne, Herman de Neuvid, although an archbishop, introduced it in his territories, and waited only a fair opportunity to secularise both himself and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his

his archbishopric. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleased; but it was not so easy for him to deprive a prince of the empire of his dominions; to that Germany must consent. The pope in vain orders, that they should acknowledge Adolphus de Schawembourg the archbishop's coadjutor, but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him to the end that he should give no assistance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Herman is at length deposed, and Schawembourg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunswick, who is detained prisoner by the landgrave of Hesse. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, joins with John of Brunswick, the prisoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and underhand assists them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles, no longer able to dissemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III. about 10,000 foot, and five hundred light horse, for six months, paying 200,000 Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one half of one year's revenue belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices in Spain, and to alienate monasterial possessions to the amount of 500,000 crowns. He durst not have demanded the same concessions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbours, and many churches would have rather secularised themselves than have submitted to pay.

The Protestants are already masters of all the passes of the Tirolese, and extend themselves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony, John Frederick, and Philip landgrave of Hesse, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the house of Brunswick, and his four sons, three princes of Anhalt, and George of Wirtemberg, uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army. The counts of Oldenburg, of Mansfield, of Oettingen, of Henneberg, of Furstemberg, and many other princes, are seen at the head of their troops. The towns of Ulric, of Strasburg, of Norlinguen, and of Augsbug, send out their forces also. There are eight regiments of Swiss Protestants. This army consisted of more than 60,000 foot and 15,000 horse.

The emperor, who had but very few troops, nevertheless acts as master, and puts the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire, at Ratisbon, on the 18th of July. He has soon an army strong enough to support his edict. The 10,000 Italians sent by the pope arrive; 6000 Spaniards, being his old regiments from the Milanese and from Naples, join themselves to his Germans; but, though he ought to have three nations armed, he had not as yet an army equal to that of the league, when reinforced by the soldiery of the elector Palatine.

There are several slight skirmishes; several posts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken and retaken.

The emperor is preserved by a Protestant prince. Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinsman to the landgrave of Hesse; the

the same to whom the landgrave and elector of Saxony had preserved his dominions, and whose tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to these his neighbours, and sides with the emperor, who promises not to molest him in his religion of Lutheranism; and this assurance serves him as a pretext for his conduct to his subjects.

He assembles 10,000 foot and 3000 horse; makes a diversion in Saxony; defeats the elector's troops; and is the first cause of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France sends them 200,000 crowns. This was enough to keep discord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Most of the towns of Franconia surrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector Palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himself at Charles's feet, and asks his pardon. Almost all the country as far as Hesse-cassel is subdued.

Then pope Paul III. withdraws his 10,000 men, for whose service he had only articulated six months. He fears assisting the emperor too much, even against the Protestants. Charles is not much weakened by this loss. The death of the king of England, Henry VIII. happens on the 28th of January; and a disorder, which at the same time hastens the dissolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

1547.

Charles easily succeeds in detaching the old duke of Wirtemberg from the league. He was so irritated at the revolts to which religion had given a pretext, that he attempted establishing

at Naples an inquisition of the same sort with that so long settled in Spain ; but this tribunal is no sooner set up there than it is abolished, having caused a most violent sedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to assist him in suppressing the league of Smalcald, than to persist in forcing upon them an inquisition, from whence he could reap no advantage.

The league seems almost destroyed by the submission of the Palatinate and of Wirtemberg, but acquires new strength from the junction of the citizens of Prague, and several of the cantons of Bohemia, who revolt against their sovereign Ferdinand, and go to succour the confederates. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Culmbach, surnamed Alcides, of whom we have often spoken, was in reality for the emperor ; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken prisoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompence the loss of the elector of Brandenburg, John the Severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favour of the head of the empire, and assists Ferdinand against the Bohemians.

All things were in confusion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor passes the Elbe with a very strong army near Mulberg, accompanied by his brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked on the 24th of April. This battle of Mulberg was decisive ; and it is affirmed, that in it there were but forty men killed on the side of the

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the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony, being wounded, is taken prisoner, with the young prince Ernest of Brunswick. On the 12th of May, Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva presided at this trial. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with prince Ernest of Brunswick.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce, for himself and his children, the electoral dignity in favour of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependencies, having first demolished the fortrefs. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of 50,000 golden crowns yearly, and to advance him 100,000 at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those that had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick, were set at liberty; but the elector remains still the prisoner of Charles.

His wife Sibilla, sister to the duke of Cleves, throws herself at the emperor's feet, all bathed in tears, to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally; that he comes to embrace the knees of the emperor; that he razes all his fortresses, except Cassel or

Zingenheim; paying besides 150,000 golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise, under their hands, to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice either by him or his children; and, in case of failure, to undergo such treatment as the emperor shall think breach of faith deserves.

Upon these assurances the landgrave submits to every thing. Granvel bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, settles the conditions, which Philip signed. We have been always assured, that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expressly stipulated, that he should not be detained a prisoner in coming to ask the emperor's pardon. Granvel writ, that he should not *always* be detained a prisoner. There needed but a *u* in the place of an *n* to cause this strange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einiger gefangeniss*, and Granvel writ *e wiger*.

The landgrave was remiss in revising the treaty: he imagined it was as it ought to have been; confiding in which, he went and threw himself at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in safety, he was arrested, and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror seized upon all the artillery of John Frederick, elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and also of the duke of Wirtemberg. He confiscated the possessions of many of the chiefs of the party: he imposed
taxes

taxes on all those whom he had vanquished, not excepting the towns that had only assisted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raised 1,600,000 golden crowns.

Ferdinand king of the Romans, on his part, punishes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual imprisonment. The taxes and confiscations were immense: these never fail to have a considerable part in the vengeance of sovereigns.

The council of Trent was dispersed during these troubles. The pope inclines to transfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the league, but not the Protestant religion. Those of that communion demand in the diet of Augsbourg, that the Protestant divines shall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The emperor was more dissatisfied with the pope than with the Protestant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the church in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the investiture of it to his bastard son, when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when dissatisfied, he recollected that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milanese, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the investiture. Pope Paul III. alarmed at the power of Charles V. negotiates against him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In these circumstances, the son of the pope, become odious for his crimes all over Italy, was assassinated by the conspirators. The emperor then possesses himself of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithstanding his parental tenderness for Margaret his daughter.

1548.

The emperor quarrels with the pope, and favours the Protestants a little more. He had always designed the council to be in some German town, and pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added fresh fuel to the quarrel subsisting on account of Placentia. On the one side, the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the Protestants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the spiritual arms employed by the pope in favour of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himself in some measure the head of religion in Germany.

On the 15th of May the grand Interim was published in the diet of Augsbourg. This was a formulary of faith and discipline; the tenets were Catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the priests. Many indifferent ceremonies were sacrificed to the Lutherans, to engage them to receive such things as were more essential.

This regulation was very reasonable; therefore it contented no body. The people were too unsettled; both the Papists and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives, that to win battles is easier than to govern opinions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, in order

to oblige him, in vain endeavours to have the new form received in his dominions; but the Protestant ministers were stronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector Palatine receive the Interim. The landgrave of Hesse submits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheless deceived.

John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony, although a prisoner, refuses to sign it. His example is followed by many princes and several towns. The clergy in general cry out against the peace presented them by the Interim.

The emperor contents himself with threatening them; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he decrees by the diet that the council should return to Trent, and charges himself with the care of transferring it.

The Low Countries are in this diet put under the care of the Germanic body: they are declared free from the taxes which the states were to pay the empire, and from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, though included in the tenth circle: they are not obliged to be any way serviceable to the empire; but in case of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. These rules were subscribed by Charles V. on the 26th of June. The people of Valois are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes, from which they are at this day exempt, because they are known to have become free.

The city of Constance does not receive the Interim until it is put under the ban of the empire.

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The city of Strasburg prevails so far as to procure the Interim to take place in that district with respect only to the Catholic churches, and that Lutheranism shall be publicly professed.

Christiern III. king of Denmark, receives the investiture of the duchy of Holstein, in common with his brothers John and Adolphus, by the hands of his ambassadors.

Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, espouses Mary his cousin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid the latter end of September, and Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is notwithstanding governed by a council named by Charles V.

1549.

The emperor retired to Brussels, causes the provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and the Artois, to do homage to his eldest son Philip.

The council of Trent is still divided. There were some few prelates there in the emperor's interest. The pope had called together some others at Bologna. A schism was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the house of Bentivoglio should, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had dispossessed them. He dissolves the council of Bologna.

Octavio Farnese, kinsman to Charles V. and grandson to Paul III. has equal cause to complain of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grandfather keeps him out of Parma, because he had a dispute with the emperor. He attempts, however,

ever, to seize upon Parma without success. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor: but ought not they who advanced this, to remember adding, that he was 81 years of age?

1550.

The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, so that the empire was not at all disturbed by the Turks. The Persians preserve Austria, but the Turks remain still masters of the greatest part of Hungary.

Henry II. king of France, seems very easy. The affairs of the council, and those of Placentia gave considerable uneasiness to the new pope Julius III. The emperor has the better in the Interim, which is still the occasion of vexation in Germany. What must people think to see men so little scrupulous as Paul III. Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion?

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war against the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns these two towns, and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence. Maurice justifies the ambition which had stripped his tutor and his kinsman of the electorate of Saxony by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honour lost by the imprisonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse; who, notwithstanding his security and that of the elector of Brandenburg, was still detained a captive. These two princes press the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the singular resolution

tion of freeing them from their promise. The landgrave endeavours to escape, which cost some of his domestics their heads.

The elector of Saxony, thus dissatisfied with Charles V. is in no great haste to fight for an emperor whose power all the princes felt so despotic. He does nothing against Magdeburg: he lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take prisoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate: he had too much reason to be sorry for it: it was Maurice's intention to make himself head of the Protestant party, and to engage in his interests several towns as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of this new-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon these principles, he already treats with Henry II. and a new storm is brewing in the empire.

1551.

Charles V. whom one would have imagined in the fulness of power, was nevertheless prodigiously embarrassed. The Protestant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be destroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, exhibited the prospect of an approaching war. The Turks were still in Hungary; and in Bohemia, almost every-body revolted against his brother Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he should give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans, and his claim of succeeding to the empire, in favour of his son Philip. Paternal tenderness might have suggested this design; but it is certain,

tain, that the imperial authority stood in need of a chief, who, being master of Spain and of the new world, had been also sufficiently powerful to control at the same time his enemies and the princes of the empire. It is also certain that the princes saw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and submitted, not without difficulty, to the emperor's views. They contributed only to incense Ferdinand, and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands his deposition of the electors, and requires their votes in favour of his son. He reaps nothing from this undertaking, but the mortification of being refused, and of seeing the elector Palatine with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg openly oppose his designs.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon condition, that though he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he subdued it for himself. The same ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony, at the hands of Charles V. now spurred him on to unite against that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Frederick the count Palatine, Christopher duke of Wirtemberg, Ernest marquis of Baden-dourlach, and several other princes. This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II. king of France, a young enterprising prince, joins the league. He was to furnish 240,000 crowns during the three first months of the war, and 60,000 each month following. He makes himself master of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the empire; a singular
fort

fort of title, which he then assumed for a pretext, as if he had been really one.

The king of France already laid hold of the affair of Parma, as a sufficient cause for carrying the war into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things, that it was he who should have protected Octavio Farnese against the emperor his father-in-law; but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing untried towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan, to which his predecessors had always pretensions.

Henry also unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I. and the admiral Dragut, a man not less formidable than Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, had been, made a descent upon the coast of Sicily, and pillaged the town of Augusta.

The army of Solymán at the same time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only person who took the part of Charles V. with whom they united against his kinsman Octavio Farnese; though at bottom, the interests and pretensions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of sovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French also carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the same time, obliged to oppose a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one half of Germany leagued and armed against him, and a king of France, young, rich, and well served, impatient to signalize himself, and to repair the misfortunes of his predecessors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by interest and danger. They have at length some success in Hungary.

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Ferdinand was at the same time happy enough to get Transilvania. The widow of John Zapoly, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, governed Transilvania, in the name of her son Stephen Sigismund, under the protection of the Turks; a protection so very tyrannical, that she was weary of it. She is induced by Martinusius Bishop of Waradin, afterwards Cardinal, to exchange Transilvania with Ferdinand, for some possessions in Silesia, such as Opelen and Ratibor. Never did queen make so bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinusius Vaivode of Transilvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name, with authority and courage. He puts himself at the head of the Transilvanians to march against the Turks, whom he assists the Imperialists to repel. But Ferdinand beginning to mistrust him, causes him to be assassinated by Palavicini in the castle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time, too closely connected with the emperor, to dare enquiring into the cause of this assassination; however, he excommunicated Frederick the year following. An excommunication productive of neither noise nor effect: It is one of those which have been often called *brutum fulmen*. It was nevertheless put in practice, when such men as spake in the name of the Divinity, imagined they have a right in his name, to set themselves above such sovereigns as abused their power to excess; but those who judge of kings, ought themselves to be irreprehensible.

1552.

Maurice the elector of Saxony, throws off his mask, and publishes a manifesto, declaring him-

himself allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederick, the very man whom he had dispossessed, the enlargement of landgrave of Hesse, and for the support of his religion.

He is joined by Joachim elector of Brandenburg. William, son of the imprisoned landgrave of Hesse, Henry Otho elector Palatine, and Albert of Mecklenburg are up in arms, before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tirol, and drive out the few Imperialists who possessed them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken prisoners, and save themselves by a very disorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a prisoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refused to accept it, * is almost unaccountable. Perhaps, if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheless about the beginning of April, the king of France seizes upon Verdun, Toul, and Metz. He takes Haguenau and Wissemburgh. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburgh and possesses himself of several towns.

To add to the emperor's disgraces, he is informed in his flight, that the pope had aban-

* The elector Maurice, while Ferdinand was amused with a negotiation, forced the passes of the vallies that lead to Inspruck, took the castle of Eremberg by assault, and had well nigh seized the person of the emperor, who fled with precipitation in the night, being conveyed in a litter during a severe fit of the gout, having no other attendants but his brother Ferdinand and John Frederick of Saxony, to whom he granted his liberty on this occasion.

doned his interest, and declared himself neuter between France and him. It was about this time his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honour, that these censures were not passed at a time when they seemed the effects of politics.

In the midst of these troubles, the fathers of the council withdraw themselves from Trent, and the council is again suspended.

In these unhappy times, all Germany is a prey to devastation. Albert of Brandenburg plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nuremberg, Weitzberg, and many towns of Suabia. The confederates destroy by fire and sword, the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spire, and lay siege to Frankfort.

In the mean time, the emperor having retired to Passau, and assembled an army after so many disgraces, brings the confederates into measures. A peace is concluded on the 12th of August. By this renowned peace of Passau, he grants a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him, since the year 1546. The protestants not only obtain a free exercise of their religion, but are also admitted into the imperial chamber, whence after the victory of Mulberg they had been excluded. It is some matter of surprize, that the liberty of the landgrave of Hesse was not included in this treaty, he remaining still confined in the fort of Rheinfeld, until he should give security for his fidelity. Nor is it less wonderful, that nothing was stipulated in favour of John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor nevertheless, in a short time
after,

after, sets this unfortunate prince at liberty, and permits him to return into Thuringia, of which he was still master.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels, and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads 16,000 men into Hungary; notwithstanding which assistance, Ferdinand finds it impossible to keep possession of Upper Hungary, without submitting to the states, and paying an annual tribute of 20,000 golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapless year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat, and Parma, were over-run with French troops, and more powerful invasions were to be feared in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infests all the Italian coasts.

Notwithstanding the taxes imposed upon the Germans after the battle of Mulberg, and the treasures of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vast extent of his territories, his voyages and his wars, absorb them all. He borrows 200,000 golden crowns from the duke of Florence, count de Medicis, and gives him the sovereignty of Piombino and of the Island of Elbe. With his assistance he supports himself in some measure in Italy, and lays siege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburg, the only Protestant prince, who still held out against him, is reconciled, and joins his forces; but the famous Francis duke of Guise, who defended Metz with the flower of the French nobility, obliges them, on the 26th of December, to raise the siege, after having lain 65 days before the town.

Charles

Charles loses in this undertaking, more than one third of his army.

1553.

Charles, to revenge himself of the insult that had been offered him at Metz, sends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay siege to Terouane, which town is taken and destroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who soon became one of the greatest generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Hesdin, which is razed to the ground, in the same manner as Terouane. But the duke of Arscot, who commanded a considerable body of troops, suffers himself to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a stand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the same situation; nor are those of Germany settled. The restless Albert of Brandenburg, called Alcibiades, still heads a body of troops that subsist only by pillage. He ravages the dominions of Henry of Brunswick, and of Maurice elector of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildesheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himself killed. This prince, though but thirty-two years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander, and a great politician. He is succeeded by his brother Augustus.

Albert, the Alcibiades, still continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceed against him; notwithstanding which he continues his depredations; but at length wanting men and money, takes refuge in France. The emperor better to secure that prodigious power, which had received so many additions and diminutions,

tions, concludes the marriage of his son Philip with Mary queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Arragon.

Though the parliament of England made it an additional clause in the marriage-contract, that the alliance between England and France should still subsist, Charles had nevertheless hopes, and those not ill grounded, that this alliance would be soon broken. It was in reality to arm England against France, that he gave that kingdom to his son as a sovereign; and had Mary had children, the house of Austria would have seen all the states of Europe from the Baltic sea, France excepted, subservient, to its laws.

1554.

Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his son Philip, before that prince embarks for England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary his spouse, in the same manner as king William has since been crowned with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is still carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with various success, but still in a sort of æquilibrium.

The troops of France still remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, though their number was inconsiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the Milanese very numerous. It seemed as if they were drained on both sides.

Cosmò, duke of Florence, takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Sienna, apprehensive of falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medequino marquis of Marignan,

Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies, on the 2d of August. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Cosmo instituted the order distinguished by the name of this saint.

1555.

Ernest count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near getting possession of the town of Metz, by the intrigues of a Franciscan frier, though the emperor had not been able to subdue it with 50,000 men. This frier's name was Leonard; he was keeper of a convent, had been confessor to the duke of Guise, and was greatly respected in the town. Through his means, for several days, many German, Spanish, and Italian veterans, entered the town disguised like Franciscan friers, under pretence of a general chapter, which was soon to be held therein.

The conspiracy was discovered by a Carthufian; father Leonard is arrested, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are satisfied with making eighteen Franciscan friers assist at the gibbeting him.

The ancient papal policy, revives under pope Paul IV. of the house of Caraffa. This policy, as hath been seen in the course of this work, was always to prevent the emperor from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope seems to have forgotten the council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese with the assistance of France, to procure if possible, these principalities for his ne-

phews. In case that Henry II. shall furnish new troops, he engages to join them with 10,000 men.

The war begins to grow more spirited than ever. Charles saw it impossible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of such a variety of affairs became painful to him. He had for a long time borne a principal part in all the transactions of Europe. He resolves to finish his course by the most singular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce so many sovereignties that he might seclude himself in a monastery, he confirms the liberty of the Protestants in the diet of Augsbourg. He gives up to them the ecclesiastical revenues upon which they had seized, and on their account, the form of oath administered to the counsellors of the imperial chamber is changed to swearing by the gospel, instead of by the saints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mulberg give way to necessity, and on the eve of assuming the monkish cowl, acts like a philosopher.

On the 24th of November, he surrenders the Low-countries to his son Philip, in presence of the states assembled at Brussels, and Spain, and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on the tenth of the ensuing January.

He pardons his kinsman Octavio Farnese, giving up to him Placentia and the Novarese, after which he prepares himself to surrender the empire to his brother the king of the Romans.

1556.

All things disgusted him. The Turks were masters

masters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and troublesome to the rest. The Transylvanians bore impatiently their yoke. Protestantism spread itself in Austria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to divest him of so many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet master of a soul free from illusion, not being able to cede the empire to his son, he gives it up to his brother, demanding previously the consent of the holy see; he who certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himself.

Pope Paul III. abuses the submission of Charles V. by sending him a refusal. This pontiff was extremely well satisfied to see him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the same time.

Charles V. without consulting the pope any more, sends his abdication to Brussels on the 17th of September 1556, and in the 36th year of his reign.*

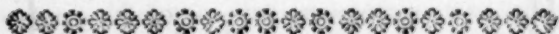
The prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial scepter to Ferdinand. Charles soon after embarks for Spain, and shuts himself up at Estremadura in the monastery of St. Justus, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion, that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely upon human weakness, which believes it impossible to quit without regret that which is so furiously envied by the world. Charles absolutely no more thought of that theatre, on

* He reserved to himself no more than a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of Spain.

which he had played so considerable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the ecclesiastical electors neither to accept of the dismissal of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his business to sow the seeds of discord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new strength; and in truth, all the acts of the empire were published in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any historian.



FERDINAND I.

FORTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1557.

THE abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The house of Austria, divided into two branches, is as yet the most considerable in Europe; but the Spanish branch, far superior to the other, intirely ingrossed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer permits the Spanish, Italian, and Flemish troops to contribute to the imperial greatness.

Ferdinand has very large possessions in Germany; but the Upper-Hungary, which is his, scarcely affords him sufficiency to maintain such troops as were necessary to make head against the Turks. The Bohemians seemed to bear their yoke with regret, and it is impossible for
Ferdin-

Ferdinand to be powerful, independent of the empire.

The first year of his reign is distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion, by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.

The elector Palatine, and the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were chosen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmstadt to Philip landgrave of Hesse, and the county of Diatz to William of Nassau.

This year is marked by a sort of war, waged by an archbishop of Bremen, of the house of Brunswic against Friezeland. And here is evinced the vast utility of the wise institution of circles, and of directors of circles set on foot by Frederic III. and Maximilian. The assembly of the circle of Lower Saxony re-establishes peace.

At length, on the 28th of February, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the sway of his brother at Francfort. An embassy is sent to the pope, which he refuses to receive, still pretending Ferdinand not to be emperor. The ambassadors protest, and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the less acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleswic is still acknowledged independent of the empire.

1558.

On the 21st of September 1558, happens that great event Charles the Vth's death. It is well known, that through a whimsical sort of devotion, a short time before his last illness, he caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting as a mourner; nay, that he was stretch-

ed upon the bier in the middle of the church of St Justus, while they sung *de profundis*. In this last action of his life he seemed to have possessed a little of the spirit of Johanna his mother, and yet upon a throne he had always conducted himself like a politician, a hero, and a man not insensible to his pleasures. How many contrarieties united in his disposition! who, though possessed of more than monkish devotion was supposed at his death to hold several of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will not human weakness and extravagance extend! Maximilian would willingly be pope. Charles V. tho' he died a monk, yet at his death is suspected of heresy*.

Since the funeral rights of Alexander, nothing had been so superb as the obsequies of Charles the V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Brussels they cost 70,000 ducats. Expences noble as these, contribute to illustrate the memory of a great man, while they employ and encourage arts: Yet more durable monuments ought to have been raised than a show, transitory like this, which is certainly far from being sufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

1559.

Ferdinand holds a diet at Augsberg, in which the ambassadors of Henry II. king of France are introduced. France had just made peace at Cateau-Cambresis with Philip II. king of Spain. The French by this peace preserved in

* In his last moments he received the eucharist in both species; a circumstance which induced many people to believe he favoured the Protestant religion.

Italy only Turin, and some other towns which they afterwards gave up; but they kept Mentz, Toul, and Verdun, which the emperor might have demanded, yet they are hardly spoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambassadors, that while France keeps possession of these three towns, it will be extremely hard for a good understanding to subsist between France and Germany.

The new pope Pius IV. is not so inflexible as Paul IV. but soon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

1560.

On the 29th of November the council of Trent, after having been so long suspended, is at length re-established by a bull of Pius IV. he gives notice of the assembling this council to all sovereigns; he even signifies it to the Protestant princes of Germany. But as the address of his letters was "To our most dear Son," those who did not chuse to acknowledge themselves children of the pope, send back his letter un-opened.

1561.

Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time masters of this province under the imperial protection. But these knights, unable to resist the Muscovites, and receiving no succours from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigismund king of Poland, confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler.

C. 5.

Thae

The meetings of the council of Trent begin.
1562.

The ambassador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are maintained in possession of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the first things discussed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the seculars. The decree barely imports, that the church has very just reasons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers shall conduct themselves in this affair, intirely by the judgment of the pope, which shall be to them decisive.

On the 24th of November, the electors at Frankfort unanimously declare Maximilian son of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors assist personally in their several functions at this ceremony, according to the tenure of the golden bull. This solemnity was rendered the more glorious by the presence of an ambassador from Solyman, who signs a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of the Austrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not so terrible as he has been. Nevertheless, this peace was of no long duration; but it was made at a time when the body of the empire was easy and happy.

1563.

This year is memorable for the dissolution of the council of Trent. This long council, which was the last general one, neither served to soften nor subdue the enemies of the Roman church. They published some edicts concerning discipline, which were scarcely admitted in
any

any catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The council of Basil had rent the church and set up an anti-pope. That of Constance kindled the fires of persecution, and was the cause of thirty years war. That of Lyons deposed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran stripped count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouse, and Gregory VII. by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, set all things in a flame. The 4th council of Constantinople, which was held against Photius in the time of Charles the Bald, was a scene of many disputes. The second of Nicea, under Ireneus, was still more tumultuous and more disturbed by the disputes about images. The disputes of the Monothelites were very near making the third council of Constantinople a very bloody one. It is well known, that great divisions actuated the councils held on account of Arius. The council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with moderation.

1564.

On the 25th of July, Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his last moments, scattered afar the seeds of that war, which disturbed Europe almost 200 years after.

This famous testament of 1543, appoints, in case of the failure of the male issue of either Ferdinand or Charles V. that the Austrian territories shall revert to his daughter Ann and her issue. She was the second daughter to Ferdinand, and wife to Albert II. duke of Bavaria.

This foreseen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences would have been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage-contract of his daughter, had been more clearly expressed.

It may be remarked, that this Anne duchess of Bavaria assumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage-contract, as well as the rest of her sisters. They might indeed have called her Queen without her being one, as she was called archduchess without possessing any archduchy. However, this custom was not followed.

Ferdinand, besides, by his last will, left Hungary, Bohemia, and the Upper and Lower Austria, to his son Maximilian king of the Romans.

To his second son Ferdinand, he bequeathed Tirol and the anterior Austria.

To Charles, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his possessions in Istria.

The Austrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire, which still remained in that house, was the standard to which all the princes of that house re-united.

Ferdinand was neither crowned in Lombardy nor Rome. The inutility of these ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more essential for the two principal branches of the imperial house, Spain and Austria, to hold a good intelligence with each other. It is that which renders Italy submissive, and brings the holy see to a dependence upon that house.

MAXIMILIAN II.

FORTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1564.

THE empire, as we have already seen, without ceasing to be elective, becomes hereditary. The emperors since the time of Charles V. desist from crossing the Alps, to seek either an iron crown, or one of gold. The power of most weight in Italy, was that of Philip II. who, though at the same time a vassal to the empire and to the holy see, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world; the first gleanings of which, and no more, his father had possessed, but he enjoyed its real sweets.

The empire under Maximilian II. as under Ferdinand I. was certainly Germany, paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy being in the hands of Philip II. belonged rather to an ally than a vassal. Hungary became a dominion of the house of Austria, a dominion that incessantly opposed the Turks, and was as it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian, in the first year of his reign, is obliged, as his father and grandfather had been before, to carry on a war against Solymán.

This Sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Transilvania furnished him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary vaivode, and John Sigismund, son to that queen
of

of Hungary, who had ceded her rights for some villages in Silesia, had put his hereditary dominions under the sultan's protection, chusing rather to be a sovereign and tributary to the Turks, than a simple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary; and, in the month of January, Maximilian's generals take Tokai. Augustus, elector of Saxony, is the only prince who assists the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, were bent upon strengthening themselves. Religion at that time ingrossed the attention of the people more than it had ever divided them. The greatest part of the Catholics in Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the council of Trent, stipulate barely, that they shall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the priests, who, before the breaking up of the council of Trent, had been permitted to marry, desire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers these two requests to the pope. Pope Pius IV. to whom the council had left the decision of the sacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they please, but refuses leave to the priests to marry; besides, the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

1565.

A treaty is made with the Turks, who still remain masters of Buda, and the prince of Transilvania continues under their protection.

Solyman sends Bacha Mustapha to besiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this siege,

siege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired *.

1566.

Notwithstanding the weakness of the imperial power ever since the treaty of Passau, the legislative authority was still vested in the emperor; and was pretty effectual when the princes, with whom it had to deal, were not too powerful.

Maximilian II. employs this authority against John Albert duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric his brother; each of whom pretends to equal rights upon the town of Rostock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themselves to be exempt, whom the two brothers make war upon, and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commission.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occasion to demand in the diet of Augsborg more powerful succours than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The diet orders soldiers to be raised for him, and grant him the *Roman Months* for three years; a thing that they had never done before.

* Solyman himself expired two days before the town was taken: he had invested the place with an army of two hundred thousand men, and Maximilian advanced at the head of one hundred thousand men to its relief, but had not courage enough to give the enemy battle. Count Zerine, governor of the town, made a glorious defence, until all the fortifications were ruined; then made a desperate sally with three hundred men, all of whom were cut in pieces; so that the town surrendered of course.

Count Serini, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand set the town on fire. The grand visier sends his head to Maximilian with this message: That he ought to have hazarded his own head in coming to the defence of that town, since he had under his command 120,000 men.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to stop the progress of the Turks.

The ill success of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the states of Austria and Bohemia to support their demand of the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsbourg.

About this time begin the troubles of the Low Countries, and Calvinism had already set France in a flame; but Maximilian, more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, absolutely refused his subjects liberty of conscience, and his army, which had done him but little service against the Turks, maintains him in tranquility at home.

1567:

This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the antient branch of the electoral house of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate.

This electorate, given, as we have seen, to the younger branch, ought to have been an object of the elder's regret. A gentleman, named Groumbach, who was proscribed with many of his accomplices for divers crimes, retired to Gotha, the residence of John Frederick, son to him from whom the duchy and electorate of Saxony.

Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mulberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himself upon Augustus, elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the prosecution against Groumbach into execution was committed. He had associated himself with several villains, together with whom he subsisted upon robbery and pillage, and in concert with these he sets on foot a design of assassinating the elector. One of the conspirators being taken at Dresden, confesses the plot. The elector Augustus marches his troops under an imperial commission to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with several soldiers resolutely determined to share his fortune, be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town, but are at length forced to surrender. The duke John Frederick, as unfortunate as his father, is arrested, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are instantly executed.

1568.

The troubles of the Low Countries increase. William the Silent, prince of Orange, now head of a party who founded the republic of the United Provinces, applies himself to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low Countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire; and in effect the emperor sends his brother Charles of Austria, archduke of Gratz, into Spain to soften Philip II. but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain, nor hinder

hinder most of the Protestant princes of Germany from assisting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alba, that bloody governor of the Low Countries, presses the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the supreme jurisdiction of the Low Countries being vested in the empire, he ought for this purpose to address himself to the imperial diet. Such an answer shewed very sufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arrest.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war upon another party of German troops. It was however natural for him to assist his cousin Philip in this affair; the more so, as he had made peace that very same year with Selim II. successor to the great Solyman. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman Months*:

Yet so far was he from assisting his cousin the king of Spain in the reduction of his subjects in the Low Countries, who demand liberty of conscience, that he appears to disapprove the conduct of Philip in soon after permitting the Austrians to adopt the confession of Augsburg. He afterwards promises the pope to revoke that permission. All these things manifest his authority to be weak, confined, and unstable. It had been said, that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the house of Brandenburg was intirely Protestant. A son of the elector John George,

George, chosen archbishop of Magdeburg, publicly professed the Protestant religion. A bishop of Verdun does the same. The duke of Brunswick Julius also embraced that religion, his subjects already professing it. The elector Palatine and most of his country profess Protestantism. The Catholic religion hardly subsisted any longer in Germany, but with the ecclesiastical electors, the episcopal territories, and in the abbeys, as well as some commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and even there were many Protestants as well as in Bohemia; all these things authorised the liberty Maximilian gave to the Protestant religion in Austria: but there is another stronger reason added; that is, the states of Austria had on this account promised him considerable subsidies.

1569.

In the midst of these wars of religion and politics, behold a dispute founded on vanity. Cosmo II. duke of Florence, and Alphonso duke of Ferrara, contend for precedency. Rank had been settled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the disputes about rank remained still undetermined. These two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis, the hereditary prince of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, had each of them married sisters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration; but pope Pius V. who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory, and the duke of Florence as his ally, hastens to give a new title to Cosmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of Grand Duke, as if the bare word
Grand

Grand made some vast addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himself a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making grand-dukes but kings. The dispute grows more inflamed: but at length the grand duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

1570.

This year was held the diet of Spire, in which most of the dominions of the unhappy duke of Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are restored to his children. A peace is also there concluded between the emperor and John Sigismund prince of Transilvania, who is acknowledged sovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary; a title vain above all others! since one part of the kingdom was possessed by the French, and the rest belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had so long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, all disputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigismund king of Sweden cedes all his possessions in Livonia to Maximilian; the rest is put under the protection of the king of Denmark: they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muscovites. The town of Lubeck is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commercial privileges with Sweden.

Sweden and Denmark are confirmed. This town became still more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day despoiling of some town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuses to come into it, fearing to bring the Ottoman forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely through form.

The governor of the Milanese raises troops to enable him to seize upon the marquisate of Final, belonging to the house of Caretto. The Genoese had also an eye upon this spot of ground, and were troublesome to the proprietor of it. France might have assisted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where, in quality of vassal of the empire, he demanded justice; and in the mean time Philip II. seizes upon his dominions, finding easily means of prevailing in the imperial council.

1572.

After the death of Sigismund II. king of Poland, the last of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian underhand makes interest for the throne, which he flatters himself the republic of Poland will offer him by ambassy.

The secret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitless; for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of asking for, send no ambassy.

1573.

The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected on the first of May, to the great discontent of the Protestant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold so near them

them a man stained with blood in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

1574.

The prince of Orange, who supported himself in the Low Countries by his valour and reputation against all the power of Philip II. holds an assembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whether the emperor sends an imperial commissary, apparently to support the majesty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates.

1575.

Maximilian causes his eldest son Rodolphus to be elected king of the Romans in the diet of Ratisbon. Through long custom, apprehension of the Turks, and the convenience of having a chief able to support the imperial dignity by his own power, the possession of the imperial throne became necessarily lodged in the house of Austria.

The princes of the empire were not less masters of their own rights. The elector Palatine furnished troops to the Calvinists of France, while those of the Low Countries were assisted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou king of Poland by the death of Charles IX. he quits Poland as if he fled from a prison; and that throne being consequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himself elected king of Poland on the 15th of December.

But an opposing faction put a most atrocious affront upon Maximilian, proclaiming king,
Stephen

Stephen Batori Vaivod of Transilvania, the sultan's vassal; a man looked upon in the court of Vienna as a rebel and an usurper. The Poles marry him to the sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the blood of the Jagellons.

John Czar of Muscovy offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The court of Muscovy, unpolished as it was in those days, had nevertheless the same views it has so gloriously manifested in these.

The Ottoman court threatens to side with Stephen Batori against the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the same that they are now.

Maximilian endeavours to engage the emperor in his quarrel; but the Protestants instead of assisting him to become more powerful, content themselves with soliciting in the diet free liberty for the Protestant noblesse of the ecclesiastical countries publicly to profess the Augsburg confession.

1576.

Maximilian, uncertain of being able to support his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on the 12th of August, aged 49.

RODOLPHUS

R O D O L P H U S II.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1577.

RODOLPHUS, who had been crowned king of the Romans in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than those of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as usual. There were the same manners, the same interest, and the same form of government still prevailed. Rodolphus barely promises, in the first diet held at Frankfort, to conform himself to the regulations of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes proposed the appeasing the disturbances in the Low Countries by curtail- ing the authority, as well as the severity of Philip II. shewing thereby that the interests of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them, and that they would endeavour, as much as possible, to prevent the eldest branch of Austria from oppressing its vassals, whereby it set an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs.

Such was the spirit of the Germanic body; and it was evident that the emperor Rodolphus was not more absolute than Maximilian, since he could not prevent his brother, the archduke Matthias, from accepting the government of the Low Countries, on account of the confederates, who are armed against Philip II. so that on the one hand is seen Don John of Austria, natural

natural son to Charles V. governing Flanders in the name of Philip II. and the rebels headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neuter, while Germany furnishes each side with mercenaries.

Rodolphus is not more disturbed by the irruptions which the Muscovites made at that time in Livonia.

1578.

The Low Countries become a theatre of war, confusion, and politics. Philip II. in having neglected to endeavour the restoration of order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The archduke Matthias, contributing scarcely more than his name to the cause of the confederates, had less power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had not sufficient to send him assistance. The prince Palatine Casimir, tutor to the young elector Frederick IV. who had marched into France with a little army to the assistance of the Protestants, comes with the remainder of this army, and some new troops, to assist theirs and the cause of the revolters in the Low Countries. The brother of Henry III. king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, although a Catholic, was called in to the assistance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavouring each to profit by these disturbances; the archduke, prince Casimir, the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange; the whole four disunited, and Don John of Austria, famous for the battle of Lepanto, singly opposed them all. It is advanced, that this same Don John aspired to the sovereignty. So many troubles sprung from

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Philip's

Philip's having abused his power, and his not having supported that abuse by his presence.

Without any proof whatsoever, and purely from a desire of rendering him odious, Philip II. is accused of having hastened the death of his brother Don John of Austria, who departed this life on the first of October.

1579.

During the desolation of the Low Countries, and while that great commander Alexander Farnese prince of Parma, successor of Don John, supports the cause of Philip II. and of the Catholic religion, by arms, Rodolphus, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France and Elizabeth queen of England furnish the confederates with men and money, and the emperor assists Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rodolphus was not sufficiently efficacious for his character, nor was he sufficiently powerful from the form which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. absolutely refuses liberty of conscience, and the prince of Orange chuses not to accept of a peace which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

1580.

The prince of Orange had found the secret of resisting Farnese, and to rid himself of the archduke Matthias. This archduke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a pension from the states, which they assign him upon the episcopal revenues of Utrecht.

1581.

Matthias withdraws from the Low Countries, having done nothing but stipulated for his pension,

sion, one half of which they retrench. The states-general, by a public edict, dated July 26, in a legal manner throw off the government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their situation, in respect of Germany, remains undetermined; and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavouring to enslave the nation that he came to defend, is disconcerted and obliged to retire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

1582.

Pope Gregory XIII. having signalized his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the Protestant princes; not only of Germany, but of all Europe, oppose the reception of this necessary reformation. They had no other reason for it, but that of its being Rome that administered this service. They feared making that court appear too respectable, should they receive instructions from it; and that, should the people receive astronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuse its religious ones. The emperor is obliged, in the diet of Augsbourg, to appoint the imperial chamber to observe the Julian stile, made in the time of Cæsar, which, though it had been then good, was now bad.

A very extraordinary event disturbs the empire this year. Gebhard de Truchses, archbishop of Cologne, who was no priest, had embraced the confession of Augsbourg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes de Mansfield, a nun of the monastery of Guerichen. It was no extraordinary thing for a bishop to marry; but this bishop was an elector: he wanted to es-

pouse his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a secular dignity. It might have happened very easily, that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbishopric; that the prelate had been at the same time a Lutheran bishop and an elector. At that time the only Catholic electors were the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz and of Triers. The empire seems well nigh falling into the hands of the Protestants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard de Truchses endeavours, without success, to introduce Lutheranism in Cologne. The chapter and senate were much more attached to the Catholic religion, sharing in a great measure the sovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to lose. In effect, the elector, though a sovereign, was far from being absolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magistrates. Soldiers are raised on every side, and the archbishop fights for his mistress with success.

1583.

The Protestant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector Palatine, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, write in his favour to the emperor, to the chapter and senate of Cologne; but proceeded no farther; and as they had no personal interest that should induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at least at present, they do not.

Truchses is only assisted by some petty princes. The archbishop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings some cavalry to his assistance. The count de Solmes and some Lutheran gentlemen

lemen of Westphalia send him troops in the heat of the dispute. The prince of Parma, on the other hand, sends in his favour to the chapter. A canon of the antient house of Saxony, which is the same as that of Brunswick, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it is an holy war.

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Rosendale during this petty war. The emperor Rodolphus concerned himself no farther in this affair, than in exhorting the archbishop to quit his church and his electorate; but he determines to preserve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member, and orders the election of a new archbishop. This bull of the pope causes the Protestant princes to rebel; but they only make some motions. Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, of Frisinguen, and Hildesheim, is chosen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince Palatine, Casimir, is the only person who at that time assists the dethroned elector, and even that was for a very short time. The town of Bonn was very soon the only one which Truchses could call his own. The troops which had been sent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay siege to Bonn, which is soon obliged to surrender.

1584.

The old elector still wrestles with his ill fortune: he has some few troops left: these are defeated; and at length, being neither sufficiently able nor happy to arm any considerable

potentates in his favour, he has no other resource but that of retiring to the Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The Catholics in general acknowledge the new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged; but, in truth, at the expence of a tribute; and Rodolphus imagines himself happy enough in being able to purchase peace from Amurath III.

1585.

Led by the example of Gebhard de Truchses, two other bishops renounce their bishoprics; the one is a son of William duke of Cleves, who quits the diocese of Munster that he may be able to marry; the other is the bishop of Minden, of the house of Brunswick.

1586.

Fanaticism does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavoured for through a ten years war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange.

This illustrious founder of the liberty of the United Provinces is assassinated by Balthazar Gerrard, a native of Franché-comte. An attempt of this nature had been before essayed by a Biscayan named Jaurigni; but he was cured of the wound. Salcedo had conspired against his life; and it is observable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the sacrament as preparatives to this action.

Maurice II's son succeeds him at the age of eighteen. It was he who afterwards became the greatest general in Europe. The Protestant princes of Germany give him no assistance, though

though it was for the interest of their religion; but they send troops into France to the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. because the Calvinist party in France were able to pay their soldiers, and Maurice was not.

1587.

Prince Maurice still continues the war in the Low Countries against Alexander Farnese. He levies some troops among the Protestants of Germany at the expence of the states of Holland. This was all the succour that he could possibly procure.

A new throne offers itself to the house of Austria, which honour contributes to shew still more how very low was the credit of Rodolphus.

Stephen Batori Vaivode of Transilvania, and king of Poland, dying on the 13th of December 1586, Fedor, Czar of Muscovy, enters the lists to succeed him; but is unanimously rejected. One faction declares for Sigismund king of Sweden, son to John III. by a princess of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperor's brother Maximilian. They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian, being defeated, retires to Silesia while his competitor is crowned.

1588.

Maximilian is a second time defeated by Zamoski, the Polish general: he is shut up in a castle near Lublin, and his brother Rodolphus can do no more for him, than intreat Philip II. to engage pope Sixtus V. to write in favour of the prisoner.

1589.

Maximilian is at last set at liberty, having

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renounced.

renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland: he has an interview with Sigismund before his departure: it is remarkable that the title of majesty was not given him, because in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

1590.

The only event which now regards the empire is the war in the Low Countries, which lays waste the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighbourhood of Westphalia. The circles of these provinces content themselves with complaining of each party. The languid spirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

1591.

Henry IV. who had his kingdom of France to conquer, sends Viscount Turenne into Germany to bargain for troops with some of the Protestant princes. The emperor vainly opposes him. Christiern elector of Saxony, influenced by viscount Turenne, supplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France, whereby only an inconsiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material besides happened at this time in Germany.

1592.

A civil war is occasioned by a nomination to the bishopric of Strasburg, as had very lately happened at Cologne upon a very different account. The people of Strasburg were Protestants: their bishop, who resided at Saverne, and was a Catholic, dies. The Protestants elect John George of Brandenburg, a Lutheran; the Catholics chuse the cardinal of Lorraine. The emperor Rodolphus appoints by commission one
of

of his brothers, the archduke Ferdinand, to appease the difference and conduct the administration. He is acknowledged neither by Catholics nor Protestants. The cardinal of Lorraine supports his right at the head of 10,000 men. The cantons of Berne, Zurich, and of Basil, furnish troops to the Protestant bishop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France, where he had served unsuccessfully Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorraine. This affair is put into arbitration the following year; and in the year 1603, it was at last agreed, that the cardinal of Lorraine should remain bishop of Strasburg, paying 130,000 golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly possible to purchase a bishopric at a much dearer rate.

1593.

A much more considerable affair rouses the indifference of Rodolphus. Amurath III. breaks the league, and the Turks already lay waste Upper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbishop of Saltzburg are the only persons who as yet furnish the emperor with troops, joining theirs to those that are supplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand, brother of Rodolphus, had by his first wife, who was daughter to a senator of Augsborg, a son named Charles of Austria. This son was never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deserved to be one. A considerable body of troops were under his command. A count, Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which seemed to be ordained to fight successfully for

the house of Austria. The Serini, the Nadaftis, and the Palfis, headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worsted in several engagements, and the Upper Hungary at length secured, Buda excepted, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

1594.

The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rodolphus held a diet at Augsburg to consult upon measures of opposition. Is it credible that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions! This is the first instance of a war being supported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarian troops, though but indifferently paid, still fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias by his own desire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who, in the name of the emperor his brother, governs Carinthia and Croatia. These cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javarin.

1595.

Happily for the Imperialists, Sigismund Batori, vaivode of Transilvania, shakes off the Turkish for the Imperial yoke. We often see princes change sides, obliged by the necessity of their affairs to attach themselves to the more powerful of two protectors. Batori swears fidelity, and does homage to the emperor for Transilvania and some possessions in Hungary. He agrees, that in case he shall die without male issue, his dominions shall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary, and in return he is promised in marriage to Christina, daughter
to

to the archduke Charles, together with the title of Most Illustrious and the order of the Golden Fleece.

The campaign was very happy ; but the church-boxes set up for the payment of the army not being filled, the Imperial troops rise and pillage part of that country which they had been destined to defend.

1596.

The archduke Maximilian commands this year against the Turks. The new sultan, Mahomet III. enters Hungary in person, and lays siege to Agria, which surrenders upon conditions ; but the garrison is massacred going out of the town ; and Mahomet, enraged against the aga of the janizaries, for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be struck off.

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on the 26th of October.

While the emperor Rodolphus remains at Vienna, employed in distillation, chemistry, and searching after the philosopher's stone, while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks, while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatness upon the sluggishness of Rodolphus, one of his brothers, called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have scarce heard any mention, is made governor of such part of the Low Countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government succeeded the archduke Ernest, another of his brothers, who died after having possessed it upwards of two years, without having done any one thing remarkable. Very different was the conduct of cardinal Albert of Austria, who made war upon Henry IV.

with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever since the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Ardres.

Henry IV. after much difficulty conqueror of the league, seeks the assistance of the Protestant princes, which not obtaining he is forced to defend himself.

1597.

The Turks are still in Hungary. There is a rising of the peasants of Austria, harrassed by the Imperial troops, and thereby they give a helping hand to the desolation of the country. There is a necessity for sending some disciplined troops against them. This was a favourable opportunity for the Turks; but by some strange fatality the Upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progress. The Imperial army this year owes its safety to a revolt of the janizaries.

1598.

The county of Simeren, by the death of the last incumbent, falls to the elector Palatine.

Philip II. king of Spain, dies, aged 72, after a reign of 42 years. He had long disturbed part of Europe, nor had his uncle Ferdinand, his cousin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rodolphus, ever forwarded his designs, neither had he in the least contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death, he had given the Low Countries to the Infanta Isabella, his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal archduke Albert. This was depriving his son Philip III. and the crown of Spain of a most beautiful province. But the troubles, which had wasted it for some time, had rendered it a burdensome possession: however, it was stipulated,

lated, that it should revert to the Spanish crown in case of the failure of male issue in the archduke Albert, which happened to be the case.

The driving the Turks out of Upper Hungary, begins to be matter of deliberation. The diet grants towards the support of this war 20 Roman months.

The same Sigismund Batori, who had renounced the Turkish protection, and done homage to the emperor for Transilvania, repents of his proceedings. The same territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Stephen John Sigismund; that is to say, Oppelen, and Ratibor in Silesia, were given him in exchange for his sovereignty and for Walachia. He was as little satisfied with his bargain, as that queen had been. He abandons Silesia, and re-enters his former dominions; but always inconstant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his cousin. This cardinal, by name Andrew Batori, immediately puts himself under the protection of the Turks, and receives a vest from the Sultan, as a mark of that favour he solicited. Martinusius like, he puts himself at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement against the imperialists.

1599.

By the death of cardinal Batori, and the flight of Sigismund, Transilvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be wasted by the Turks. Those who are astonished to see at this day, such a fertile country so thinly peopled, will find it easily accounted for, when they consider the numbers of inhabitants of both sexes which the Turks carried into slavery.

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This year, the emperor resolves at last to enfranchise Wirtemberg, from the infeodment of Austria. Wirtemberg is held only of the empire, but in case the heirs should fail, it was always to return to the house of Austria.

1600.

The Turks advance as far as Canisa upon the Drave, on the side of Stiria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the house of Lorraine, could not prevent this strong place from being taken. The people of Transilvania and Valachia refuse to acknowledge the emperor.

1601.

The fortune of Sigismund Batori is as inconstant as himself. He once more enters Transilvania, but is defeated by the imperial party. These provinces are the seats of continual revolutions. Happily the very same duke de Mercœur, who could neither preserve nor recover Canisa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis.

1602.

At length the arch duke Matthias, more active than his brother, and assisted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incursion as far as Buda, which he besieges to no purpose; all which causes a ruinous war at the charge of the emperor and the empire.

Sigismund Batori is still more unfortunate. Spurned by the Turks, who refuse him assistance, he surrenders at discretion to the imperial troops; and this prince, who was to have married an arch-duchess, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent pension.

1603.

Some unaccountable fatality always puts a
stop

stop to the Turkish conquests. Mahomet III. who threatened to command a formidable army against Hungary in person, dies in the flower of his age. Achmet his son, a youth only 13 years old, is raised to the Ottoman throne. Factions disturb the Seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The diet of Ratisbon promises this time 80 Roman months. The empire had never before granted so powerful a succour; but, alas! it was furnished in scarce any thing but words.

This year Lubec, Danzig, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen, the old Hans towns of Germany, obtain in France those liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of these towns are exempted from all right of Escheatage, and still enjoy the immunity. Events of this nature are not the most remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

1604.

The emperor is near losing that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occasioned by the exactions of a governor of Casobia, who having extorted money from an Hungarian lord named Botskai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares himself lord of Upper Hungary, without daring to take the title of king.

1605.

The Turks and the rebel Botskai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Presburg only excepted. The grand visier was in the town of Pest. Botskai causes himself to be proclaimed prince of Transilvania, and receives the crown of Hungary, from the hands of the grand visier, with

with great solemnity at Pest. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an accommodation with the Hungarian lords, in order, if possible, to preserve the remainder of that country. It was stipulated, that for the future the states of Hungary, who had always elected their king, should themselves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to bishopricks was a right invested in the crown; but the states now article, that none but Hungarians shall be made bishops; and that such bishops as are named by the emperor, shall have no share in the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding these and some other concessions, the archduke Matthias obtains the cession of Transilvania from Botskai, who also keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand visier. The Hungarians expressly article, that Lutheranism and Calvinism shall be freely tolerated amongst them.

Under the weak government of Rodolphus, Germany was nevertheless pretty quiet. The intestine wars that happened in it during that reign, were very trivial; such as the duke of Brunswic endeavouring to subdue the town of Brunswic, and the duke of Bavaria striving to reduce Donawert. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful, obtains his end at Donawert; but the duke of Brunswic could not prevail against Brunswic, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being supported by the Teutonic hanse. The great trading towns could at that time easily defend themselves against the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in case of war.

These

These occasional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face, since princes have found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other respects peaceable, in spite of the three contending religions, in spite of the troubles in Hungary and Transilvania, and the wars in the Low-countries, which incessantly harrassed the frontiers. The weakness of Rodolphus in Germany, was of a very different nature, from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would, if possible, have been independent and powerful; they were troublesome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aspired.

1606.

The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Transilvanians, were only the seeds of new troubles. The Transilvanians after the death of Botskai, notwithstanding their treaties with the emperor, chose Sigismund Ragotski as Vaivode; and the emperor permits it.

1607, 1608.

Rodolphus, who had purchased peace so dearly at home, endeavours to restore it to the Low-countries by treaty, which could be only done, as formerly had been in Hungary, at the expence of the Spanish branch of Austria.

The famous union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The States General of the seven united Provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The seven united Provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rodol-

with great solemnity at Pest. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an accommodation with the Hungarian lords, in order, if possible, to preserve the remainder of that country. It was stipulated, that for the future the states of Hungary, who had always elected their king, should themselves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to bishopricks was a right invested in the crown; but the states now article, that none but Hungarians shall be made bishops; and that such bishops as are named by the emperor, shall have no share in the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding these and some other concessions, the archduke Matthias obtains the cession of Transilvania from Botfkai, who also keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand visier. The Hungarians expressly article, that Lutheranism and Calvinism shall be freely tolerated amongst them.

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phus writes to them thus: "You are statesholding of the Empire; your constitution cannot alter, without the consent of the emperor, who is your head." The States General sent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the mean time the peaceful and philosophical indifference of Rodolphus, which would have sat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the archduke Matthias his brother, who devised making himself sovereign of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rodolphus, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almost intirely over-run by the Turks, and torn in pieces by factions, Austria exposed, and Bohemia discontented. The inconstant Batori, was by a new turn of fortune, re-established in Transilvania, restored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Batori, with the Turks, and with the malecontents of Hungary. The states of Austria had furnished him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the designs of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired; has some fears concerning his own safety, and raises a few troops in haste. Matthias his brother throws off the mask and marches towards Prague. The Protestants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to insist upon new privileges from Rodolphus, whom they otherwise threaten to quit.

quit. They obtain that the Catholic clergy shall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquisition of lands without the consent of the states; that all places of trust shall be disposed of in favour of Protestants. This condescension of the emperor irritates the Catholics, and he finds himself obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On the 11th of May he cedes Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, to Matthias, reserving to himself, in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia, and the sovereignty of Silesia. Thus does he strip himself of all that he had so weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. His brother only acquires in the end new embarrassments. He was fain to agree with the Protestants of Austria, who, sword in hand, demanded from their new master, a free exercise of their religion, to which he was obliged to consent, at least out of the towns. He was also compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who insisted that no Germans should bear a public trust among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he strive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to resist that of the Turks.

1609.

The more the Protestant religion gained ground in Austria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The succession of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the two parties, who had as it were, slumbered since the peace of Passau. From hence sprung a Protestant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave
rise

rise to a Catholic one. These two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houses of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deuxponts, of Saxony, and at last Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, dispute about the inheritance of John William the last duke of Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor thought to reconcile the different pretenders, by sequestering the lands about which they disputed. He sends the arch-duke Leopold his cousin, to take possession of the duchy of Cleves, but at length two of the competitors, John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuburg unite to oppose him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the Protestant princes and the house of Austria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg are already in possession, and united by the danger that might ensue, from the division of their interest, being backed by Frederic IV. elector Palatine, solicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two opposing leagues; the Protestants supporting the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the Catholics that of Austria. Frederick IV. elector Palatine, although a Calvinist, headed the confederates of the Augsburg confession, which consisted of the duke of Wirtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Anspach, the margrave of Baden-dourlach, the prince of Anhalt, and several imperial towns. This party assumed the name of The Evangelic Union.

The chiefs of the Catholic league which opposed this, were Maximilian duke of Bavaria,
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the Catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony also joined this party, although he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, although a Protestant joined the Catholic league. He had no manner of reason to make this quarrel, a quarrel of religion; but religion was a name that each party made use of to animate the people. The Catholic league makes pope Paul V. and Philip III. king of Spain join it, and Henry IV. attaches himself to the Evangelic Union; with this difference, that the pope and king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious well-disciplined army, which had destroyed one Catholic league already.

1610.

These words of raillery, Catholic, Evangelical, and the name of Pope, used in a profane quarrel, were the true and only cause of the assassination of Henry IV. who it is well known fell on the 14th of May in the middle of Paris, the victim of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly, from the examination of Ravaillac, who had been before a friar, that he assassinated Henry IV. because it was everywhere said, "That he was going to make war against the Pope."

All Henry IV's great designs perished with him. However, there still remained some master-springs of that great machine which he had set in motion. The Protestant league was not destroyed. Some French troops under the command of marshal de la Châtre, support the parties

parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by provision to the elector of Saxony in case he proves his right. The marshal de la Châtre nevertheless takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the arch-duke Leopold. Juliers remains for some time in common, to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

1611.

The extreme confusion which at this time reigned in Germany, plainly shews what Henry IV. might have done, had he survived. Rodolphus the philosopher remains still at Prague. The arch-duke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retires into Bohemia, where he subsists it upon plunder. He there usurps all the authority of the emperor, who sees himself plundered on every side by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with so many dominions, won't however let any one else plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to intreat the states to crown him, *thro' excess of fraternal affection.*

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia, on the 21st of May, of which place there remains to Rodolphus only the title of king, as unprofitable for him as that of emperor.

1612.

Rodolphus dies on the 20th of January, according to the Gregorian Calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His house, the power of which had been so vastly feared, was scarcely held in any estimation in Europe, from the beginning of the 17th century, and this

was

was occasioned by his carelessness and the weakness of Philip III. in Spain. Rodolphus had lost his possessions, but he had saved his money. It is said there were 14,000,000 of crowns found in his exchequer. This discovered a meanness of soul. With these 14 millions and courage, he might have retaken Buda from the Turks, and made the empire respectable. But his character adapted him to the living like a private man upon a throne, and he was happier than those who plundered and despised him*.



MATTHIAS.

FORTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

1612.

MATTHIAS the brother of Rodolphus is unanimously elected, and this unanimity astonishes Europe, but he had been enriched by the treasures of his brother, and the near neighbourhood of the Turks made it necessary to elect a prince of the house of Austria, king of Hungary.

Even to that time, the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented: therein there were some articles in favour of Matthias, whose ambition was sufficiently manifest.

* He is said to have become melancholy and distrustful, in consequence of some idle prognostics of judicial astrology, broached by the celebrated Tycho Brahe.

Hungary

Hungary and Transilvania continued still in the same condition. The emperor had some small possessions in the neighbourhood of Presburg, and Gabriel Batori, the new prince of Transilvania, was the sultan's vassal.

1613.

The two great leagues catholic and evangelical, which had once threatened the empire with a civil war, appear to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. The Protestants barely content themselves with refusing money in the diets, to the emperor. The quarrel about the succession of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all Europe, sinks into one of those particular trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire, without disordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg, and the elector of Brandenburg, being put in possession of Cleves and Juliers, were necessarily embroiled about the division of them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. These two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a Catholic, in hopes of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calvinism into his territories, hoping thereby to rouse the Protestant league to his assistance.

Mean-while, the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himself stir, although there had been an imperial decree in his favour. The Spanish and Dutch Low-countries take part in the quarrel. Two great

great generals, the marquis de Spinola assists Neuburg on the part of Spain, count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the States General. It is one of the consequences of the German constitution, that foreign powers are rather interested in their intestine quarrels, than Germany itself. The Germanic body was never shaken. Its interior peace had been often disturbed by disputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body subsisted by these divisions, which in some measure founded an almost equal ballance between its members.

1614.

The case was very different in Hungary and Transilvania. The emperor Matthias prepares to go against the Turks. Gabriel Battori, Vainode of Transilvania, endeavours to keep fair as well with the Turkish as Christian emperor. The Turks fall upon Battori. He is abandoned by his subjects, nor can the emperor assist him. Battori causes himself to be killed by one of his own soldiers. The only instance we have of such a nature among modern princes. Bethleem-gabor is invested by a Pacha. This province seemed for ever lost to the house of Austria. The new Sultan Achmet, master of so great a part of Hungary, and at the same time young and ambitious, began to make it feared, that neither Presburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. These alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rodolphus; but that prodigious extension of the Ottoman empire, which had so long given the Christians uneasiness, was the cause of their safety. The Turks were often at war with the

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Persians. Their frontiers upon the Black Sea suffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened, that the Turks, at the very same time that it was feared they would over-run Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a disadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

1615.

The emperor Matthias has the happiness of concluding a treaty with Sultan Achmet, much more favourable than a war could possibly have been to him. He stipulates without drawing the sword, for the restitution of Agria, Canisa, Alba-regalis, Pest, and even Buda. Thus is he in possession of alm.ost all Hungary, leaving Transylvania and Bethleem-gabor under the Turkish protection. This treaty increases Matthias's power. The affair of the succession of Juliers is almost the only thing that disturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the Protestant princes, by leaving this country still divided between the Palatines of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this sort was extremely necessary to continue the empire in the house of Austria.

1616.

Negotiations and intrigues ingross this and the following years. Matthias was childless, and had also lost his health and his activity. In order to preserve the empire in his family, it was necessary to secure Bohemia and Hungary. These conjunctures were delicate; the states of these two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election: the spirit of party was predomi-

nant among them, but much more the spirit of independence: the difference of religions nourished discord, but the Protestants and Catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little disposed to choose an Austrian emperor; and the Evangelical union, which still subsisted, left this house but small hopes.

The first step to be taken, was to secure the succession of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced these two kingdoms from his brother, and was not at all inclined that his inheritance should pass to his remaining brothers Maximilian and Albert. There is not the least gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low-countries, would have certainly been more able than another to support the imperial dignity, had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that these crowns should descend to his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz duke of Stiria. Right of consanguinity was but little consulted.

1617.

Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the states of Bohemia, as successor to Matthias; according to which rank he is crowned king, on the 29th of June. The Evangelical league begins to be frightened at seeing this first approach of Ferdinand de Gratz, towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the Evangelical league, more useful than ever. He hoping to have Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, sides in every thing with the house of Austria; the Palatine, having very different interests,

continues still at the head of the Protestants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the Palatine which ensued. This was that war of thirty years continuance which desolated so many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the empire assumed a new face.

1618.

Matthias engages the Spanish branch of Austria, to renounce all the pretensions which it could possibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. Philip III. king of Spain, gives up his rights to these kingdoms in favour of Ferdinand, conditionally, that in case of Ferdinand's dying without male issue, Hungary and Bohemia shall descend to his sons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters, in the order of birthright. By this bargain these dominions might easily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited these kingdoms, and married a king of France, the eldest son of this king, would have been intitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family contract was evidently contrary to the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. The dispositions that men make for establishing the peace of futurity, are too often preparatives of discord. In fine, this new treaty causes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who see themselves disposed of without being consulted. The Protestants of Bohemia begin to associate after the example of the Evangelical union. The Catholics were soon induced to join this party, since their civil rights had been infringed, independent of religion. Selesia, that
2 great

great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is kindled. The confederates are headed by count de Turm, otherwise de la Tour, a man of genius; who makes war regularly and advantageously; and they make progress even to the gates of Vienna.

1619.

In the midst of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without being at all able to foresee the destiny of his house.

His cousin, Ferdinand de Gratz, was at length happy enough not to find any great opposition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom; but he beholds Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia leagued against him, the Protestants of Austria ready to revolt, and those of Germany not at all disposed to raise him to the empire. The house of Austria had never seen a moment more critical. Four electors, on the one hand, offer the imperial crown to Maximilian duke of Bavaria; the sovereignty of Bohemia, on the other, is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a distance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector Palatine, Frederick V. In the mean time, there is a meeting at Francfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany, and an emperor. Almost all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point; the states of Bohemia order their deputies at Francfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuse to acknowledge him for king, and consequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not

only threatened to be excluded from the imperial but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire, but both Protestants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in such a manner, that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand de Gratz his particular interest; even the elector Palatine to whom the states of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which had he refused, it would have been to no purpose. This election was made on the 19th of August 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle on the 19th of September; before which he signs a more extensive capitulation * than any of his predecessors had done.



FERDINAND II.

FORTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1619.

AT the same time that Ferdinand II. is vested with the imperial dignity, the states of Bohemia name the elector Palatine for king. This honour was now much more dangerous,

* Among the articles were two additional clauses, importing, that he would never disturb the vicars of the empire in the exercise of their jurisdiction, or permit any person whatsoever to dispute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born

gerous, than it had formerly been, on account of Ferdinand's being chosen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Protestants. Had Frederick been assisted by his father-in-law, James I. king of England, he had been sure of success. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice was to refuse the crown. He pays no respect to it, but gives way to his fortune.

Frederick is solemnly crowned at Prague on the 4th of November, with the princess of England his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the minister of the Hussites, and not by the archbishop of Prague.

This gives rise to a war as well religious as political. All the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederick. He had a few English troops in his army, sent him by some of the English nobility, either through personal friendship † for him, and hatred of the Catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law the king. He was seconded by the Vaivode of Transilvania, Bethleem Gabor, who attacked the same enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the same road to take Presburg. Silesia revolts against the emperor. The elector Pa-

born and bred in Germany, and well versed in the constitutions of the empire. This article was intended to remedy an abuse committed by the preceding emperors, who used to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

† A few volunteers went over by the king's permission, that they might have opportunities of signaling their courage, and learning the art of war.

latine's party in Bohemia are supported by the count of Mansfelt; even the Protestants of Austria are troublesome to the emperor. If the house of Bavaria, like that of Austria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the stronger party; but, though the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his house. Jealousy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor; so that what had been the fate of the house of Saxony under Charles V. was the same of that of Bavaria under Ferdinand de Gratz.

The Protestant and Catholic leagues were a little after, almost equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favour Ferdinand; furnishing him with troops, as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgot her old interests, and was not yet governed by a cardinal Richlieu. The court of Lewis XIII. weak and confused, seemed to have views (if we would suppose it to have had any) very different from the designs of Henry the great.

1620.

Lewis XIII. instead of marching with an army, sends the duke d'Angouleme, at the head of a solemn embassy to offer his mediation. The princes assembled at Ulm listen to him, but conclude upon nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethleem Gabor causes himself to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederick V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the states of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkish and a Venetian ambassador

fador in the town of Neuhausel. It is unusual to see the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was so intirely at variance with the Spanish branch of Austria, that she openly declared herself against all of that house.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better seconded in Germany than the elector Palatine.

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Lusatia; on the other, the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia, with a powerful army, whilst the emperor's forces make a shift to hold out in Hungary against Bethleem Gabor.

The Palatine is at one and the same time attacked both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederick of Nassau, the brother of, and afterwards successor to Maurice, the stadtholder of the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has also some English; but against him are the choicest troops of the Spanish Low-countries, under the command of the famous Spinola. The Palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Austria and the elector Palatine. On the 19th of November, Frederick is intirely defeated near Prague, by his relation Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Silesia with his wife and two of his children, and loses in one day, all his dominions both hereditary and acquired.

1621.

James king of England mediates in favour of

his unfortunate kinsman, with as little success as he had acted with conduct*.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January the 20th, the emperor puts the elector Palatine under the ban of the empire. He banishes the duke de Jagendorf into Silesia, the prince of Anhalt, the counts de Hoenlo, de Mansfeld, de la Tour, and all those who had taken arms in favour of Frederick.

This vanquished prince finds some intercessors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavours to persuade the emperor to clemency; notwithstanding which Ferdinand causes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remain in Bohemia, after which he hastens to secure Upper Hungary against Bethleem-Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this campaign, and Ferdinand soon enters into an accommodation with the Transilvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to secure the rest. In the mean time the elector Palatine flies from Silesia to Denmark, and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of Bavaria seizes upon the Upper Palatinate, and a body of Spanish troops, furnished by the arch-

* Had James refused succours to his son-in-law, from an unwillingness to involve England in German quarrels, he would have acted right: but he was amused by Gondemar the Spanish ambassador, who assured him that such an interposition would ruin the proposed match between his son and the Infanta; and besides, he was so bigotted to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, that he did not approve of the Palatine's revolting against the emperor.

duke

duke governor of the Low-countries, pours into the Palatinate under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the assistance which the elector Palatine could obtain from either his father-in-law king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and useless embassies to Vienna. From France, whose interest it was to take his part, he had no assistance. At length his only resource lay in two men, who ought naturally to have abandoned him. These were the duke de Jagendorf in Silesia, and the count de Mansfelt in the Palatinate; both of them banished by the emperor, whose favour they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederick. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfelt particularly, still headed a little army, which he kept together in spite of the Austrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfelt supplied them with, who made war like a very partizan; the art of doing which was pretty well known in those times, wherein it was rare to see very large armies subsisting for a long time, and wherein a resolute leader might maintain himself for some time under the favour of intestine troubles. Mansfelt rouses and encourages the neighbouring Protestant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunswick, named Christiern, the administrator, but in truth the usurper of the house of Halberstadt, joins Mansfelt. This Christiern intitled himself the Friend of God, and the enemy of the Priests; nor was he less an enemy to the people, whose estates he ravaged. Mansfelt and he did a

great deal of mischief to the country, without being of the least service to the Palatine.

The prince of Orange and the United Provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low-countries, being obliged to turn all their force against them, were not able to afford the Palatine any effectual assistance. His party was crushed; notwithstanding which, it was from time to time able to make some considerable opposition, and upon the slightest occasion, some Protestant prince was found ready to arm in its favour. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had a dispute about some land with the landgrave of Darmstadt, and being piqued against the emperor, who favoured his competitor, he supported as much as possible the elector Palatine. The margrave of Baden-Dourlach joined Mansfelt, and all the Protestant princes in general, fearing that they should soon be forced to make restitution of the ecclesiastical possessions, appear disposed to take arms: whence he has hopes of being seconded by some powers.

1622.

It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to contribute to the happiness of Ferdinand. His generals and his troops complete the ruin of the Palatine his cousin's party. Tilly the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's best generals, totally defeats, near Aschaffenburg, the prince of Brunswick, surnamed very properly, The enemy of the Priests, who was returning from plundering the abbey of Fulda, and all the ecclesiastical states of that part of Germany.

Mansfelt was the only person left who could defend

defend the Palatinate, and he was capable of doing it, being at the head of a small army which joined with the remainder of Brunswick's forces, amounted to about 10,000 men. Mansfelt was a very extraordinary man; he was bastard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately assisted by the prince of Orange and the Protestants, and found himself general of an army, which was entirely his own.

The unhappy Palatine was weak enough, being very ill advised, to renounce his succour, in hopes that he might obtain from the emperor favourable conditions, which it was impossible to do without force. He himself obliged Mansfelt and Brunswick to abandon him. These two wandering chiefs pass into Lorrain and Alsace, and search out new countries to ravage. All the accommodation that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector palatine, is to send the victorious Tilly to take Heidelberg, Mannheim, and the rest of the country; in short, all that belongs to the elector is looked upon as the forfeiture of an exile. He had the most numerous and best chosen library in Germany, particularly of manuscripts; these were sent to the duke of Bavaria, who transported them by water to Rome; but most of the cargo was lost by shipwreck, and the remainder is still preserved in the Vatican. Religion, and the love of liberty, always occasion some troubles in Bohemia; but they are such seditions as to be ended by punishment. The emperor banishes the Lutheran ministers from Prague, and shuts up their churches. He gives the administration of the university of Prague to the Jesuits. There

is nothing could now interrupt the prosperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethleem-Gabor, acknowledging him sovereign of Transilvania, and ceding to him seven countries, containing 50 leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The rest of Hungary, which had long been an uninterrupted scene of destructive war, was at present, of not the least service to the house of Austria, except that it still continued to be the bulwark of the Austrian states.

1623.

The emperor, being established in Germany, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares, "that the elector Palatine being guilty of high treason, had forfeited his estates, dignities, and possessions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to lessen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian duke of Bavaria, be in this diet invested with the Palatinate." This was speaking like a master. The Catholic princes in every-thing give way to the emperor's will. The Protestants make some public remonstrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick, Holstein and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lubec and others, renew the Evangelical league. They are joined by the king of Denmark; but this league being only defensive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleased.

On the 25th of February, Ferdinand upon his throne, invests the duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate. The vice-chancellor saying in these words expressly, "that the emperor out of the

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fulness of his power confers on him this dignity."

The territories of the elector Palatine were not by this investiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article, which gave rise to many great difficulties.

John George de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is in this diet made a prince of the empire. Brunswick, the enemy of the Priests, and the famous general Mansfelt, secretly supported by the protestant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunswick establishes himself in Lower Saxony, and afterwards in Westphalia. The count de Tilly vanquishes and disperses his army. Mansfelt still remains immoveable and invincible. This was the only support which now remained to the Palatine; a support that could not restore him to his dominions.

1624.

The Protestant league still concealed a flame, which was ready to break out against the emperor. James I. king of England, not being able to obtain any thing by negotiation in favour of his son-in-law, joins the league in Lower-Saxony, of which Christiern IV. king of Denmark was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head against the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furnishes money, Christiern IV. king of Denmark finds troops. The famous Mansfelt increases his little army, and they prepare for war.

1625.

At length the king of England having resolved efficaciously to support his kinsman, and

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to declare against the house of Austria, deprives his confederates of the powerful assistance he might have given them, by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the evangelical union that had raised the standard. Lower Saxony was the seat of war.

1626.

The emperor's two great generals, Tilly and Wallstein, stop the progress of the king of Denmark and his confederates. Tilly defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northem, in the Brunswick territories. This victory seems to deprive the Palatine of every resource. Mansfelt, who never lost his courage, transplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia, to attack the emperor in Hungary. Bethleem-Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms, and joins Mansfelt with 10,000 men. He armed the Turks, who were still masters of Buda; but this great and bold project is dissipated, without costing Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfelt's army is destroyed by distempers: he dies himself of the contagion in the flower of his age, exhorting the remainder of his soldiers, even in the hour of death, to sacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunswick, the other support of the elector Palatine, died some short time before. That fortune which deprived the Palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethleem-Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no assistance,

assistance, as it was under the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Walstein repulsed him as he had repulsed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his ministers as in his generals, controuls Bethleem-Gabor by a treaty, in which Transilvania and the seven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole was to fall to the house of Austria.

1627.

Every thing succeeds with Ferdinand, without his taking any other steps than wishing or commanding. Count Tilly pursues the king of Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holstein and of Brunswick are disarmed almost as soon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only person that allowed his subjects to enlist in the service of Denmark, recalls them, and breaks the treaty. The count de Tilly, and Walstein now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live everywhere at discretion.

Ferdinand, uniting the interests of religion and politics, intends taking the bishopric of Halberstadt from the house of Brunswick, and the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to confer them, together with several abbies, on one of his sons. He had caused his son Ferdinand Ernest to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbours of the Turks and of Bethleem-Gabor, were to be soothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

1628.

1628.

Ferdinand at length enjoys absolute authority. The Protestant princes and Christiern IV. king of Denmark, address themselves secretly to the French ministry, because cardinal de Richlieu began to be extremely respectable all over Europe. They with reason flatter themselves that the cardinal, who wanted to crush the Protestants in France, would support them in Germany. Cardinal Richlieu causes money to be sent to the king of Denmark, and encourages the Protestant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the Protestant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itself against the emperor; nor is his happiness as yet interrupted. He proscribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the Danes had obliged to declare for them, whose duchy he gives to Wallstein.

1629.

The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better use of it.

Christiern IV. who had a dispute with the duke of Holstein, ravages the duchy of Sleswick with his troops, which no longer serve against Ferdinand. The court of Vienna sends him monitorial letters, as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Sleswick. The king of Denmark answers, that this duchy never was an imperial fief like that of Holstein. The court of Vienna replies, that the kingdom of Denmark itself was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was scarcely possible for the
pretensions

pretensions of the empire upon the North to be supported with more dignity.

The empire, ever since the time of Charles V. had till now appeared entirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua, called Vincent II. died without issue. His kinsman, Charles de Gonzaga duke de Nevers, claims the succession in virtue of some matrimonial contracts. His relation Cæsar Gonzaga, duke de Guastalla, had received the eventual investiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke de Nevers was already in possession, and had caused himself to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to seize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the first time, exerts his authority in Italy: he sends count Nassau, in quality of Imperial commissary, to put in sequestration Mantua and Montferrat, whilst the process is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this sort had not been heard of in Italy these sixty years. It was very visible, that the emperor intended at one and the same time to support the antient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spanish branch of Austria with these spoils. The ministry of France, who watched every opportunity of limiting the Austrian power, assists the duke of Mantua. It had already intermeddled with the affairs of the Valteline, and hindered the Spanish

nish branch of Austria from seizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tirol and the Milanese, and the two branches of Austria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low Countries. With these views cardinal de Richlieu sided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were a people the nearest and most exposed, send into the Mantuan an army of 15,000 men. The emperor declares all such vassals of the empire in Italy as take part with the duke, to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favour these decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the house of Austria, and Ferdinand who saw himself by the Imperial dignity at the head of that house, was looked upon to be the most powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops, assisted by some Spanish regiments, take Mantua by assault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand, every-where successful, imagines at length the time was come to make the Imperial dignity despotic, and the Catholic religion universal. He orders, by edict of his council, that the Protestants should restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had stood possessed since the time of the treaty of Passau signed by Charles V. This was giving the greatest blow to the Protestant party; for the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lubeck, Misnia, Naumburg, Merseburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, and a crowd of benefices, must have been given up. There was not one prince, either Luth-

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ran or Calvinist, who did not stand possessed of some ecclesiastical substance.

The Protestants have now no longer any measures to keep. The elector of Saxony, whom the hopes of one day possessing Cleves and Juliers had so long restrained, at length breaks out. These hopes had been weakened, inasmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themselves. Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the first, and Juliers by the second, without any disturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony sees these provinces lost to him, and Magdeburg, with the revenue of several bishoprics, going to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near 150,000 men in arms: the Catholic league had about 30,000. The two houses of Austria were closely united. The pope and all the Catholic states encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly cross him; nor was there any power in Europe that seemed in a condition to oppose him. The duke of Walstein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Wirtemberg; but the Catholic churches gained very little by these restitutions. Much was taken from the Protestants; the officers of Walstein were enriched, and the troops lived at the expence of both parties, who equally complained.

1630.

Ferdinand sees himself exactly in the same circumstances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to submit, or he was to be overcome.

overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had assisted in oppressing the Palatine; and it was he who, conjunctly with other Protestant princes, secretly engaged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whose assistance had been so very useless.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine, he aspires at being chosen king of the Romans, and treats secretly with France, while the Protestants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Ratisbon. His design was to have his son Ferdinand Ernest elected king of the Romans: he also designed to engage the empire to second him against Gustavus Adolphus, in case that king should enter Germany; and against France, should it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in opposition to him; but, in spite of all his power, he finds the electors so little inclined to serve him, that he dares not even propose the election of his son.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not personally present at this assembly; but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The elector of Bavaria was the first to say, "that it was impossible to deliberate freely in a diet, so long as the emperor has an army of 150,000. men on foot." The ecclesiastical electors and bishops who were present, pressed the restitution of the ecclesiastical effects. This project could not be put in execution without

without the support of an army, and the army could not be supported but at the expence of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, insists upon Ferdinand's dismissing the duke Walstein. Ferdinand might have assumed the command himself, and by so doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take so glorious a step: he deprives Walstein of the command, and gives it to Tilly; by these means intirely losing the Bavarian: in short, he has soldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the states of Germany fear their approaching loss, gives uneasiness to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richlieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty, when informed that Gustavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negotiates with that monarch: England and the United Provinces do the same. The elector Palatine, who a little before had been forsaken by all the world, finds himself suddenly on the point of being assisted by all these powers. The king of Denmark, weakened by his preceding losses, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Gustavus at length quits Sweden on the 13th of June, embarking with 30,000 men: he lands in Pomerania: he already claims this province, either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children: his dominions, by the law of consanguinity, should have devolved to the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus stipulates, that on the death of this duke, he

he is to hold the province in sequestration, until he shall be reimbursed the expences of the war.

1631.

Cardinal de Richlieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Gustavus until that king's arrival in Pomerania, which only costs France 300,000 livres, paid down, and 1,200,000 livres a year. This was one of the most ingenious treaties which had ever been made. A neutrality for the elector of Bavaria, who might have been the greatest support of the emperor, was therein stipulated, as also that of the princes of the Catholic league, who were not to assist the emperor against the Swedes; and care was taken at the same time to make Gustavus promise to preserve all the rights of the Roman church in every place where he should find that religion subsisting. By these means, the making this a war of religion was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themselves were furnished with a specious pretext for not assisting the emperor. This league was signed at Brandenburg on the 23d of January.

The Protestant states gained new courage. They assemble at Leipstick, where they resolve to present their most humble remonstrances to Ferdinand, and to support their petition with 40,000 men for the establishment of peace in the empire. Gustavus still augments his army as he advances: he comes to Frankfort upon the Oder, yet cannot prevent general Tilly from taking Magdeburg by assault on the 20th of May. The town is reduced to ashes: the inhabitants are destroyed by fire and sword; an
horrible

horrible event ! but now almost swallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed these times. Tilly being master of the Elbe, imagines he shall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recalls his troops from Italy : the superiority was still entirely on his side. The elector of Saxony, who had been the first to call in Gustavus Adolphus, is at this time extremely embarrassed ; and the elector of Brandenburg, finding himself equally in power to the imperial and Swedish armies, continues very irresolute.

Gustavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him, sword in hand : the elector George William delivers to him the fortress of Spandau, during the whole time of the war ; secures all the passes for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, constraint, as an excuse for his conduct.

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Gustavus. The king of Sweden advances towards Leipfick. Tilly arrives before him, and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies consisted of about 30,000 fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of resistance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to share their flight. This misfortune is repaired by the Swedish discipline. Gustavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accustomed his army to order and to a sort of exercise that never had been known be-

fore, in consequence of which Tilly, though looked upon to be one of the best generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on the 17th of September.

The conqueror pursues the Imperialists into Franconia: all places submit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Silesia. Gustavus suddenly re-establishes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions, to the surprise of Germany; and, after taking Mentz, hastens into the Palatinate.

The deposed elector Palatine searches out his protector in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alsace. The elector of Saxony, on his side, makes himself master of the capital of Bohemia, and conquers Lusatia. All the Protestant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Gustavus's victories. Tilly with the remains of his army continues in Westphalia, where he is re-inforced by some troops from the duke of Lorraine; but he takes no step towards opposing such rapid progress.

The emperor, fallen in less than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared so formidable, is obliged at last to restore the command of his troops to that duke de Walstein whom he had deprived of it, with a more absolute power than ever had been given to any general. Walstein accepts the charge; and there are only a few troops left to Tilly, to enable him at least to act on the defensive. The protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector Palatine, in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches Ferdinand in these critical times, rather like a prince

prince with whom he would chuse to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to assist.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain those numerous armies that had rendered him so formidable; they had before the battle of Leipfick, subsisted at the expence of the Catholic and Protestant states, since which time they were deprived of these resources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as possible, all lay upon Walstein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to ask both men and money from pope Urban VIII. and they are both refused him. He endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus; and his holiness promises a jubilee instead of a crusade.

1632.

Mean while the king of Sweden re-passes the Rhine towards Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donawert upon the Danube; restores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia belonging to the houses of Austria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the passage of the Leck, in spite of Tilly, who mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augsburg as a conqueror, and restores the Protestant religion. It is scarcely possible to push the rights of victory to a greater length. The magistrates of Augsburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neuter, and not in arms either for the emperor or himself, is obliged to quit Munich, which surrenders to the conqueror on the 7th of May, paying to him 300,000 rixdollars, to

save it from being plundered. The Palatine has at least the comfort to enter with Gustavus the palace of him who had dispossessed him.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany seem desperate. Tilly an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but against Gustavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, discontented with the emperor, was his victim, and saw himself driven out of his capital. Walstein, duke of Friedland, still more disgusted with the duke of Bavaria his declared enemy, had refused to march to his assistance; and the emperor Ferdinand, whose inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Walstein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Walstein now employs himself in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons, as Gustavus had over the Imperialists.

With great difficulty Maximilian, elector of Bavaria, at length obtains being joined by Walstein. The Bavarian army partly levied at the elector's expence, and partly at the expence of the Catholic league, consists of about 25,000 men. That of Walstein amounted to 30,000 old soldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above 20,000, but reinforcements were coming in to him on every side. He is joined by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince Palatine of Birkenfield. His general Banier always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighbourhood of Nuremberg with above 50,000 men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Walstein in their intrenched camp. They give him battle, but it

is not at all decisive *. Gustavus carries the war into Bavaria. Wallstein carries it into Saxony; provinces, the destruction of which is completed by these different movements.

Gustavus leaving 12,000 men in Bavaria, hastens to Saxony. He soon arrives by forced marches at Leipzick, at a time when Wallstein did not in the least expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lutzen on the 15th of November. The victory is a long time doubtful; but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loss of their king, who is found among the dead, pierced by two balls, and two strokes of a sword. Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who served in his army, † is accused of having assassinated him;

* Gustavus attacked the Imperialists in their intrenchments, and was so severely handled, that he had like to have lost his whole army. This would have been the case had not the retreat been conducted by an old Scottish colonel called Hepburn, who had quitted the Swedish service in disgust. He was standing by the king, when that monarch declared he had not one officer upon whom he could depend for this service: Hepburn immediately unsheathing his sword, "this (said he) is the only occasion in which I will ever draw a sword in your service." So saying, he rushed into the hottest part of the battle, delivered the king's orders, and conducted the retreat with such ability and deliberation, that the Imperialists durst not give them the least disturbance. Gustavus thanked Hepburn for what he had done; but he never once invited him to remain in his service; and the old veteran retired to France, where it is said, he lost his life in a duel.

† Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lauenburg. What

him; nay, his death is imputed to cardinal de Richlieu who had business for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who exposed himself like a soldier, to die like one?

This loss was fatal to the elector Palatine, who hoped to have been re-established by Gustavus. He was then sick at Mentz, and the news of Gustavus's death heightened his disorder in such a manner, that he died on the 19th of November.

Wallstein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lutzen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quit Germany now that Gustavus was no longer at their head; but general Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He causes the body of the king to be publicly shewn in the army, in order to excite the spirit of revenge.

1633.

Gustavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter six years old, and consequently a government divided, as was the Protestant league by the death of him who had been its chief and support. The fruits of so many victories were now near being lost; yet nevertheless they were not. The true reason perhaps of so extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his closet, when he ought to have exerted himself at the head of his army. The senate of Sweden appoint their chancellor Oxenstiern to follow exactly the

confirms this suspicion, was his abandoning the Swedes immediately after the battle, and returning to the emperor's army, which he is said to have quitted for this vile purpose.

designs

designs of Gustavus the great in Germany. They also gave him absolute power. Oxenstiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank, than ever subject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the Protestant princes of Germany.

These princes meet at Heilbron, and among them are the ambassadors of France and England, and the states general. Oxenstiern opens the conference in his own house, and immediately signalizes himself by restoring the Upper and Lower-Palatinate to Charles Lewis, son of the dispossessed elector. This prince Charles Lewis had appeared in one of those assemblies as an elector; but this ceremony had not restored him his dominions.

Oxenstiern renews with cardinal Richlieu the treaty that had been made with Gustavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year subsidy, instead of 1200000 livres which had been allowed his master.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the Protestant princes, having a view of dividing them; but he does not succeed. The war is still continued in plundering Germany with undecisive success. Austria is the only part which was free from it, as well before as after the time of Gustavus. The Spanish branch of Austria, had hitherto but feebly supported the imperial branch; however, it at last makes an effort, sending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about 20,000 men, the greatest part of which army he lost in his marches and operations. The elector of Trivers, bishop of Spire, had built and fortified Philipsburg, on which the imperial troops had

seized in spite of him. Oxenstiern, by the force of the Swedish arms, obliges them to restore it to the elector, notwithstanding the duke of Feria vainly strove to force him to raise the siege. This wise politician seemed inclined to convince Europe by his conduct, that he did not want to subdue the Catholic religion ; but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the Protestants and Catholics. A conduct that encouraged the pope to refuse the men, money, and a crusade, which the emperor had demanded.

1634.

France as yet had only taken part privately in this dispute. It had hitherto cost her but a very trifling subsidy to procure the throne of Ferdinand to be shaken by the Swedish arms ; but cardinal Richlieu began now to deliberate upon making some use of their success. He vainly endeavoured the sequestration of Philipsburg ; for France had taken every fair opportunity of making herself mistress of some towns in Alsace, as Haguenau and Saverne, which she had obliged the count de Solmes, governor of Strasburg, to part with by treaty. Lewis XIII. who had not declared war against Austria, yet declares it against Charles duke of Lorraine, because he was a partizan of that house. The ministry of France dared not as yet openly attack the emperor or Spain, because they were able to defend themselves, but turned their arms upon the feeble Lorraine. Charles II. the deposed duke, is commonly called Charles IV. a prince well known for his extravagancies, his marriages, and his misfortunes.

The

The French have an army in Lorrain, and troops in Alsace ready to act openly against the emperor, the first fair opportunity that may afford the least justification for such a proceeding. The duke de Feria, pursued by the Swedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almost intire dispersion of his army.

In the midst of these troubles and misfortunes, duke Walsstein is ingrossed with a design of making the army, which he commanded in Bohemia, contribute to his own grandeur, and thereby render himself independent of an emperor who seemed dilatory in assisting even himself, and was always distrustful of his generals. It is pretended that Walsstein treated with the Protestant princes, and even with Sweden and France. But those intrigues of which he is accused were never clearly proved. The conspiracy of Walsstein is received as an historical fact, and yet we are absolutely ignorant of what kind it was. They guessed at his projects. His real crime was that of making the army his own, and endeavouring to become absolute master of it. Time and opportunity had done the rest. He had administered an oath to such of the principal officers of this army as were most in his interest; the purport of which was, *their binding themselves to defend his person and share his fortune.* Although he might justify himself in this step, by the very ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spanish and Bavarian parties at that court were Walsstein's professed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a resolution of taking off Walsstein and his principal

friends by assassination. One Butler, an Irishman, to whom Walstein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Lefly and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this assassination. These three strangers having received their commission in Egra, where Walstein at that time resided, caused four officers, who were the principal friends of the duke, to be forthwith strangled at supper; after which they assassinate himself in the castle on the 15th of February. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity so very odious, it ought to be reckoned amongst his misfortunes*.

All the effects of this assassination were to exasperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Silesia. If the Bohemians stirred not upon this occasion, it was because they were awed by an army; but the Silesians openly revolt, and join the Swedes. The Swedish arms still keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole course of the Oder; marshal Horn governs upon the Rhine; Bernard duke of Weimar upon the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. The emperor still continues at Vienna. It was happy for him, that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethleem-Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. employed against the Persians.

* It ought to be reckoned amongst his crimes; for no kind of necessity can justify a monarch in patronizing assassination. Walstein put to the ban of the empire before he fell by these assassins.

Ferdinand, secure on that side, drew some assistance from Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tirol. The king of Spain supplied him with some money, the Catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The Austrians and Bavarians united, support the fortune of Germany upon the Danube. Ferdinand Ernest king of Hungary son to the emperor, encourages the Austrians by putting himself at their head. He takes Ratisbon in sight of the duke of Saxe-weimar. This prince and marshal Horn who were joined, make a stand upon the borders of Suabia, and on the 5th of September they give the imperialists battle. This was the memorable battle of Norlinguen. The king of Hungary commanded the army: the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops; the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low-countries, led some Spanish regiments. Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who had been stripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thousand men, which he had sometimes led to the service of the emperor, sometimes to that of the Spaniards, and subsisted at the cost of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army, several great generals, such as Picolimini, and John de Vert. It was one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought, lasting above a day and a half; the army of Weimar was almost totally destroyed, and Suabia, and Franconia submitted to the imperialists, where they quartered at discretion.

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This misfortune, which was shared by the Swedes, by France, and the Protestants of Germany, contributed to the most christian king's superiority, and at length secured him the possession of Alsace. It was not the chancellor Oxenstiern's intention before this event, that France should have much power in that country; but that the Swedes, who had all the labour of the war, should reap the advantage of it. Besides, Lewis XIII. had never openly declared against the emperor. But after the battle of Norlinguen the Swedes were obliged to intreat the ministry of France to take possession of Alsace, under the name of protector, upon condition that neither the Protestant princes nor states should make peace or treat with the emperor without the consent of France and Sweden. This treaty is signed at Paris November the first.

1635.

In consequence of this, the king of France sends an army into Alsace, and puts garrisons into all the towns, Straßburg excepted, which appears as a considerable ally. The elector of Triers, being under the protection of France, is arrested by the emperor. This elector is confined at Brussels under the care of the cardinal infant, and furnishes also a reason for going to war with the Spanish branch of Austria.

France had not joined her arms to those of Sweden, untill the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Norlinguen had recovered the spirits of the imperialists. Cardinal Richieu already shared in imagination, the conquest of the Spanish Low-countries with the Dutch.

Dutch. He reckoned he should soon have the chief command himself, and Frederic Henry, a prince of Orange, be subservient to his orders. In Germany he had in his pay Bernard de Weimar upon the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was distinguished by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles IV. of Lorrain or of Mansfeld, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Higher and Lower Rhine, although it was paid by France, and not in the least subsisted by these circles.

This was the height of the thirty years war, in which, on the one side we see the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and the Catholic league engaged, and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the Protestant league.

The emperor could not possibly neglect dividing the Protestant league after the victory of Norlinguen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war, which had she made in the time that Gustavus himself was in Germany, the French troops had entered without resistance a discontented country, harrassed by the government of Ferdinand; but they came at a time when Germany was wearied by the Swedish devastations, after the death of Gustavus, and the battle of Norlinguen, when the superiority again appeared in favour of the imperialists.

At the same time that France declared herself, the emperor did not neglect to make a very necessary agreement with most of the Protestant princes. The same elector of Saxony, who

who had been the first that called in the Swedes, was the first to abandon them by the treaty, which is distinguished by the name of Prague. Few treaties more plainly shew how religion serves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay sacrificed to necessity.

The emperor had set all Germany in a flame by the restitution of benefices ; in the treaty of Prague he first gave up the archbishopric of Magdeburg and all ecclesiastical possession to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a pension, which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg a Calvinist. The interest of the House of the elector Palatine, which had given first rise to this long war, seemed to be the thing least regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was only obliged to subsidise the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the Palatine his son, when he should submit to the imperial authority.

The emperor besides this, engages to restore to such of the confederates of the Protestant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them ; and it was likewise stipulated, that they should restore all they had taken from the house of Austria ; the latter indeed was very trifling, since the emperor's dominions, Upper Austria excepted, had not been in the least exposed in this war.

One branch of the house of Brunswick, the duke of Mecklenburg, the house of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is established at Gotha, duke Bernard, de Saxe Weimar's brother, besides several imperial towns, signed this treaty. The others continue to negotiate, expecting great advantages.

The

The whole weight of the war, which had rested intirely upon Gustavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French ; and this war, which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic sea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alsace, Lorrain, Franche-Comté, and the borders of France. Lewis XIII. who had only paid 1,200,000 franks by way of subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus, allowed 4,000,000 to Bernard de Weimar for the use of his troops ; besides which the French ministry gave up to this duke all their pretensions upon Alsace, of which province they promised to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It must be owned, that had not cardinal Richlieu been the man who made this treaty, it would appear very strange. How could they give a young German prince who might have children, a province of such vast advantage to France, wherein she already possessed several towns ? It is very probable, that cardinal Richlieu had no notion of keeping Alsace ; nor had he any hope of annexing Lorrain to France, over which she had no manner of right, and which must have been surrendered upon a peace. The conquest of Franche-Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that side they make but very feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low-countries with the Dutch, was the cardinal's principal object : and he had this so much at heart, that had his health and affairs permitted it, he was resolved to have commanded there in person ; yet in this project he was principally disappointed, and Alsace, which he had so freely bestowed upon Bernard de Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted

lotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foresight of the ablest politicians, unless they had said it was the intention of the French ministry to keep Alsace under the name of the duke of Weimar, as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

1636.

Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel ; but not as the imperial houses of Saxony and Suabia had done, to defend its liberty against the German arms. It was intended to dispute the superiority of the Spanish branch of Austria governing in Italy, on the other side of the Alps, as it had been formerly opposed on the banks of the Rhine. The ministry of France, had Savoy at that time for itself, and had just driven the Spaniards out of the Valteline. These two great Austrian bodies were thus attacked on all sides.

France alone sends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itself on the side of Piedmont, the Rhine, and the frontiers of Flanders ; those of Franche-comté, as well as those of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made the like efforts ; and France had never manifested before so many resources.

In the midst of so many storms such confusion of powers which pressed it on every side, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is defeated by general Banier in Westphalia, who ravages Hesse, Saxony and Westphalia, Ferdinand, still intirely ingrossed by politics, at last causes his son Ferdinand Ernest, to be declared king of the Ro-

mans, in the diet of Ratisbon on the 12th of December; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Austria exclaim against this election as null and void. The elector of Triers, say they who advance this, was a prisoner; Charles Lewis son to Frederick the Palatine, king of Bohemia, is not restored as yet to the rights of his Palatinate: the electors of Mentz and Cologne are the emperors pensioners, all which, say they, is against the golden bull. It is very certain that none of these clauses were inserted in the golden bull; and that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices, was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of an emperor; the manner of which is not specified in the golden bull.

1637.

Ferdinand II. dies on the 15th of February, aged 59, after a reign of 18 years, which had been perplexed with foreign and intestine wars, against which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, because in his successes he had imagined it necessary to be bloody; and he had afterwards felt great changes of fortune. Germany was still more unfortunate than her master; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes, and by the French, pining under poverty and famine, and plunged in barbarity, the certain consequences of a war so long and so unhappy.



FERDINAND III.

FORTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

FERDINAND III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harrassed people began to hope for some repose ; but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been appointed at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give at least to the public the appearances of the approaching accommodation. But peace was not the object of either cardinal Richlieu or the Austrian council's intention ; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general Banier, and the country about the Rhine by duke Bernard de Weimar: the Spaniards having taken the island of St. Margaret had entered Languedoc, and in the Low-countries penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low-countries against the cardinal Infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the Protestant and Catholic league, and on the elector Palatine's account ; but their purpose now was the superiority of which France endeavoured to deprive the house of Austria, and the design of the Swedes was to preserve
part

part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

1638.

Duke Bernard de Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in 15 days near Rhensfield, one of the four forest towns of which he made himself master, and at the second battle, he intirely destroyed the army of John de Werth, a celebrated imperial general, whom he took prisoner with many of his general officers. John de Werth is sent to Paris. Weimar besieges Brisac; he gains a third battle, assisted by marshal de Guebriant and viscount Turenne, against general Gœuts. He gains a fourth against Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, who like Weimar had no estate but his army. After having won four victories in less than four months, he takes the fort of Brisac on the 18th of December, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alsace.

Charles Lewis, count Palatine, who had re-assembled some troops, and who burned with impatience to re-establish himself by his sword, is not so happy in Westphalia, where the imperialists destroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under general Banier make new conquests in Pomerania. The first year of this reign is hardly remarkable for any thing but misfortunes.

1639.

The good fortune of the house of Austria delivers it from Bernard de Weimar, as it had already done from Gustavus Adolphus. He is
cut

cut off by sickness in the flower of his age, being only 35 years old, on the 18th of July.

The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conquests. This army, in truth, was secretly paid by France; but it belonged to Weimar. It had sworn fidelity to no other. There was a necessity to negotiate with it, to preserve it in the French service, and keep it from the Swedish.

Marshal Guebriant purchases the fidelity of these troops, and Lewis XIII. is thus master of Weimar's army, of Alsace, Brisgaw, and the neighbouring country.

Money and negotiations do every-thing for him. He disposes intirely of Hesse, a province that furnishes good soldiers: the celebrated Amelia, dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot, with the help of some French subsidies, an army of 10,000 men in that ruined country which she had restored; enjoying at the same time that reputation which all the virtues of the sex bestow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neuter; but then she caused a considerable diversion by employing Spain and the Low-countries.

Banier was in all his battles successful. After making sure of Pomerania, he had secured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of so many troubles, which had been the re-establishment of the house of the Palatine, seemed to be most neglected, and by a singular fatality this prince was thrown into prison by the French themselves,

selves, who had so long appeared willing to place him in the electoral chair.

The count Palatine, at the death of the duke de Weimar, had conceived a noble, and indeed a very reasonable design, that of re-entering upon his estates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchased with the money of England: he goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France; but the cardinal Richlieu, who was very willing to protect him, yet did not care to see him independent, causes him to be arrested; nor is he set at liberty, until Brisac and Weimar's troops are secured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

1640.

The progress of the French and Swedes continue. The duke de Longueville and marshal Guebriant join general Banier. This army is still increased by the troops of Hesse and Lunenburg.

They march toward Vienna without general Piccolomini; but in a wary, skilful, and deliberate manner. It had been otherwise very difficult for so numerous an army to advance in sight of the enemy in a country that had been so long ruined, and where the soldiers, as well as the people, were in want of every thing.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the house of Austria. Catalonia revolts, and gives itself up to France. Portugal, which ever since the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoverished Spain, shakes off the Austrian yoke, and soon erects herself into a separate and flourishing kingdom.

Ferdinand

118 FERDINAND III.

Ferdinand then begins seriously to treat of peace; yet at the same time demands of the diet of Ratisbon an army of 90,000 men to carry on the war.

1641.

While the emperor is at the diet of Ratisbon, general Banier is very near seizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube, which was frozen; and had he not been surprised by a thaw, he had taken Ferdinand in Ratisbon.

The same fortune which had taken off Gustavus and Weimar in the midst of their conquests, at length delivers the Imperialists from the famous general Banier. He sickens, and dies, on the 20th of May, at Halberstadt, being 40 years old, and at that time more formidable than ever. None of the Swedish generals had any long career.

They negotiate still. Cardinal Richlieu could have made peace, but he did not chuse it: he knew very well what advantages France was to reap; and it was his intention to make himself necessary, during the life, and after the death of Lewis XIII. whose end he foresaw approaching; but his forecast could not teach him that he was to die first. He concluded a new treaty of an offensive alliance with Christina queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they soothed an oppressed people. He augments the Swedish subsidy with an addition of 200,000 livres.

Count de Torstenson succeeds general Banier in the Swedish army, which was in reality an army of Germans. Almost all the Swedes who had fought under Gustavus and Banier were

dead ; and under the name of Swedes, the Germans fight against their country. Torstenson, bred under Gustavus, shews himself worthy of so great a master. Marshal Guebriant and he again defeat the Imperialists near Wolfenbuttle.

Austria, notwithstanding so many victories, is not yet subdued. The emperor still holds out. Germany, from the Maine, even to the Baltic sea, is laid waste. The war is not carried into Austria. They had not sufficient forces. These victories, so much boasted of, were not entirely decisive : they could not at once go through so many different enterprizes, and powerfully attack one side without weakening another.

1642.

Frederick William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope, it is said, of obtaining the duchy of Jagerndorff in Silesia ; a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, who had been his governor, since confiscated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague, and the misfortunes of the Palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorrain also implores the assistance of France to restore him to his dominions, which she does, keeping only some fortified towns. This is another support taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. still holds out, notwithstanding all these losses ; nor is he abandoned by either

ther Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furnish him with soldiers. Torstenson again defeats the Imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by the archduke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and Piccolomini: but this victory is attended with no consequences. He repasses the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays siege to Leipzick: he gains another signal victory in that country, where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfeldt the 2d of November. Torstenson enters Leipzick on the 15th of December. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany; but they had never penetrated to its center, nor to the emperor, who supports himself after more than twenty defeats.

Cardinal Richlieu dies on the 4th of December; a death that gives some hopes to the house of Austria.

1643.

The Swedes, in the course of this war, had often entered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and quitted them to throw themselves into the eastern provinces. Torstenson would have entered Bohemia; but, notwithstanding his victories, could never gain his point.

They continued to negotiate still slowly at Hamburg, while the war was pursued very briskly. Lewis XIII. dies on the 14th of May. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace: he flattered himself he should be able to withdraw the Swedes from the French alliance, during the troubles of a minority; but it happens during the minority of Lewis XIV. though

though very perplexed, as it had under that of Christina, that the war is continued at the expence of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length strengthened by the duke of Lorrain, who joins him after the death of Lewis XIII.

The death of marshal Guebriant, who is killed at the siege of Rothuel, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who perished in the progress of his victories against the Imperialists. It was the emperor's good fortune also that general Mercy should defeat marshal Rantzau, Guebriant's successor, at Dutlingen in Suabia.

These vicissitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Munster and at Osna-brug, where the congress at last is settled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of some Danish ships taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to breathe. This accident might have given the superiority to the emperor, who shews what were his resources, by marching a small part of his army, with Galas at its head, to the assistance of Denmark. But this diversion serves only to ruin Holstein, the stage of this transitory war, and one of the most desolated provinces of Germany. Europe was the more surprised at hostilities between Sweden and Denmark, because Denmark had offered itself as mediator of the general peace; but was now excluded; and Rome and Venice have at length the sole mediation of this peace, which is yet very distant.

The first step taken by count d'Avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Munster, threw the greatest obstacle in the way of

it. He writes to the princes and states of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, to engage them to support their prerogatives, and to share with the emperor and the electors the right of peace and war; a right that had been always contested between the electors and other imperial states. At the diet, these states insisted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the start of the French Ministers, who in their letters used some disrespectful terms towards Ferdinand. This occasions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain, and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France, they receive news about that time of a most memorable victory gained over the Spanish-Austrian army, at Rocroi, by the duke d'Enguieu, afterwards the great Condé, who in this battle destroys the celebrated Castilian, and Walloon infantry, whose reputation had been so very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by such victories, might write in any terms.

1644.

The emperor might still flatter himself that Denmark would declare in his favour; but of this resource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarine, Richlieu's successor, is assiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden: nor is this all; Denmark also engages itself not to assist any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Austrians. The duke d'Enguieu, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four
days,

days, between the 5th and 9th of August, in the neighbourhood of Friburg, to general Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himself master of the whole country from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before possessed.

Cardinal Mazarine and the chancellor Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, raise up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the person of Ragotsky, who had been sovereign of Transilvania ever since 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotsky wants neither pretexts nor reasons for his conduct. The Protestants of Hungary persecuted, the privileges of the people despised, and the violation of antient treaties, form Ragotsky's manifesto, while the money of France supplies him with arms.

In the mean time the Imperialists are pushed hard by Torstenson in Franconia. General Galas flies every-where before him, and before count Königsmark, who trod already in the steps of the greatest Swedish captains.

1645.

Ferdinand and the archduke Leopold, his relation, were at Prague when the victorious Torstenson enters Bohemia, and obliges them to fly to Vienna.

Torstenson comes up with the Imperial army at Tabor, which was commanded by general Gœuts and John de Werth, who was redeemed out of prison. Gœuts was killed, and John de Werth flies. In short, the rout is complete.

The conqueror marches to, and besieges Brinn; nay, even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of disasters, something always fell out to preserve the emperor. The siege of Brinn had been protracted, and instead of the French marching towards the Danube to join the Swedes, as they were to have done in case they had conquered, viscount Turenne is beaten, on the beginning of his journey, by general Mercy, at Mariendal, and retires to Hesse.

The great Condé marches against Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat, by a most signal victory on the very same plains of Norlinguen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death of Gustavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the success of this bloody battle, which is the less decisive the more it is destructive. The emperor suddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotsky, to prevent the French from marching through Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it through Moravia.

In all probability, while the French and Swedish arms are attended with such mighty prosperity, some rooted vice still prevented their reaping the advantage of such success. The mutual fear which each of these allies had of the other's obtaining the superiority, the failure of money, and the want of recruits, all set bounds to their progress.

After the famous battle of Norlinguen, it was scarcely to be expected that the Austrians and Bavarians should suddenly recover the territories lost by that battle, and that they should pursue even the victorious army of Condé to the Neckar, where he himself was not, but
where

where Turenne remained. Such vicissitudes are frequent in this war.

In the mean time, the emperor, tired with such continual shocks, began to think seriously of peace. He at length gives the elector of Triers his liberty, whose imprisonment had given France a pretext for declaring war: But the French arms re-establish this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the Imperial garrison, and the elector of Triers allies himself to France as his benefactor. The elector Palatine might have had the same obligations; but France as yet had done nothing decisive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's safety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almost always borne the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All had thereby been lost. The fear of the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to satisfy Ragotsky. He acknowledges that prince sovereign of Transylvania, a prince of the empire, and restores to him all that he had given to his predecessor Bethleem-Gabor. Thus by every treaty is the emperor a loser; and he hastens the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, whereby he is to lose still more.

1646.

Pope Innocent X. was the first mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be considerable losers; the republic of Venice was the second. Cardinal Chigi, afterwards pope by the name of Alexander VII. was the pope's

minister at Munster, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each interested power made propositions according to its hopes or fears ; but victories form treaties.

During these first negotiations, marshal Turenne, by an unexpected and bold march, joins the Swedish army upon the Neckar in sight of the archduke Leopold. He advances as far as Munich, and increases the fears of Austria. Another Swedish body marches to ravage Silesia ; but all these expeditions are no more than incursions. If the war had been carried on step by step, under the conduct of one single leader, who had always obstinately persisted in the same plan, the emperor had not been in a condition at this time to accomplish the crowning his eldest son Ferdinand, in the month of August, at Prague, and afterwards at Presburg, though this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity ; besides, the thrones which his father at that time bestowed, were very unsteady.

1647.

The emperor, in endeavouring to secure these kingdoms to his son, is nearer losing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged, by the misfortunes of the war, to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian his brother-in-law, whose example the elector of Cologne follows. They sign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marshal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to adopt the same conduct ; and fear has the same influence on the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. The emperor remains alone, without any one prince daring to take part in his quarrel ; nor have we, till this time, a single instance of such a nature in the wars of the empire.

About

About this period, Wrangel, a new Swedish general who succeeded Torstenson, takes Egra; and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears so very great, that the elector of Bavaria, notwithstanding his great age, and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot see the head of the empire left without succour, but breaks through the treaty with France. War is made at the same time in different places, according as the armies can subsist. When the emperor has the least advantage, his ministers at the congress demand favourable conditions; but on the least check, are obliged to submit to severe terms.

1648.

The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the house of Austria is not prosperous. Turenne and Wrangel beat his troops and the Austrians at Summarhausen and Lawingen, near the Danube, in spite of the brave resistance of a prince of Wirtemberg and that of Montecuculi, who began already to prove himself worthy to oppose a Turenne. The conqueror possesses himself of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Salzburg.

In the mean time, count Koningmark, at the head of the Swedes, surprises Prague in Bohemia. This was a decisive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received, or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer any enemy in Germany but the emperor; all the rest were either allied or subdued, and waited only that the empire should receive laws from the congress at Munster and Osnabrug.

The PEACE of WESTPHALIA.

THIS peace of Westphalia, at last signed on the 14th of October 1648, at Munster and Osnabrug, was made, given, and received, *as a fundamental and perpetual law*; such are the exact words of the treaty. It was to serve as the basis of Imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a law as sacred, and as fully received, as the Golden Bull; nay, very much superior to this bull, by the detail of the many interests comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made, as well in religion as civil affairs.

This work had been laboured at incessantly, for more than six years, at Munster and Osnabrug: there had been, however, much time lost in disputing about ceremonials; the emperor refusing to give the title of Majesty to the kings who had triumphed over him. His minister Lutzan, in the first act of 1641, wherein the passports and conferences were settled, spoke of preliminaries *between his Most Sacred Cæsarian Majesty and the Most Serene and Most Christian King*. The king of France, for his part, refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty the court of France had given the title of Majesty to the great Gustavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no superiority but that of victory. The Swedish ministers, at the congress of Westphalia, affected to be put upon a footing with those of France. The plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain insisted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The
new

new states of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings. The term Excellency began now first to be used. The ministers assumed it to themselves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Munster were named his Sacred Imperial Majesty, his Sacred Most Christian Majesty, and the Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of Excellency given him in these conferences; nor do the ambassadors of France give place even to the electors themselves among the princes, and the count d'Avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: "Sir, I have done all I could to serve you." When the king of France addressed them, the states-general of the United Provinces were to be called the Lords of the States; pursuant to which, when count d'Avaux went from Munster to Holland, in 1644, he never addressed them by any title but that of Messieurs; nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the distinction of Excellency. The count d'Avaux also refused it to an ambassador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini because he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by these pretensions and refusals which the Romans call *gloriole*, and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but insist on when they have established one. These customs, titles, ceremonies, superscriptions, and subscriptions of letters, with their different forms, have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a secretary was

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sufficient

sufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote, established forms, which, passing afterwards into other languages, appeared odd. The emperors before Rodolphus I. sent all their mandates in Latin, *thouing* every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This *thouing* of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language, which disallows such expressions. We find every-where such examples, but they have not even to this day settled a particular precedent.

The mediating ministers were rather witnesses than arbitrators; above all, the nuncio Chigi, who was only there to see the church sacrificed. He sees the diocese of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede, who was a Lutheran; those of Magdeburg, Alberstadt, Minden, and Camin, to the elector of Brandenburg.

The bishoprics of Ratsburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg.

The bishoprics of Osnabrug and of Lubec were not indeed intirely secularized, but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic bishop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the first troubles of religion; but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of fanaticism was extinct.

Liberty of conscience was established all over Germany. The emperor's Lutheran subjects in Silesia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit Protestants into the Aulic council.

The commandries of Malta, the abbeys and benefices, in Protestant countries, were given
to

to the princes and sovereigns who were at the expence of the war.

How very different were these concessions from the edict of Ferdinand II. who in the time of his prosperity had ordered the restitution of all ecclesiastical possessions. Necessity, and the repose of the empire, ordained this law. The nuncio protested and anathematized. That a mediator should condemn the treaty over which he presided, was before this unknown; but he knew not what other step to take. The pope by his bull "deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the peace of Westphalia, as far as they related to religion." But had he been in the place of Ferdinand, he had ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution in religious, causes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire, being in possession of the Hither Pomerania, the most beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rugen, the town of Wismar, many neighbouring villages, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holstein also hereby gained some territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loses great part of the Hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquisate. He had also Camin, Halberstadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loses Wismar, but he gains the territory of Ratsburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden, which the seven circles were to have discharged; and 600,000 crowns were paid to the prince's landgrave of Hesse, to

be raised upon the archbishoprics of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Munster, and the abbey of Fulda. Germany, as impoverished by this peace as it had been by the war, could scarcely have paid it protectors dearer.

These afflictions were however healed by the useful regulations made both in commerce and justice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town, as well as of every gentleman, who laid their rights before the congress, as before a supreme court that was to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itself for ever the possession of three bishoprics, and the acquisition of Alsace, Strasburg excepted; but instead of being paid, like Sweden, she is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tirol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alsace and Sundgaw. France paid both for war and peace; but she did not purchase so fine a province dearly. Brisac and its dependencies were also hers, as well as the right to garrison Philipsburg. These two advantages she has since lost; but kept Alsace, which is at length incorporated with that kingdom by Strasburg's having given herself up.

There are few Civilians who do not condemn the wording of the cession of Alsace in this famous treaty of Munster. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up "all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty," and to give up "the prefecture of ten free imperial towns," are two very different things. It is very probable, that the plenipotentiaries saw this difficulty, but did not chuse to fathom it;
well

well knowing, that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove, and power overthrow.

The house of the Palatine was restored to all its rights, except the Higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favour of the Palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went so far as to stipulate the payment of 20,000 crowns, which the emperor was to give to the mother of the count Palatine, Charles Lewis, and 10,000 to each of his sisters. Even he was well received who only came to demand the restitution of a few acres of land. All things were discussed and regulated. There were 140,000 restitutions appointed. The restitution of Lorrain, and the affair of Juliers, submitted to an arbitration. Germany has at last peace, after a war of 30 years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris, in 1647, emboldens Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The states-general, who were to have treated at Munster as well as Spain, make a separate peace with Spain, in spite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the interests which seemed to bind them to their antient protectors. The Spanish minister made use of a very singular artifice to engage the states to this breach of faith: he persuaded them that he was ready to give the Infanta in marriage to Lewis XIV. with the Low Countries by way of dower. This soon frightened the states into his measures. It was no more than a lye; and indeed, properly

properly speaking, what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important treaty of Westphalia the Roman empire had hardly any share. Sweden had no business to quarrel with the sovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had some points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor: these concerned Pignerol, the succession of Mantua and of Montferrat, which were fiefs of the empire. It was settled that the king of France should pay about 600,000 livres to "Monsieur the duke of Mantua, upon the receipt of Monsieur the duke of Savoy;" provided that he should keep Pignerol and Casal in full and independent sovereignty of the empire. France has since lost these possessions, as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania, have been taken from Sweden; but the treaty of Westphalia, as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained respected, and is still inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION of GERMANY,

*From the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, to the
Death of FERDINAND III.*

THUS the chaos of German government was not well settled in less than 1700 years, reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler, before whose time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been restrained to proper limits;

mits; most of the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate noblesse, and of the towns, were not incontestibly fixed till after the treaty of Westphalia. Germany was a grand aristocracy, at the head of which was a king not unlike those of England, Sweden, and Poland, or such a form of government as had been antiently received by the states, founded by the people who came from the North and the East. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

These imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany: they are states belonging to the empire, and not to the emperor: they neither pay the smallest imposts, nor do they contribute to the necessities of the empire, but in the most urgent cases. Their tax is regulated by the general register. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellando*, without appeal, they are absolutely sovereign states. Nevertheless, with all these rights, they have very little power, because they are surrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconveniences annexed to a government so complicated and mixed, in so extended a country, still subsisted; as did the state itself. The multiplicity of sovereignties served to balance each other, until, in the heart of Germany, a power forms itself sufficiently great to swallow up the rest.

This vast country repairs insensibly its losses after the peace of Westphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years these were the most remarkable things that happened to a body every-where
wasted

wasted and torn; who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during thirty years.

When it is said, that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals, to whom they belong; and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is middling, between a slave and a subject; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary, like Germany, breathes a little, after so many intestine wars, and such frequent invasions of the Turks; she standing in need of being recruited, re-peopled, and polished; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then seventeen years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his Serene Highness sign a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be observed that the Hungarians use Serene Highness instead of Majesty; a title they never give to any but the emperor, or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not so powerful as the German princes: they had neither Swedes nor French to guaranty their privileges: they were rather oppressed than assisted by the Turks; and for this reason Hungary has been at length intirely subdued, in our time, after new intestine wars.

The emperor, after the treaty of Westphalia, found himself peaceable possessor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while
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the Hungarians thought themselves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tirol. He had no territory in Italy.

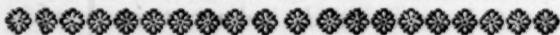
The name of the Holy Roman Empire always subsists. It is difficult to define what it is besides Germany, and what Germany is besides the empire. Charles V. had justly foreseen, that if his son Philip II. had not, together with the imperial throne, enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, scarcely more had remained to him than the name of Empire. In effect, when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spanish branch, this branch found itself, at the same time, that it was a titular vassal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuscany and the principal towns in Italy secure themselves in their antient independence of the emperors. A Cæsar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and states, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We see, in all the course of this history, two great designs carried on for near 800 years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome, and that of the German lords preserving and increasing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III. at his death, in 1657, left the empire, while the Spanish branch of Austria still carried on that long war with France, which was finished by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the Infanta Maria Theresa with Lewis XIV.

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These events are so recent, and so very well known, as well as recited by all historians, that it would be needless to repeat here what nobody is ignorant of. From this situation of affairs, a general idea may be formed of the empire, down from those days to ours.



The STATE of the EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

FORTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

IT is to be remarked, that at first, after the death of Ferdinand III. the empire was near passing out of the house of Austria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themselves obliged to chuse Leopold Ignatius, the son of Ferdinand, who was then eighteen years old; but the good of the state, the neighbourhood of the Turks, and private jealousies, contributed to the election of a prince, whose house was sufficiently powerful to support, but not to enslave the German empire. They had formerly elected Rodolphus de Hapsburg, because he had scarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his posterity, because they had a great deal.

The Turks, still masters of Buda, the French possessors of Alsace, the Swedes of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election necessary; so natural is the idea of æquilibrium amongst all men.

Besides, it was in Leopold's favour that there had been ten emperors successively of the same
house;

house; so many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the ministry of Leopold; there was no longer any need of seeking a crown at Rome, and still less of exerting the Austrian claims as lord paramount over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turkey, employed the Germans all this reign. These three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulsed, or vanquished, without Leopold's drawing his sword. This prince, the least warlike of his time, always attacked Lewis XIV. when France was in the most flourishing condition; at first, after the invasion of Holland, when he furnished the United Provinces with an assistance which he had not extended to his own house at the invasion of Flanders; and some years after, at the peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous league of Augsbourg against Lewis XIV. and at last at the time when, in the most astonishing manner, the king of France's grandson was raised to the Spanish throne.

Leopold, in all these wars, knew how to interest the Germanic body, and to make them declare them wars of the empire. The first was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by these wars, as they had been by the war, which lasted thirty years; but the frontiers, on the side of the Rhine, were damaged. Lewis XIV. had always the superiority; nor could it well happen

happen otherwise; able ministers, experienced generals, a kingdom every-where united, places well fortified, armies well disciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, must necessarily have the better of a country where these advantages are wanting. It is astonishing that France did not succeed better against armies levied in haste, often ill-paid, and subsisted still worse; the leaders of which were princes who seldom agreed, and who had different interests to pursue. France in this war, which was ended by the treaty of Nimeguen, owed its superiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces, which were but badly united.

Fortune was less unequal in the second war produced by the league of Augsbourg. Lewis XIV. had then against him England joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden, that had been so long the ally of France, abandoned her; furnishing troops against her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithstanding there were so many allies, they could scarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they, at the peace of Ryswick, with all their power, force Strasbourg from Lewis XIV.

The third war was indeed more prosperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time the king of France was more powerful than ever: he governed Spain in the name of his grandson, and had under him the Spanish Low Countries and Bavaria; besides which, his armies were in the midst of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Hochstedt gave things an intire

tire new face. Leopold died in the following year 1705, convinced that France would be soon crushed, and Alsace reunited to Germany. The grandeur of Lewis XIV. was of the greatest service to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him so vain, ostentatious, and haughty, that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbours, more especially the English.

They impute to him his having had a notion of universal monarchy: but had Leopold inherited the Spanish succession, which he seemed for some time very likely to do, this emperor being then absolute master of Hungary, whole boundaries were very extensive, being very powerful in Germany, possessing Spain and the absolute dominion of one half of Italy, as well as sovereign of the best part of the new world; thus enabled to support the rights and pretensions of the empire, he had effectually appeared to have made the nearest approach to universal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Lewis XIV. because, after the peace of Nimeguen, he seemed inclined to make the three bishoprics depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his issue, who were near reigning over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Lewis XIV. in irritating his neighbours, did infinitely more service to the house of Austria than he could possibly have done hurt to it by his power.

Of HUNGARY and the TURKS,
during the Time of LEOPOLD.

LEOPOLD never risked any thing in the wars which he waged from his closet against Lewis XIV. Germany and its allies bore all the burden, and defended his hereditary dominions; while, on the side of Hungary and the Turks, there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation, that survived the destructions of civil war, or the sabre of the Ottomans: they sword in hand tilled the soil which was still wet with the blood of their ancestors. The lords of these unhappy cantons endeavoured, at one and the same time, to defend their privileges against the authority of their king, and their liberty against the Turk, who, whilst he protected, destroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thousand Turks march, in 1663, towards Neuhausel. It is true that they were vanquished, the year after, near St. Godardth, upon the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boasted of, but was certainly far from being decisive. What was the consequence of this victory, but a shameful treaty, by which Transilvania, and all the territory of Neuhausel, is yielded to the Turks, who raze to the ground the fortifica-

tions of the neighbouring citadels? The Turks give Transylvania to Abassi, or rather settle him in it, and still destroy Hungary, notwithstanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the archduchess, who was afterwards electress of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have some thoughts of chusing a king of their own nation, should Leopold die.

Their projects, their steadiness in supporting their rights, and their conspiracies, cost Serini, Frangipani, Nadaſti, and Tattenback, their heads.

The Imperialists seize on the castles of all who had befriended these unfortunate men. The great dignities of Palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom, and of the ban of Croatia, are suppressed, and the form of justice gives countenance to rapine. This excess of severity drives them at first into consternation, afterwards into despair. Emerick Tekeli puts himself at the head of the malecontents, and all Upper Austria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte; at which time the court of Vienna soothes the malecontents of Hungary. She re-establishes the office of Palatine, confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promises to restore the estates that had been confiscated; but this condescension, after so much severity, wears the appearance of a snare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkish than the Imperial court. He is made prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of 40,000 sequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, assisted by some troops under the command of
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the basha of Buda, ravages Silesia; and this basha takes Tokai and Eperies, whilst the sultan Mahomet IV. prepares the most formidable armament that the Ottoman empire had ever made against the Christians.

We do not see how the emperor could have opposed the Turks, had they taken this step before the treaty of Nimeguen; seeing after that his resistance was not very great.

The grand, visier Kara Mustapha, traverses Hungary with above 250,000 foot, 30,000 spahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to so great a multitude. He drives Charles V. duke of Lorrain, every-where before him, and lays siege to Vienna, unresisted.

The SIEGE of VIENNA in 1683; together with its CONSEQUENCES.

THIS siege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of posterity. This town had been in some measure the capital of the Roman empire, and the residence of ten emperors of the house of Austria successively; yet it was neither strong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine could have held out. Vienna and its suburbs contained about 100,000 citizens; two thirds of which at least inhabited the suburbs, which were intirely defenceless. Kara Mustapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by 330,000 men, including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended that it was the grand visier's design to take Vienna

for himself, and make it the capital of a new kingdom independent of his master. Tekeli, with the Hungarian malecontents, marched on the other side of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was lost, and Vienna threatened on every side. Duke Charles of Lorrain had not above 24000 fighting men to oppose the Turks, who hasten their march. A slight combat ensues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which serves only to diminish the prince's already weak army.

On the 7th of July, the emperor Leopold, the empress his mother-in-law, the empress his wife; the arch-dukes, the arch-duchesses, and all their household, quit Vienna, and retire to Lintz. Two thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in despair. There is nothing to be seen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables; which last fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Lintz brings with it only terror and confusion. The court does not think itself safe there. It flies from Lintz to Passau. The consternation at Vienna increases. The suburbs are burnt, with all the houses of pleasure, the body of the town is hastily fortified, and supplied with ammunition and warlike stores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on the 17th of July, in the suburb of St. Ulric, 50 paces from the counterscarp.

The count de Staremberg, governor of the town, had 17000 men in garrison, of whom there were not above 8000 effective. Such of the citizens as remained in Vienna, and even the students of the university, were armed.

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The professors and scholars mounted guard, and their major was a physician.

To complete the misfortune, they are in want of money, and find the raising of 100,000 rix-dollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorrain had vainly endeavoured to preserve a correspondence between the town and his little army ; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repass the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpose, and was far north of the town, while the Turks surrounding it pushed their trenches in open day. He makes head against Tekeli's Hungarians, and protects Moravia ; but Moravia as well as Vienna seems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor presses the assistance of Bavaria, Saxony, and the circles ; but above all of John Sobiesky, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks while general of the crown, and who owed his throne to his victories. Yet these assistances could not possibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September, they had made a breach in the body of the place six fathoms wide, and it seemed to be absolutely left without any hopes of resource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more easily than Constantinople had done, but the siege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The sluggishness and inactivity of the grand visier, but above all his contempt for the Christians, prevented the siege being carried on with spirit.

The space of ground taken up by his tents, was equal to that of the besieged town. He had gardens, and fountains, and in the midst

midst of the progress of ruin, wantoned in excess of luxury.

John Sobiesky at length passes the Danube, some leagues above Vienna; and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and the circles being also arrived, they make a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Calenberg, at a time that every thing began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Polish armies descend from mount Calenberg, of which the grand visier had forgot to possess himself, extending themselves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of 12000 horse and 4000 foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander his son was very near him. The infantry of the emperor, and the elector of Saxony, were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorrain commanded the imperialists. The troops of Bavaria amounted to 10000 men, and those of Saxony to near the same number.

Never were there seen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III. was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince chose rather to serve near the duke of Lorrain as a volunteer. He had received from the emperor, a sword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned, after its deliverance, to Vienna, the young prince saluting him with this very sword, shewed him what a noble use he made of his present. It was the same elector who was afterwards put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe-Lauenburg, sprung from the ancient but unhappy house of Ascania. The infantry was commanded by prince Harman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of 7000, under the conduct of prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army, were three princes of the house of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holstein, a prince of Hesse-Cassel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the house of Wirtemberg; while a third distinguished himself within the town. The emperor only was absent.

This army amounted to 64000 men: that of the grand-vizir to double the number. So that this battle may be reckoned among those which shew that the smaller number has generally the better of the greater, because perhaps there is too much confusion in large armies, and more order in the smaller.

On the 12th of September, Vienna was delivered; and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand-vizir left 20000 men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be assaulted, while he marched against the Christian army. This last assault might have succeeded, as the besieged began to want powder, and most of their cannon was dismounted; but the sight of assistance gave them new strength.

In the mean time, the king of Poland having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing, against the Ottoman army; the duke of Lorrain at the head of the other. Never was battle less bloody

or more decisive. Two posts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Christians did not lose above 200 men: the Ottomans scarcely lost a thousand. This was at the close of day, and fear spread itself with the night into the vizir's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and stupidity, arising from their long security, that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving even behind them Mahomet's great standard. Nothing can equal the vizir's errors in this battle, except that of leaving him unpursued.

The king of Poland sent Mahomet's standard to the pope. The Germans and the Poles were considerably enriched by the Turkish spoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French woman, daughter to the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand-vizir had made him his heir; and that he had found in his tent to the value of several millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he says: 'You cannot address me as the wives of the Tartars do their husbands, when they see them come home empty-handed, 'you are not a man since you return without booty.'

The day following, being the 13th of September, king John Sobiesky causes *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral-church of Vienna, and officiates in it himself. This ceremony was followed by a sermon, the preacher of which took for his text these words: "There was a man sent by God, and his name was John." The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king, and to kiss the hands of

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their deliverer; as he relates himself. The emperor arrives there on the 14th, amidst acclamations which were not for him. He visits the king of Poland without the walls, and there is great difficulty to conduct ceremonies, at a time when acknowledgement ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happiness of John Sobiesky, had like to have been eclipsed by a disaster which was scarce to be expected, after so easy a victory. Being about to subdue Hungary, he intended to march through Gran, now Strigonia, in which progress he was to pass by Barcam, where was lodged a considerable body of troops, under the command of a basha. The king of Poland, without staying for the duke of Lorrain, who followed him, advanced near the place with his *Gen d'armes*. Here the Turks fell upon the Polish troops, charged them in the flank, slaying 2000 of them. The vanquisher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly: he is pursued; and with difficulty escapes, leaving his cloke in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles of Lorrain at length comes to his assistance; and, to the glory of having seconded John Sobiesky, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobiesky himself.

Hungary, on each side of the Danube, as far as Strigonia, soon falls again into the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks near 550 years. They twice attempt the siege of Buda, and carry the place by assault in 1686. This was but the consequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorrain and the elector of Bavaria, defeat the Ottomans in those very

plains of Mohats, where Lewis II. king of Hungary had perished in 1526, while Soliman II. conqueror of the Christians, covered the plains with 25000 dead.

Divisions and seditions at Constantinople, with the revolts of the Turkish armies, fought also in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The insurrection of the Janizaries, the deposing of the weak Mahomet IV. Solymán III. advanced to the throne from a prison in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, disheartened and flying before a small number of Germans, were all occurrences favouring Leopold. A warlike emperor, seconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the siege of Constantinople, after having been upon the point of losing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to revenge the fear into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His ministers pretend, that it would be impossible to confine the Turkish insolence within bounds, unless Hungary was re-united under an absolute dominion. Yet they repelled the Turks from Vienna, with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria and Lorrain, and other German princes, who are under no despotic yoke; particularly with the Polish allies. The Hungarians might then serve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were too many factions in Hungary; the Turks were not the men to make the treaties of Westphalia in favour of this kingdom; and if they were not now in a condition to oppress the Hungarians, neither could they assist them.

The only congress between the Hungarian male-contents and the emperor is a scaffold ; it is erected in the market-place of Eperies, in the month of March 1687, and kept standing to the end of the year.

If some of the cotemporary historians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of sacrificing the victims which were without much distinction delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a massacre so long and so terrible : there have been equal severities, but none of such continuance. Humanity does not shudder at the numbers that fall in battle : it is common ; they die sword in hand, and are revenged : but for nine long months, that people should see their countrymen dragged as it were legally to open butchery, must be shocking to human nature, and so barbarous a sight as to fill the soul with horror.

That which is more terrible for the people is, that these cruelties sometimes succeed ; and the success of them encourages tyrants to use men like wild beasts.

Hungary was subdued, the Turks twice repulsed, Transilvania conquered, and in the hands of the imperialists. At length, while the scaffold is still standing at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are summoned to Vienna, where, in the name of the whole people, they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary ; the states afterwards assemble at Presburg, where they confirm the decree ; and Joseph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years old.

Leopold was, at this time, the most powerful emperor who had been since Charles V. Many
happy

happy circumstances concurred to enable him at once, to continue the war against France till the treaty of Ryfwick, and against Turkey, till the peace of Carlowitz concluded in 1699. Both of these were of advantage to him. He treated with Lewis XIV. at Ryfwick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. These successes gave Leopold a manifest superiority in the diets of Germany, which, tho' it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.



Of the ROMAN EMPIRE under LEOPOLD.

GERMANY, under this reign, renews the bonds in which it had heretofore held Italy; for in that war which was ended at Ryfwick, while Leopold in league with the duke of Savoy, as well as with so many other princes against France, sent troops towards the Rhine, he required contributions of all that did not belong to Spain. The states of Tuscany, of Venice on the Terra firma, the Genoese, and even the pope, paid more than 300000 pistoles. In the beginning of the century, when it happened that the provinces of the Spanish monarchy were disputed with Lewis XIV's grand-son, Leopold exerted the imperial authority in proscribing the duke of Mantua, and giving the Mantuan Montferrat to the duke of Savoy.

It was also as Roman emperor, he gave the elector of Brandenburg the title of king. That the king of Germany should make kings, was never agreed among nations ; but ancient custom had admitted princes to receive the title of king from him, whom the custom aforesaid calls the successor of Cæsar.

Thus the chief of Germany having this name, bestows names, and Leopold makes a king, without consulting the three colleges. But when he created a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of Hanover, he created this German dignity with the consent of four electors, * as chief of Germany. Yet could he not fix him in the college of electors, where the duke of Hanover did not obtain a seat till after Leopold's death.

It is true that in all capitulations, Germany is called the the Empire. But this is an abuse of words authorized by time. The emperors in their capitulations swear, " that they will not bring any troops into the empire, without consent of the electors, princes, and states." But it is clear by this word Empire, they then understood Germany, and not Milan, and Mantua ; for the emperor sends troops to Milan without consulting any body. Germany is called the empire, as the seat of the Roman empire ; a strange revolution, which Augustus could never have suspected. An Italian lord addresses himself without difficulty to the diet of Ratisbon ; he addresses himself, du-

* The duke of Hanover had no friends in the electoral college, but the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg ; all the rest, together with the college of the cities, opposed his advancement with great warmth,

ring the vacancy of the throne, to the electors of Saxony, of Bavaria, and to the Palatine; he obtains titles and territories when there is no body to oppose him. The pope indeed does not demand a confirmation of his election of the diet, but the duke of Mantua presents him a petition, when Leopold puts him under the ban of the empire in 1700. This empire is then the right of the strongest, the right of opinion founded on the happy incursions of Charles V. and Otho into Italy.

The diet of Ratisbon is become perpetual under the same Leopold, ever since 1664. This, which one would think, should have increased its power, contributes to its weakness. Neither the princes who formerly made up this august assembly, nor the electors, assist any longer at the coronation. They send deputies to the diet, and one deputy acts for two or three princes. The treating of weighty matters is either forgot or neglected, and Germany is secretly divided under the appearance of union.



OF GERMANY,

In the times of JOSEPH and of
CHARLES VI.

THE emperor Joseph was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, by all the electors, when only 12 years old, in the year 1690; an evident proof of the authority of his father Leopold; a proof of the great security the electors were in with respect to their rights, which they would not have sacrificed; a proof

of the firm agreement between all the states of Germany and their chief; which the power of Lewis XIV. had cemented more strongly than ever.

In this capitulation he promises to observe the treaty of Westphalia, in every thing but where the advantage of France is concerned.

The reign of Joseph was still happier than that of Leopold. The money of the English and Dutch, the success of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, make him every where victorious, and his good fortune makes him almost absolute. He begins by putting under the ban of the empire, in consequence of his own authority, the electors of Bavaria and Cologn, because they were the partizans of France, and he seizes on their dominions. He gives the higher Palatinate to that branch of the Palatine which had lost it under Ferdinand II. and at the peace of Rastadt and of Baden, he afterwards restores it to the Bavarian branch.

He acts in reality like a Roman emperor in Italy. He confiscates the Mantuan for his own use; he at first takes the Milanese for himself, which he afterwards gives to the arch-duke his brother: but he keeps the towns and revenues of it, by dividing from this country, Alexandria, Valenza, and Lomelina in favour of the duke of Savoy, on whom, to secure him in his interest, he bestows the investiture of Montferrat. He plunders the duke of Mirandola, and gives his possessions to the duke of Modena. Charles V. had not been more absolute in Italy; nor had Clement VII. been more alarmed, than was now Clement XI. Joseph
goes.

goes to deprive him of the duchy of Ferrara, in order to restore it to the house of Modena, from which the pope had taken it.

His armies possessing Naples in the name of the arch-duke his brother, and Bologna, Ferrara, and part of Romagna in his own name, already threatened Rome. It was certainly the pope's interest that there should be a balance in Italy; but this balance, victory had destroyed. All the princes were summoned, and all possessors of fiefs to produce their titles. The duke of Parma, who held at that time of the holy see, had but fifteen days allowed him to do homage to the emperor. At Rome was distributed a manifesto attacking the temporal power of the pope, and annulling all the donations which the emperors had made, without the concurrence of the empire. It is certain, that if by this manifesto they subjected the pope to the emperor, they also rendered the emperors dependent upon the imperial decrees of the Germanic body: but reasons and arms are at one time used, which at another are rejected; and all they endeavoured at present was having some title to rule in Italy as cheaply as they could.

All the princes were astonished. It was scarcely to be expected, that thirty-four cardinals should at this time have the boldness and generosity to do that, which neither Venice, Florence, Genoa, nor Parma, dared to undertake. They raised a little army at their own expence; one laying down 100,000 crowns, another 24,000, this sending 100 horse, and that 50 foot. The peasants were armed. But the sole consequence of this undertaking was, their submitting

mitting sword in hand, to the terms prescribed by Joseph. The pope was obliged to disband his army, to preserve no more than 5000 men in the ecclesiastical state; to subsist the imperial troops, to abandon to them Comacchio, and to acknowledge the archduke Charles king of Spain. In 1709 he deprives the duke of Savoy of the Vigenevasque and the fief of Langues; nor yet does that prince dare to quit his party.

Joseph dies, aged 33, in the year 1711, amidst all his prosperity. Charles VI. his brother, succeeded him, and found himself master of all Hungary in a state of subjection; the hereditary dominions of Germany, which were very flourishing; the Milanese, the Mantuan, Naples, Sicily, and the nine provinces of the Low Countries; and had the propositions made in the year 1709 by France, then very much weakened, been listened to, Charles VI. had been also master of Spain and the New World. It was then that there was no balance of power in Europe. The English, who had fought for this balance only, murmur against queen Anne for re-establishing it by the peace of Utrecht; so much did hatred against Lewis XIV. prevail over real interest. Thus, after the particular peace of Rastadt and of Baden, Charles VI. is the most powerful prince in Europe.

But as powerful as he was when he took possession of the empire, the Germanic body supported, nay augmented, their rights more than ever. The capitulation of Charles VI. implies, that no German prince or state shall be put under the ban of the empire, but by the consent of the three colleges, &c. They yet recalled

recalled in this capitulation the treaty of Westphalia, which had always been regarded as a fundamental law.

Germany was quiet and flourishing under the reign of this last Austrian emperor; for the war of 1716 against the Turks was only waged upon the Ottoman frontiers, and nothing could have been more glorious.

Prince Eugene there increased the vast reputation which he had before acquired in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. The victory of Peterwaradin, and the taking of Temiswaer, signalized the campaign in 1716. The year following he had still more surprising successes; for in besieging Belgrade, prince Eugene found himself surrounded in his camp by 150,000 Turks. He was circumstanced like Cæsar at the siege of Alexia, or of the Czar Peter near Pruth. He did not imitate the Russian emperor, who demanded peace; but, Cæsar like, defeated his numerous enemies, and took the town. He returned to Vienna covered with glory, where they talked of trying him for having hazarded that state which he had saved, and whose boundaries he had enlarged. An advantageous peace was the fruit of these victories. The system of Germany was not at all broken in upon either by the war or the peace, which augmented the emperor's dominions, and confirmed the Germanic constitution. Charles XII. king of Sweden's disgraces add to the possessions of the houses of Brandenburg and Hanover. The Germanic body was become still more considerable. The treaty of Westphalia received in reality a blow by these acquisitions; but all the rights which the states of Germany had acquired by
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this treaty, were preserved by taking some provinces from the Swedes, to whom they partly owed those very rights which they enjoyed. The three religions established in Germany maintained themselves peaceably under the shade of their privileges, and slight inevitable differences no longer gave rise to civil troubles.

It ought principally to be observed, that Germany was intirely changed under Leopold, Joseph, and Charles VI. Their manners before this were rude, their lives unpolished, the sciences almost unknown, as well as convenient magnificence. There was scarcely one town well built, nor a house erected upon the regular and noble principles of architecture; neither gardens, nor manufactures of merchandize or taste. The northern provinces were intirely uncultivated; a thirty years war had ruined them. Germany was more altered in sixty years, than she had been from Otho to Leopold.

Charles VI. was constantly happy to 1734. The celebrated victories gained by prince Eugene over the Turks at Temeswaer and at Belgrade, had enlarged the frontiers of Hungary. The emperor predominated in Italy, where he possessed Naples and Sicily, the Milanese, and the Mantuan. The imperial and supreme right over Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which had been so long contested, were confirmed to him by his giving the investiture of these states to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. who thereby became his vassal. The imperial rights exercised in Italy by Leopold and by Joseph, were then in their full vigour; and certainly, if an emperor had kept so many possessions in Italy, so many rights, with so many pretensions, the 700 years

years struggle of the Italian liberty against the German power might have easily been finished by its subjection.

These prosperities were limited by the use which Charles VI. made of his credit in Europe, by procuring jointly with Russia the throne of Poland to Augustus III.

This was a singular revolution, whereby he lost for ever Naples and Sicily, and enriched the king of Sardinia at his own expence, in order to give a king to Poland. Nothing shews better the fatality that presides over events, and mocks the foresight of man. It was his good fortune twice to have conquered 150,000 Turks; yet Naples and Sicily were taken from him by only 10,000 Spaniards in one campaign.

In the year 1700, could it have been possibly imagined that Stanislaus should, forty-four years after, have Lorrain in exchange for losing the crown of Poland; and that, for the very same reason, Tuscany should be given to the house of Lorrain? If one reflects on the many events which have disturbed and transformed states, it will appear that scarce any thing happens according to people's expectations; or as politicians have designed.

The latter years of Charles VI. were yet more unhappy: he imagined, because prince Eugene had defeated the Turks with inferior German armies, much more easily might they be beaten by the Germans and Russians joined. But alas! he had no longer a prince Eugene; and while the armies of the Czarina Anne take Crimea, enter Walachia, and propose penetrating to Adrianople, the Germans were defeated. A disadvantageous peace succeeds. Belgrade, Temeswaer,

Temefwaer, Orfova, and all the country between the Danube and the Save, remain to the Ottomans. All the fruits of prince Eugene's conquests are thus lost, and the emperor's only resource is that of imprisoning the unfortunate generals; striking off the heads of such officers as had surrendered the towns, and punishing those who, pursuant to his orders, had clapped up a necessary peace.

He died soon after. The revolutions which ensued, are matter for another history, and the wounds, which still bleed, are too fresh to be probed.

A philosophical reader, after having run thro' this long succession of emperors, might reflect, that among them all, Frederick III. only lived 75 years, as Lewis XIV. only, among the kings of France; whilst, among the popes, we see numbers of lives stretched beyond 84; not that the laws of nature in general make life longer in Italy than in Germany or France, but because popes are commonly more abstemious than kings, and that there are more popes than either emperors or kings of France.

The duration of the reigns of the emperors, which have passed in review before us, serves to confirm the rule which Newton has laid down for the reformation of antient chronology. He supposes the generations of the sovereigns of old to make out, one with another, twenty-one years each; and indeed the fifty emperors from Charlemagne to Charles VII. forming a period of near a thousand years, admits each of them to have reigned about twenty years. We can reduce this Newtonian rule still more in states subject to frequent revolutions. With-

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out going higher than the Roman Empire, we shall find, in the space of 500 years, about 90 reigns; that is, from Cæsar to Augustulus.

Another important reflection occurs; and that is, that there seems to be scarcely one emperor from the time of Charlemagne, who may be said to have been happy. The lustre of Charles V. eclipses that of all his predecessors; yet he, wearied with continual checks in life, and tired with the plagues of such a compounded administration, rather than disgusted with the nothingness of grandeur, secludes a premature old age in an obscure retreat.

We have not long since seen an emperor master of the most respectable qualities, sustain the most violent turns of fortune, while nature conducts him to the grave, even in the prime of life, by the most cruel disorders.

This history is scarcely any more than a vast scene of weaknesses, faults, crimes, and misfortunes; among which we find some virtues and some success; as fertile vallies are often seen among chains of rocks and precipices. This is likewise the case with other histories.

OF THE
KINGS of BOHEMIA,

From the End of the 13th Century.

OTTOCARUS, son to king Wenceslaus the Blind, killed in 1280 fighting against the emperor Rodolphus.

Wenceslaus the Elder, after the death of his father, is placed under the guardianship of Otho of Brandenburg in 1305.

Wenceslaus the Younger dies, about a year after his father, of debauchery.

Henry, duke of Carinthia, earl of Tirol, brother-in-law of Wenceslaus the Younger, is stripped twice of his kingdom; first by Rodolphus of Austria, son of Albert I. afterwards by John of Luxemburg, son of the emperor Henry VII.

John of Luxemburg, master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, killed at the battle of Creci in France, in 1346.

The emperor Charles IV.

The emperor Wenceslaus.

The emperor Sigismund.

The emperor Albert of Austria.

Ladislaus, the posthumous son of the emperor Albert of Austria, dies in 1457, at the same time that Magdalene, daughter to Charles VII. king of France, is on the road from Germany to be married to him.

George Podibrad, vanquished by Matthias of Hungary, dies in 1471.

Ladislaus of Poland, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, dies in 1516.

Lewis, son of Ladislaus, also king of Hungary and Bohemia, is killed fighting against the Turks, aged only 20 years.

The ELECTORS of MENTZ. 165

The emperor Ferdinand I. and after him the emperors of the house of Austria.

The ELECTORS of MENTZ,

From the End of the 13th Century.

VERNIER count de Falkenstein, he who best supported his pretensions to the town of Erfort, dies in 1284.

Henry Kenoderer, a Franciscan Frier, confessor to the emperor Rodolphus, dies in 1288.

Gerrard, baron d'Eppenstein, who fought at that battle in which Adolphus of Nassau was killed, dies in 1305.

Peter Aichspalt, a citizen of Triers, physician to Henry of Luxemburg, who cured pope Clement V. of a disorder thought to be mortal, dies in 1320.

Matthias, count de Burgeck, dies in 1328.

Baldwin, brother to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, holds Triers and Mentz for three years. This is the only example of the kind.

Henry, count de Virneburg, excommunicated by Clement VI. supports himself by war, and dies in 1353.

Gerlach de Nassau dies in 1371.

John de Luxemburg, count de St. Paul, dies in 1373.

Adolphus de Nassau, to whom Charles IV. gave the little town of Hœchst, dies in 1390.

Conrad of Vinsberg, who causes the Vaudois to be burned, dies in 1396.

John of Nassau (this is he who deposed the emperor Wenceslaus,) dies in 1419.

Conrad,

166 The ELECTORS of MENTZ.

Conrad, count de Rens, beaten by the landgrave of Hesse, dies in 1431.

Theodore d'Urback, he ought to have contributed to the protection of printing, invented in his time at Mentz, dies in 1459.

Ditrich count of Isenburg, and an Adolphus of Nassau, long dispute sword in hand for the archbishopric. Isenburg yields the electorate to his competitor Nassau in 1463.

Adolphus dies in 1475.

Ditrich reassumes the electoral see, builds the castle of Mentz, and dies in 1482.

Albert of Saxony dies in 1484.

Bertoldus of Henneberg, the principal author of the league of Suabia, and great reformer of religious houses, dies in 1504. Gualtieri falsely asserts that he died of a disorder but little besitting an archbishop.

James of Libenstein dies in 1508.

Uriel de Guimenguen dies in 1514.

Albert of Brandenburg, son of the elector John, at the same time archbishop of Mentz, of Magdeburg, and of Halberstadt, who desired much a cardinal's cap, dies in 1545.

Sebastian de Hovenstein, doctor of the laws, in whose time Mentz is burned by a prince of Brandenburg, dies in 1555.

Daniel Brendel de Homburg dies in 1582, leaving behind him a name valued and respected.

Wolfgang of Dalburg; he deprives himself of the pleasures of the chace, because it damages the lands of his subjects, and dies in 1601.

John Adam of Bicken: he assists in France at the dispute between cardinal du Perron and de Mornai: he dies in 1604.

John Schweighard de Cronberg, persecuted a great while by the prince of Brunswick, the

The ELECTORS of COLOGN. 167

- friend of God, and the foe to the priests*, delivered by the arms of Tilli, and dies in 1626.
- George Frederick de Grieffenclau, principal author of the famous edict of the restitution of benefices which caused the thirty years war, dies in 1629.
- Anselmo Casimir Wambold of Umstadt, driven out by the Swedes, dies in 1647.
- John Philip of Schoenbron brings the town of Esfort under his subjection by the help of the French arms and the emperor Leopold's diploma: he dies in 1673.
- Lotharius Frederick, of Metternich, forced to cede his lands to the elector Palatine, dies in 1675.
- Damien Hartard *von der Lien*: he builds the palace of Mentz, and dies in 1678.
- Charles Henry, of Metternich, dies in 1689.
- Anselmo-Francis, of Ingelheim, on whose town the French seize, dies in 1695.
- Lothario Francis, of Schoenbron, coadjutor in 1694, respected by all his cotemporaries, dies in 1729.
- Francis Lewis, count Palatine, dies in 1732.
- Philip Charles, of Eltz, dies in 1743.
- John Frederick Charles, count d'Holstein.

The ELECTORS of COLOGN.

- ENGELBERG count de Walkenstein, a good soldier, but an unhappy archbishop, taken in war by the inhabitants of Cologne, dies about the year 1274.
- Sifroi count de Vesterbuch, not less a soldier, and more unfortunate than his predecessor, a prisoner of war for seven years, dies in 1298.

168 The ELECTORS of COLOGN.

Vickbold de Holt, another warrior, but more happy, dies in 1305.

Henry, count de Vinnanbuch, disputes the electorate, and carries it from two competitors: he dies in 1338.

Valrame count de Juliers, a pacific prince, dies in 1352.

Guill de Geneppe, who heaped and left behind him great treasures, dies in 1362.

John de Virnenburg forces the chapter to elect him, and squanders all the treasures of his predecessors: dies in 1363.

Adolphus count de la March resigns the archbishopric in 1364: is made count of Cleves, and has children.

Enchelberg count de la March.

Canon of Falkenstein, coadjutor to the former, and at the same time archbishop of Triers, governs Cologn for three years, and is obliged to resign it in 1370. There was brought to Cologn, while he governed, a body quite fresh of one of the innocents massacred by Herod, which gives fresh credit to the relics preserved in that town.

Frederic count de Sarverden, a peaceable prince, dies in 1414.

Theodore count de Mœurs, disputes the archbishopric with William of Ravensberg, bishop of Paderborn; but this bishop of Paderborn being married, both dioceses fall to the count de Mœurs. He also enjoys Halberstadt, and dies in 1457.

Robert of Bavaria makes use of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, to assist him in subjecting Cologn, but is at last forced to fly, and dies in 1480.

Herman

The ELECTORS of COLOGN. 169

Herman, landgrave of Hesse, who governed some years in the time of Robert of Bavaria, dies in 1508.

Philip, count d'Oberstein, dies in 1515.

Herman de Veda, or Neuvid, turns Lutheran, after being bishop thirty-two years, and dies in retirement in 1556.

Antony, brother to Adolphus bishop of Liege, and of Utrecht, dies in 1558.

John earl of Mansfelt, born a Lutheran, dies in 1562.

Frederick de Veda abdicates in 1568, reserving to himself 30,000 florins of gold yearly: it is never paid him, and he dies miserably.

Salentinus count of Isenbourg, after having governed ten years, assembles the chapter and nobility, when reproaching them with the ingratitude wherewith they had repaid the pains he had taken with them, he abdicates the archbishopric, and weds a countess de la March.

Gebhard Truchses de Walburg quits his archbishopric for the beautiful Agnes de Mansfelt, which father Kolbs calls his Sacrilegious Spouse. This father Kolbs was not polite. He dies in 1612.

Ferdinand, his land having been ravaged by the great Gustavus, dies in 1650.

Maximilian Henry succeeds cardinal Mazarine in his retreat, and dies in 1688.

Joseph Clement, who carried the electorate from cardinal de Furstemberg, dies in 1723.

Augustus Clement.

ELECTORS of TRIERS.

HENRY de Vestigen subdues Coblentz ; dies in 1286.

Boemond de Vansberg destroys the castles of the rebel Barons, and dies in 1299.

Ditrich de Nassau cited to Rome to answer complaints made by his clergy, who afterwards refuse him burial, dies in 1307.

Baldwin of Luxemburg, who joins Philip de Valois against Edward III. dies in 1354.

Bohemond de Sarbruck, who has in his old days great disputes with the Palatine, dies in 1368.

Conrad of Falkenstein makes great foundations, and resigns the electorate to his nephew, in spite of the canons : he dies in 1388.

Vermer de Konigsten, nephew to the last, reduces Vezel with artillery, and is almost always at war : he dies in 1418.

Otho de Zeigenheim, beaten by the Hussites, dies on that expedition in 1430.

Raban de Helmstadt, always at war with his neighbours, pawns his possessions, and dies insolvent in 1439.

James de Sirck : the ravaged electorate of Triers not being sufficient to subsist him, he is made bishop of Metz, and dies in 1456.

John de Baden (it was he who concluded the marriage between Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy) dies in 1501.

James de Baden, umpire between Cologne and the archbishop, dies in 1511.

Richard de Wolfrat, who for a long time takes part with Francis I. against Charles V. in their struggle for the empire, dies in 1531.

John

The ELECTORS of TRIERS. 171

John de Metzenhausen encourages the sciences, and improves his territory : dies in 1540.

John Lewis, of the Hague, dies in 1547.

John d'Isenburg, under whom Triers suffers much from the Lutheran arms, dies in 1556.

John de Leyen (he besieged Triers) dies in 1567.

James de Els (he subdues Triers) dies in 1581.

John de Schonberg, in whose time the garment of Jesus Christ was found at Triers, but whence it came is not exactly known, dies in 1599.

Lothario de Metternick joins briskly the Catholic league, and dies in 1623.

Philip Christopher of Sotern : he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and furnished France with a sufficient pretext to declare war against Spain : he was restored to his see by the victory of Conde and Turenne : he dies in 1652, aged 87 years.

Charles Gaspar de Leyen, driven out of his capital by the arms of France, but restored by the defeat of marshal Crequi, dies in 1676.

John Hugo d'Orsbeck : he sees Triers almost quite destroyed by the French ; the war was always dreadful : he dies in 1711.

Charles Joseph of Lorraine, coadjutor in 1710, suffers still more by the war : dies anno 1715.

Francis Lewis, count Palatine, bishop of Breslau and Worms, grand master of the Teutonic order, dies anno 1729.

Francis George de Schonbron.

The ELECTORS PALATINE.

From the end of the XIIIth Century.

LEWIS dies anno 1285, his father Otho was the first count Palatine of this house.

Rodolphus, son of Lewis, and brother to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, dies in England in 1319.

Adolphus the Simple dies in 1327.

Rodolphus II. brother to Adolphus the Simple, and son to Rodolphus I. father-in-law to the emperor Charles IV. dies in 1353.

Robert the Red dies in 1390.

Robert the Stubborn dies in 1398.

Robert the emperor.

Lewis the Bearded and the Pious dies in 1436.

Lewis the Virtuous dies in 1449.

Frederic the Warlike, Philip's tutor, enjoys the electorate though his pupil is alive: he dies in 1476.

Philip, son of Lewis the Virtuous, dies in 1508.

Lewis, son of Philip, dies in 1544.

Frederic the Wise, brother to Lewis, dies in 1556.

Otho Henry, Philip's grand-son, dies in 1559.

Frederic III. of the branch of Simmeren, dies in 1576.

Lewis VI. son of Frederic, dies in 1583.

Frederic, IVth of that name, grand-son to Lewis, dies in 1610.

Frederic, Vth of that name, son of Frederic IV. allied to James I. king of Bohemia, but driven out of his dominion, dies in 1632.

Charles Lewis, re-established in the Palatine, dies anno 1680.

The ELECTORS PALATINE. 173

Charles, son to the preceding, dies without issue in 1685.

Philip William, of the branch of Neuburg, father-in-law to Leopold, to the king of Spain, and to the king of Portugal, dies anno 1690.

John William, son of Charles Philip, born in 1658; his country was destroyed by the war of 1689, and, at the peace of Ryswick, the lands, which the house of Orleans disputed with him, were adjudged by the pope's decisive sentence to this elector: he dies in 1716.

Charles Philip, the last elector of the house of Neuburg, dies in 1742.

Christian Philip Theodore de Sultzbach.

The ELECTORS of SAXONY.

ALBERT II. great-grand-son of Albert the Bear, of the house of Anhalt succeeds his ancestors in 1260, and governs Saxony thirty-seven year, dies in 1297.

Rodolphus I. son of the said Albert, dies in 1356.

Rodolphus II. son of Rodolphus I. dies in 1370.

Wenceslaus, a younger brother of Rodolphus II. dies in 1388.

Rodolphus III. son of Wenceslaus, dies in 1419.

Albert III. brother to Rodolphus III. the last elector of the house of Anhalt, which had possessed Saxony two hundred and twenty-seven years, dies in 1422.]

Frederic I. of the house of Misnia, surnamed the Warlike, dies in 1428.

Frederic the Affable dies in 1464.

Ernest Frederic the Religious dies in 1486.

174 ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG.

Frederic the Wise dies in 1525, it is he who is said to have refused the empire.

John, surnamed the Constant, brother to the foregoing, dies in 1532.

John Frederic the Magnanimous dies in 1554, dispossessed of his electorate by Charles V. from him the branches of Gotha and Weimar are descended.

Maurice, cousin in the fifth degree to John Frederic, invested by Charles V. dies in 1563.

Augustus the Pious, brother to Maurice, dies in 1586.

Christian, son to Augustus the pious, dies in 1591.

Frederic William, ten years administrator, dies in 1602.

Christian II. son to Christian I. dies in 1611.

John George, brother of Christian, dies in 1656.

John George II. dies in 1680.

John George III. dies in 1691.

John George IV. dies in 1694.

Augustus, king of Poland, dispossessed of the kingdom by the successes of Charles XII. and restored by the said Charles's misfortune, dies in 1733.

Frederic Augustus II. elector and king of Poland.

ELECTORS of BRANDENBURG,

After divers electors of the houses of
Ascania, Bavaria, and of Luxemb-
bourg.

FREDERIC de Hohenzollern, burggrave
of Nuremberg, buys the marquisate of
Brandenburg from the emperor Sigismund for
one hundred thousand golden florins, repur-
chased by the same emperor, he dies in 1400.

John I. son of Frederic, abdicates in favour of
his brother, anno 1464: he is not taken no-
tice of in the Memoirs of Brandenburg, so
that he is not to be looked upon as elector.

Frederic with the iron teeth, brother to the
foregoing, dies in 1471.

Albert the Achilles, brother to the two latter;
it is pretended that he abdicated in 1476,
and that he died in 1486.

John, surnamed the Cicero, son of Albert the
Achilles, dies in 1499.

Joachim I. Nestor the son of John, dies in 1535.

Joachim II. Hector son of Joachim I. dies in 1571.

John George, son of Joachim II. dies in 1598.

Joachim Frederic, son of John George, admi-
nistrater of Magdeburg, dies in 1608.

John Sigismund, son of Joachim Frederic, di-
vides the succession of Cleves and Juliers
with the house of Neuberg, dies in 1619.

George William, whose dominions were laid
waste by the thirty years war, dies in 1640.

Frederic William, who re-establishes his coun-
try, dies in 1688.

176 ELECTORS, &c.

Frederick, who erects into a kingdom part of the province of Prussia of which he was duke, and which had formerly held of Poland, dies in 1713.

Frederic William II. king of Prussia, who re-peoples the intirely ruined lands of Prussia, dies in 1740.

Frederick III. king of Prussia.

The ELECTORS of BAVARIA.

MAXIMILIAN, created in 1623, and at that time ranked among the electors, the first after the king of Bohemia, dies in 1651.

Ferdinand Maria, his son, died in 1679.

Maximilian Maria, who was of great service in delivering Vienna from the Turks; he signalised himself at the sieges of Baden and Belgrade; was put under the ban of the empire by the emperor Joseph in 1706, and restored by the peace of Baden, he dies in 1726.

Charles Albert, his son, emperor, dies in 1745.

Charles Maximilian Joseph, son of Charles Albert.

The ELECTORS of HANOVER.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS, duke of Brunswic and Hanover, &c. created by the emperor Leopold in 1692, upon condition that he should furnish six thousand men against the Turks, and three thousand against France, he dies in 1698.

George

The ELECTORS of HANOVER. 177

George Lewis, son of the former, received in the electoral college at Ratisbon in 1708, with the title of arch-treasurer of the empire, made king of England in 1714, he dies in 1727.

George II. his son, also king, of England.

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A L E T T E R

From the AUTHOR

To her SERENE HIGHNESS,
THE DUTCHESS DOWAGER
OF SAXE-GOTHA.

MADAM,

Calmar, March 8, 1754.

YOUR august name has adorned the beginning of these annals, permit that it may crown the end; this little abridgment was begun in your palace, with the assistance of the old manuscript of my Essay upon Universal History, which had lain there a long time; and though this manuscript was no more than a very indigested collection of materials, I nevertheless made it useful. I had already caused the first volume of the Annals of the Empire to be printed, when I was informed, that some loose sheets of this old manuscript had fallen into the hands of a bookseller at the Hague.

These loose sheets, without either order or connexion, doubtless transcribed by an ignorant hand, disfigured and falsified, were, to my great concern, reprinted several times at Paris and elsewhere.

Your serene highness has signified your resentment upon this account in your letters to me.

me. You know how very much the real manuscript, which is in your possession, differs from the fragments that have been published. It is my duty, loudly to reprove and condemn such an abuse; and above four months since I acquitted myself of this obligation in the letter to a professor of history, prefixed to the *Annals*. And I now, Madam, repeat this just protestation, under your favourable protection.

With respect to this small abridgment of the *Annals* of the Empire, undertaken by your serene highness's orders, these orders themselves, and the desire of pleasing you, would have rendered the truth still more dear and sacred to me, were she not so by her own intrinsic worth.

This truth, to which our illustrious de Thou has sacrificed, which heaped upon him so much affliction, and makes his memory so valuable, can it hurt me, in an age much more enlightened than his?

What weak fanatick can reproach me with having respected the three religions authorized in the empire? what fool would have had me play the controvertist, instead of writing as an historian? I am confined to facts. These facts are proved; they are authentic. A thousand pens have been employed about them. No just man can complain. A great queen aptly spoke thus of an historian: "They point out to us our duty by speaking of the faults of our predecessors. The truth is hid from us by those who surround us, and revealed to us by none but historians."

There have been emperors, unjust and cruel; popes and bishops, unworthy of their station.

Who

Who is there doubts it? It is the consolation of the world to have faithful annals, which excite to virtue, by exposing its crimes. What is it to the wise emperor who reigns in our days, that Henry V. and Henry VI. were cruel? What is it to the enlightened, the just, the moderate pontiff, who now fills the throne of Rome, that Alexander VI. has left behind him an odious memory? The horrors of past ages are the eulogiums of the present. Unhappily those who are charged with the education of princes, hide from them these ancient truths. They accustom them in their infancy to see nothing but falsity, and thus prepare for the masters of the world, while in their cradles, the poison of illusion in which they are all their lives to be immersed.

You, Madam, who are a lover of truth, and were pleased that I should proclaim it, let me intreat you to receive this new homage, which I pay to you and to her.

I am, Madam, with the profoundest respect, and the most inviolable attachment,

Your most SERENE HIGHNESS's

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

V——

D I R E C T I O N S

T O T H E

B I N D E R.

AT the end of the Annals of the Empire, place the Miscellanies marked with signature B, C, D, E, from page 1, to page 75-

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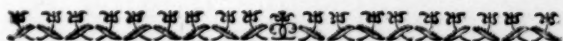
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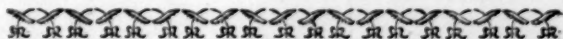
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I N

HISTORY, LITERATURE,

A N D

PHILOSOPHY.

ON FABLE.

SOME rigid persons, more severe than wise, have of late years endeavoured to proscribe the antient mythology, as a collection of puerile stories, unworthy the gravity of our modern manners. It would, notwithstanding, be a melancholy affair to burn Ovid, Homer, and Hesiod, together with all our fine tapestry, our pictures, and operas: after all, there are many fables, which contain more philosophy than, I fear, many of these philosophers can justly pretend to. If they grant a toleration to the familiar tales of Esop, why fall sword in hand on those sublime fables which have been revered by mankind, whom they have instructed? They are, 'tis true, mixed with some things, which

B

border

border somewhat upon the frivolous; for what is there perfect under the sun? Yet every age will adopt Pandora's box, in the bottom of which is found consolation for all the human race; Jupiter's two vessels, which are perpetually pouring forth good and evil; Ixion embracing a cloud, at once the emblem and chastisement of an ambitious mind; and, lastly, the death of Narcissus, the punishment of self-love. Can there be any thing more sublime than that Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, should spring from the head of the God of Gods? Can any thing be more true, or more pleasing, than that the goddess of beauty should be obliged to go accompanied with graces? Do not the goddesses of the arts, all of them daughters of Memory, inform us as well as Locke himself could, that without memory we are not capable of the smallest spark of sense? the arrows of Cupid, his blindness, and his youth; Flora embraced by Zephyrus, &c. what are they but so many sensible emblems of nature? These fables have outlived the religions by which they were consecrated; the temples and gods of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, are now no more; and yet Ovid still survives. We may destroy the objects of credulity, but the instruments of pleasure will still remain; and those images, at once so true and so pleasing, will ever be the favourite delight of the mind of man. Lucretius did not believe those gods of fable; yet he has celebrated nature under the name of Venus.

*Alma Venus cœli subter labentia signa
 Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
 Concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
 Concipitur; visitque exortum lumina solis, &c.*
 Delight

Delight of human kind, and gods above,
Parent of Rome, propitious queen of love,
Whose vital pow'r air, earth, and sea supplies,
And breeds whate'er is born beneath the skies.
For every kind, by thy prolifick might,
Springs, and beholds the regions of the light.

DRYDEN.

If antiquity, plunged in darkness, had confined itself to the acknowledging a supreme Being under those images, could we with justice have loaded her with reproaches? The mind which created the world was adored by philosophers; it governed the seas under the name of Neptune, the air under the emblem of Juno, and the fields under that of Pan; it was the god of armies under the name of Mars: they gave life and body to all the attributes: Jupiter was in truth their sole deity: that golden chair, with which he lifted up gods and men, was a striking image of a supreme Being, the sovereign of the universe. The vulgar, it is true, were deceived; but of what consequence are the vulgar to us?

It is a common question, how the magistrates of Greece and Rome could suffer those very deities that were worshipped in their temples to be turned into ridicule on their stages? In this we proceed upon a false supposition: it was not the gods who were turned into ridicule on the theatre, but the follies and absurdities attributed to these gods by those who had corrupted the antient mythology. The consuls and pretors were not at all offended to see the people diverted on the theatres with the story of the two Sosias; but they could never have suffered their poets to have attacked the worship of Jupiter

and Mercury, in the presence of the people. Thus there are a thousand things which seem ridiculous to us, which are by no means so in themselves. I have seen on the theatre of a nation justly celebrated for learning and good sense, adventures which were drawn from the Golden Legend; shall we therefore say, that this nation permits the objects of religion to be insulted? There is no danger the world should become Pagans for having seen at Paris the opera of Proserpine, or for having seen at Rome the marriage of Psyche, painted by Raphael, in one of the pope's palaces. Fable serves to form the taste, but, at the same time, without any danger of making converts to idolatry.

The beautiful fables of antiquity have this further advantage over history, which is, that they exhibit a morality which acts on the senses: they are so many lessons of virtue; whereas all history is but a relation of successful crimes. In fable, Jupiter descends to punish a Lycaon and a Tantalus; but, in history, our Lycaons and our Tantalus's are the Gods who sway all human affairs. Baucis and Philemon obtain their request, and their cottage is turned into a temple: our Baucis and Philemon have their porridge-pots sold by the tax-gatherers, which, in Ovid, are changed into gold and silver.

I know how capable history is of instructing us; I even know the necessity of that study; but yet it stands very much in needs of some foreign aid, to be able to furnish us with the rules of a prudent and virtuous behaviour. I could wish those who know nothing of politics but what they have from books, would endeavour

vous to keep in their remembrance these verses of Corneille's :

*Les exemples récents suffiraient pour m'instruire ;
Si par l'exemple seul on devait se conduire ;
Mais souvent l'un se perd où l'autre s'est sauvé,
Et par où l'un périt un autre est conservé.*

I want not for recent examples to instruct me, if we ought to direct our conduct aright by example only. But how often do we see that the step which saves one man shall ruin another.

Henry VIII. who tyrannized over his parliaments, his ministers, and his wives, and indeed over the purses and consciences of his people, lived and died in peace ; whereas the good and brave Charles I. lost his life on a scaffold. Our admirable heroine Margaret of Anjou gives battle twelve different times to the English, the subjects of her husband, but in vain. William III. expels James II. out of his kingdom, in a manner, without drawing the sword. In our own days, we have seen the imperial family of Persia cut off, and aliens seat themselves on their throne. For such as look no further than events, history seems to be an accusation of providence, and those beautiful fables to be its justification. One thing is evident, which is, that in these we find the useful and the pleasing happily blended. Those who are able to contribute nothing of either are they who declaim against fables. Let us leave such folks alone to rail till they are weary ; and, in the mean time, we will sometimes read Ovid, as well as Titus Livius, and Rapsin Thoiras. It is good taste which gives the preference, whilst

the contrary conduct is that of a gloomy and an ill-natured fanaticism.

*Tous les Arts sont amis, ainsi qu'ils sont divins :
Qui veut les séparer est loin de les connaître.
L'histoire nous apprend ce que sont les humains ;
La fable ce qu'ils doivent être.*

The union of the arts is as evident as their divine original ; and he who attempts to separate them knows little of them. History teaches us what mankind are ; Fable what they ought to be.



RELATION

CONCERNING a WHITE NEGRO,

Brought to Paris from Africa in 1744:

I Have seen, not long since, at Paris, a little creature, as white as snow, with a nose and mouth shaped like those of the negroes, and having, like them, short curly wool on his head, but much finer, and of the most shining whiteness. His eye-lashes and eye-brows are of the same wool, but not curled ; his eye-lids are so long as to hinder him from discovering the pupil of the eye when he lifts them up, which pupil is perfectly orbicular. His eyes are above all extremely singular : the iris is red, something inclined to a rose colour ; the pupil, which with us, and indeed almost all others of the

the human species, is in him of a very bright yellow. And instead of having an aperture in the iris, as both whites and negroes have, he has a yellow transparent membrane, through which he receives the light. From whence it follows, that all his countrymen must see objects in a very different manner from that in which we behold them; and if there should chance to be a Newton among them, he would establish a system of optics entirely different from that of ours. They look exactly as the crabs go, that is, always side-long; and are all of them squint-eyed from their mother's womb: by this means they have the advantage of seeing on both sides at once, and have a double axis of vision, whilst the finest eyes in this country have no more than one. But then they cannot bear the light of the sun, and never see well excepting in the twilight. Nature has probably destined them to pass their days in dens. They have, moreover, much longer and narrower ears than we. This creature is called a man, because he is endowed with speech, has memory, something like what we call reason, and a kind of human countenance.

This race of men inhabit the interior part of Africa: the Spaniards call them Albinos. Their chief abode is near the kingdom of Loango. I cannot find out how Vossius came to call them lepers. That which I saw at the Hotel de Bretagne had a very smooth skin, and exceedingly delicate, free from tetters or speckles. This species is much more despised by the negroes, than the negroes are by us; and they can never find in their hearts to forgive them for having a pair of red eyes, and their little oily skin

that is not as black as jet. They pass with the negroes for an inferior species, made to be their slaves. When a negro happens to debase his nature by stooping so low as to make love to one of this species, he becomes the jest of all the other negroes. A female negro convicted of this base alliance, becomes the reproach of both court and city. I have since learned from travellers worthy of credit, and who have been invested with very great trusts in the East-Indies, that some of this race have been transported to Madagascar, to the isle of Bourbon, and to Pondicherry. There is no example, they told me, of their living beyond the age of five and twenty. I am at a loss to say whether we ought to wish them joy or to condole with them on this occasion.

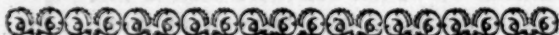
It is but a few years since we found out that any such species had a being. They had transported one of these diminutive creatures called White Moors into America. We find in the memoirs of the Academy of Sciences that Mr. Helvetius had been told of it, but nobody would give credit to the relation: for where we are apt blindly to believe every absurdity, to make amends, we are commonly equally distrustful of what is natural. The first time the Europeans were told of a kind of men as black as moles, it is extremely probable there was a violent fit of laughter, as there was since, when we were told of such a thing as the antipodes. How is it possible, said they, there should be women that have not white skins? We have, since that, become familiarized to the varieties of nature. It has been discovered to have been the will of providence to make men with a
black

black membrane and woolly heads in temperate climates; to place white people under the line; to bronze over the inhabitants of the East and West Indies; to give a quite different figure to the Chinese than to us; and to place the pigmies of Lapland in the next country to that of the tall Swedes.

In short, we now discover a new richness in nature, a species which resembles ours no more than a pointer does a greyhound. There is probably yet another species in those parts adjacent to the Terra Australis. Hence then we see mankind are more favoured of Heaven than we at first imagined. It would have really been a melancholy affair had there been so many species of monkeys, and but one of men. It is certainly a thousand pities that so perfect an animal as man should be so little diversified, and that we are able as yet to count no more than five or six species, while there is so charming a variety amongst the brutes. It is exceeding probable some one of the species of two-legged animals without feathers may have perished, as has undoubtedly happened to many other kinds of creatures. This which we call White Moors is very far from being numerous: it would be no very difficult affair to annihilate the whole species; and were we to continue the peopling our convents in Europe, and the depopulating the globe, to be able to tell who is the king, I can hardly think our wretched species can hold out many years longer.

I am told for certain that these White Moors are a very haughty race; they imagine themselves peculiarly favoured of Heaven: that they are filled with a holy horror of such men as

have the misfortune to have black hair or black wool on their heads, such as do not squint, or whose ears are curtailed of their just amplitude. They have an opinion the whole universe was created for the White Moors; that some time since there have happened to them a few slight misfortunes; but that all will be well again, and that one day they will become the masters of those black negroes, as well as the whites, who are cursed of God to all eternity. Possibly they may be deceived; but should we take it into our heads to imagine ourselves of greater consequence than they, we are certainly altogether as egregiously deceived*.



O N W I T.

A Person who had a competent knowledge of the human heart being asked his opinion of a tragedy that was about to be performed, made answer, that there was such a deal of wit in the piece, that he very much doubted of its success. "What!" says one, "can that be a fault in an age in which every one aims at

• It is not a very easy matter to discern the author's real design in this essay upon a white moor. If he intends it as a satire upon mankind in general, or any particular race, or sect, or society, we cannot pretend to explain his allusions: but if he really thinks there is a nation of these white moors, he is mistaken. A white moor is nothing but a *lusus naturæ*, which happens perhaps once in a century, in the same manner as an hermaphrodite, or a monstrous birth,

being

being witty; and write only to shew that they are so; and in which the public applauds even the falsest thoughts, provided they are brilliant ones? most assuredly, they will applaud it one day, and condemn it the next."

What is commonly called wit is sometimes a new simile, and sometimes a delicate allusion. In one place, it is the abuse of a word, which is offered to the reader under one sense, and which he is to understand in one quite different. Now it is a delicate relation between two uncommon ideas; then it is an extraordinary metaphor; a search after something that an object does not present at first sight, but that yet may be found in it; the art either of uniting two things naturally very distant, or of dividing two things which seem naturally connected, or to place them in opposition to each other; that of saying only half one's thoughts, that the reader may have the pleasure to find out the other half himself: in short, I should mention all the different ways of making our wit known, had I more of it myself: yet all these brilliants (for I do not speak of mock-brilliants) are very seldom, if ever, sufferable in a serious work, or in such as ought to interest us. The reason is, that it is then the author who appears, whereas the public desires never to see any person but the hero. Now this hero is always either in a passion or in danger. Neither danger nor passion seek after wit. Priam and Hecuba would not have made epigrams when Troy was in flames, and their children butchered before their faces. Dido does not vent her sighs in madrigals, whilst running towards the funeral pile on which she is to give herself the fatal

blow. Demosthenes does not make use of pretty thoughts when he is stirring up the Athenians to war; had he done so, he had been a rhetorician, or a declaimer, whereas he was a statesman.

The art of the admirable Racine is infinitely beyond what is called wit; but had Pyrrhus always expressed himself in such a stile as this,

*Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets consumé,
Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai,
Hélas! fus-je jamais si cruel que vous l'êtes?*

A fetter'd captive, and a vanquish'd wretch,
A prey to all the pangs of heart-felt grief,
Burning with flames more fierce than those
my rage

Kindled in falling Troy; say, was I o'er.
So cruel, so obdurate as thou art?

Or, was Orestes continually crying,

Que les Scythes sont moins cruels qu' Hermione.

E'en savage Scythians are more gentle far
Than is Hermione:

These two characters had never produced any effect on the audience: they would have perceived that passion, which is real, very rarely amuses itself with such comparisons, and that there is very little connection between the flames which consumed Troy, and those of Pyrrhus; between the Scythians, who offered up human victims, and Hermione, who had no passion for Orestes. Cinna, speaking of Pompey, says,

*Le Ciel choisit sa mort, pour servir dignement
D'une marque éternelle à ce grand changement;*

Et

*Et devait cet honneur aux Mânes d'un tel homme,
D'emporter avec eux la liberté de Rome.*

His death was fix'd on by the righteous gods,
As the most glorious mark, the surest monu-
ment,

To latest ages, of this wondrous change :
Resolv'd, in honour to the hero's shade,
That Roman freedom should with him ex-
pire.

This thought is certainly very splendid; there is a great deal of wit in it, and even a certain grandeur which dazzles at first sight. I am sure these verses, pronounced with that enthusiasm of expression, and the address of an able actor, could not fail of applause; but I am also sure, that were the tragedy of Cinna to be all written in the same taste, it would not have been performed for any length of time. And, to speak the truth, why should Heaven resolve to do honour to Pompey by making his countrymen slaves after his death? the contrary had been much more consistent with probability; and the name of Pompey ought rather to have endeavour'd to obtain of Heaven the perpetuating that liberty for which we suppose he both fought and died.

What must a work, filled with such paradoxes and far-fetched thoughts, really be? how superior to all these dazzling ideas are such simple and natural verses as these?

*Cinna, tu t'en souviens, & veux m'assassiner!
Soyons amis, Cinna, c'est moi qui t'en convie.*

This Cinna thou rememberest, and would'st
kill me!

Yet we'll be friends; it is Augustus asks it.

This

This is by no means what is called wit; it is the sublime and the simple, in the union of which two qualities all true beauty consists.

When Antiochus in Rhodogune, speaking of his mistress who leaves him, after having made him the base proposal to murder his mother, says,

Elle fuit, mais en Parthe, en nous perçant le cœur.

She flies, but, like the Parthian, flying wounds.

Antiochus is assuredly very witty; this is really composing an epigram on Rhodogune; he makes a very ingenious comparison between the last words she utters on her going away, and the arrows which the Parthians, in their flight, shot back against their pursuers. But it is not his mistress's leaving him, but the proposal of killing his mother, which is shocking: whether Rhodogune went or stay'd, Antiochus is equally love-sick; but if she had not gone away, there would have been no room for this wretched epigram.

I have chosen to draw these examples from the best authors, on purpose that they might on that account have the greater weight. I omit pointing out the trivial points, and the playing upon words, whereof we easily discover the blemish. There is no person who does not burst out in a fit of laughter, when, in the Golden Fleece, Hippisile says to Medea, alluding to her enchantments,

Je n'ai que des attraits, & vous avez des charmes.

I have but beauty, you're possess'd of charms.

Corneille found the theatre, and indeed every species of composition, infected with such puerilities,

rilities, in which he very rarely indulges himself. I have no intention in this place to take notice of any strokes of wit, but such only as might be admitted elsewhere, and which are altogether faulty in the serious. We might apply to the authors who make use of them these words of Plutarch, as they are translated by Amiot, with the simplicity peculiar to him: *Tu tien sans propos, beaucoup de bons propos.*

I remember to have seen one of these splendid thoughts quoted as a model in many works of taste, and even in the late Mr. Rollin's Treatise on Study. This passage is extracted from that beautiful funeral oration on the great Turenne, composed by Flechier. It is true, Flechier in this oration almost equals the sublime Bossuet, whom I have formerly called, and still do call, the eloquent person among so many elegant writers; but I am of opinion the passage I am speaking of would hardly have been made sense of by the bishop of Meaux. It is this:

Puissances ennemies de la France, vous vivez, & l'esprit de la charité Chrétienne m'interdit de faire aucun souhait pour votre mort, &c. mais vous vivez: & je plains dans cette chaire un vertueux Capitaine dont les intentions étaient pures, &c.

Ye Powers, enemies to France, you yet survive, and the spirit of Christian charity forbids me to form a wish for your deaths, &c. Yes, you survive, whilst I appear in this place to perform the mournful office of lamenting a virtuous general, whose intentions were undefiled and pure, &c.

Such an apostrophe might have been seasonable enough at Rome, in the time of the civil war after the murder of Pompey, or in London after that of Charles I. as the subject then would have related to the interests of Pompey and Charles I. But is it consistent with decency artfully to express from the pulpit a wish for the death of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the electors, and to put them in the ballance with the general of a king with whom they were then at war? ought the intentions of a captain, which could only be the serving his prince, to be compared with the political interests of crowned heads, against whom he was employed? what should we have said of a German who should have wished for the death of the king of France, because count Merci, whose intentions were pure, happened to be killed? Why * then has this passage been commended on every occasion by all the rhetoricians? The reason is, that this figure is naturally beautiful and pathetic; but they forget to examine the substance and fitness of the sentiment it contained. Plutarch would have told Flechier, *Tu as tenu sans propos, un très-beau propos.*

I return to the paradox I have been advancing; that all those glittering thoughts to which men have given the appellation of wit, ought never to have been admitted into great works, composed for the instruction of the pub-

* Flechier copied one half of his funeral oration on marshal Turenne from that which Lingendus, bishop of Grenoble, had written on one of the dukes of Savoy. This passage, which was extremely proper for a sovereign, is by no means so for a subject.

tic, or calculated to move the passions. I would not even stick to say, they ought to be banished from our operas. Music expresses the passions, the sentiments, and the images : but what accents are able to express an epigram ? Quinault has formerly been sometimes neglected, yet he was always natural.

Of all our operas, that which is the most loaded with ornaments, or rather filled with this affectation of epigram, is the *Ballet du Triomphe des Arts*, composed by a very worthy person, who thought always in a very delicate and ingenious manner, and who expressed himself with equal elegance ; but who, by the abuse of this talent, has contributed somewhat to the downfall of letters, after those happy days under Louis XIV. In this ballad, where Pygmalion gives life to his statue, he tells her,

Vos premiers mouvemens ont été de m'aimer.

And your first movements were of love to me.

I remember to have heard this verse admired in my youth by certain persons. But who does not perceive that the motions of the body of the statue are here confounded with the motions of the heart, and that in no sense this phrase makes good French ? but is a point a mere witticism ? How is it possible a person who had so much wit should yet want sense to retrench those florid and dazzling faults ? the man who despised and translated Homer, and in his translation thought he corrected him, and who, by abridging him, thought he had made him possible to be read, takes it into his head likewise to make Homer witty. This person, whilst he
makes

makes Achilles seemingly reconciled to the Greeks, who are now ready to revenge his quarrel, makes the whole camp cry out:

Que ne vaincra-t-il point? il s'est vaincu lui-même.

He sure must conquer who subdued himself.

He must have been deeply in love with this false wit to cause an army of fifty thousand men to express themselves by a point.

This play of the imagination, these pretty turns, these conceits, these gaities, these short smart sentences, these ingenious familiar expressions, men are so prodigal of at present, are only proper for trivial works, which are calculated for mere amusement. The part of the Louvre by Perrault is at once simple and majestic. A cabinet may admit of little ornaments. Be as witty as you please, or even as you can be, in light copies of verses, in a scene of a comedy, that is neither filled with passion, nor what we call simple nature, in a compliment, in some short novel, or in a letter in which you would communicate your good humour to your friend.

Far from finding fault with Voiture for admitting wit into his letters, I am, on the contrary, of opinion, that he is not witty enough, though he was eternally straining after it. Dancing-masters are said to make a bow with the worst grace of any people, because they aim at doing it better than any body else. I fancy this is exactly Voiture's case. His best letters are studied; we perceive it has cost him a great deal of labour to find out what offers itself of its own accord to count Antony Hamilton, to madam de Sévigné, and to many other

other ladies, who write such trifles with the greatest ease, better than Voiture could with prodigious efforts. Despreaux, who ventured to compare Voiture to Horace, in his first satires, changed his opinion, after his taste had been ripened by age. I know it is of small importance to mankind, whether he is, or is not, of an elevated genius; whether he has written only a few letters that can be called pretty, or whether all his pleasantries ought to pass for so many models. But persons who love and cultivate the arts, are often particularly careful in examining what the rest of the world is apt to look upon with the greatest indifference. Taste is, to the full, as necessary to us in the pursuit of literature, as it is to the ladies in matters of dress; and provided we do not make our opinions a party affair, methinks we may boldly say that there are few things that can be called excellent in Voiture, and that Marot might very easily be reduced to a few pages.

I would not, from what I have said, be understood as desiring to derogate from the reputation they have acquired; on the contrary, I would endeavour to let it be known exactly by what means they have acquired the reputation they enjoy, and what those true beauties are which have, in some measure, made their faults pass uncensured. We ought to know what is worthy our imitation, and what we ought to shun; and this is properly what ought to be the fruit of a careful study of the belles lettres. This is the conduct Horace pursued when he examined Lucius like a true critic. Horace, by so doing, made himself enemies; but even
his

his enemies were improved by the instructions he gave them.

This desire to shine, and to say what has been already said by others, after a new manner, is the source of novelty in expressions, as it is of far-fetched thoughts. An author who is incapable of shining by a thought, would make himself taken notice of by an expression. This is the reason why it has been lately attempted to substitute *amabilités* instead of *agré-mens*, *négligemment* for *négligence*, *badiner les amours* in place of *badiner avec les amours*. There are an hundred such affected expressions. Were we to continue corrupting the language in this manner, that spoken by Bossuet, Racine, Pascal, Corneille, Boileau, and Fenelon, would soon become obsolete. Why reject an expression which is in use, to make room for another signifying exactly the same thing? A new word is pardonably only when it is absolutely necessary, intelligible, and sonorous; we are under a necessity of coining such in physics: a new discovery, or a new machine, demands a new term. But are there any new discoveries made in the human heart? is there any other sublime than that of Corneille and Bossuet? are there any other passions, besides those which have been treated by Racine, or excited by Quinault? is there any Gospel-morality different from that of Bourdaloue?

Those who condemn our language as not being sufficiently copious, may be supposed to have met with something like sterility; but then it is in themselves: *Rem verba sequuntur*. When we are full of any idea, when a just and warm imagination fully possesses a thought,

it then issues from the brain, ready arrayed in proper expressions, in the same manner as Minerva sprung fully armed from that of Jupiter. I am sensible this simile might justly seem misplaced, at least in another work; but you will pardon it in a letter. In a word, the conclusion I draw from what has been said is, that we must not seek after either thoughts, turns, or expressions; and that art, in every great work, consists in reasoning justly, but without making use of too many arguments; in painting well, but without painting every thing; in moving the passions, but without being always endeavouring to shake the soul. Here is certainly a world of good counsel; but have I always followed the doctrine I preach? Alas! no—

Pauci, quos æquus amavit

*Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Dius geniti potuere.*

FRAG-

FRAGMENT of a LETTER

On a very useful Custom which prevails
in Holland.

IT is to be wished that those who govern nations would imitate artists. As soon as it is known in London that a new stuff is made in France, they are sure to counterfeit it: Why is not a statesman equally desirous to establish in his own country a salutary law taken from a foreign nation? we have arrived, at length, at the secret of making china-ware of an equal goodness to that made in China. Let us learn the secret of imitating the good we observe practised among our neighbours, and let our neighbours profit by what they see excellent among us.

There are private persons who raise in their gardens the fruits which nature had appointed only to ripen under the line. We have a thousand wise laws, and a thousand excellent customs at our very doors; these are the fruits we ought to raise in our country; these are the trees we ought to transplant; they will thrive in every climate, and will prosper in every soil. The most salutary law, the most excellent custom, and the most useful I have ever seen is in Holland. When two persons are about to enter upon a law-suit, they are first obliged to go before a tribunal of reconciling judges, called the Peace-makers. If the parties happen to bring with them a lawyer and a counsellor, the first thing done is to send those gentlemen
about

about their business, as we take off the wood from a fire we want to extinguish. The Peacemakers tell the parties, "You are certainly great fools to spend your money to procure your own ruin; we will bring you to an accommodation without costing you one farthing." If the rage of chicane happens to be too violent in our parties, they put them off to another day, in order that time may soften and mitigate the symptoms of their disorder; after the expiration of which time the judges summon them before them a second and a third time. If their folly is of the incurable sort, they promise them they will consent to their having their cause tried in a court of justice, in the same manner as we abandon an incurable member to the surgeon; and then the law has its course.

There is no necessity to make long declamations, or to calculate how much it would be for the advantage of humanity, were this law universally adopted. And besides, I am by no means desirous to follow the traces of the abbe de St. Pierre, whose projects a certain minister, and a man of sense, called *The dreams of a worthy man*. I know that if a private person of integrity and good sense, offers a proposal for the public good, it too often happens that he is abused or laughed at for his pains. "What meddling fellow is this," some will say, "who pretends to make us happier than we chuse to be? and goes about to reform abuses by which so many people get their living?"—What reply can be made to this? for my part I know of none.

A L E T.

A

L E T T E R

ON THE

Inconveniences attached to the Profession
of LETTERS *.

YOUR vocation, my dear le Fevre, is too plainly marked out by nature to be able to resist it. The bee must needs make honey, the silk-worm spin, Mr. Réaumur must dissect them, and you sing their labours. You will be a poet and a man of letters, not so much by your own choice as by that of nature. But you are much deceived in thinking that tranquility will be your lot. The road of literature, and, above all, of genius, is yet more thorny than that of fortune. If you have the misfortune to be only an indifferent poet, which I am far from believing, here is nothing before you but repentance whilst you live. If you succeed, you are then sure to be surrounded with enemies; in a word, you walk on the brink of a precipice, with contempt on one hand, and hatred on the other.

“ But what,” you will tell me, “ can it be possible I should be hated and persecuted merely

* This letter seems to have been written in 1732, as the author had, about that time, taken into his house the young man called Mr. le Fevre, to whom it is addressed. He is said to have been of a very promising genius, very learned, and to have written some extreme pretty verses. He died the same year.

for

for having written a good poem, a play that has had a run, or compiled a history with approbation, or for having sought to improve my own mind, or to contribute to the instruction of others?" But, admitting you have composed an excellent work, are you aware that you must abandon the repose of your study, in order to make your application to the licenser? If his way of thinking happens to differ from yours, if he chances not to be your friend's friend, if he is in the interest of your rival, or if he is your rival himself, it will be more difficult for you to obtain a privilege, than for a man who has not the protection of the women to get a place at court. At length, after a year spent in applications and refusals, your work is printed; then it is you are obliged either to lay the Cerberus's of literature asleep, or engage them to bark in your favour. There are always three or four literary gazettes in France, as many in Holland; these are so many different factions. The booksellers, whose property these journals are, have an interest in their being satirical; and those who write in them are easily brought to humour the avarice of the bookseller, and the ill nature of the public. Are you desirous to set these trumpets of fame sounding, do you pay your court to writers, patrons, abbès, doctors, and hawkers; all your cares will not avail, but some journalist or other will mangle your reputation. You answer him; he replies; you have a paper-war carried on before the public, who condemns both parties alike to ridicule.

The matter is still worse if you happen to write for the stage; you begin with appearing

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before

before the areopagus of a score of pleaders, a body whose profession, though both useful and diverting, is, notwithstanding, sullied by the unjust but irrevocable cruelty of the public. This unhappy state of contempt in which they are, irritates them. In you they behold a client, and lavish on you all that contempt with which they themselves are covered. You await your doom from them; they sit in judgment on your merits; and, at length, undertake to perform your piece. One foolish wit in the pit is enough to damn all your hopes. Does it succeed? That farce, called the Italian Comedy, that of the Foire, will parody you; and a swarm of libels are published to prove to you, that you should not in justice have met with any success. Some of the pretenders to learning, who neither understand Greek, nor read what is published in French, despise, or, at least, affect to despise you.

You carry your book to some lady of the court, and, as you go, tremble for fear she should give it to her woman, who will make papers for her hair of it; and the lacquey, all bedaubed with lace, who is keeper of the book of luxury, insults your dress, which is the livery of indigence.

In short, I will suppose that the fame of your works may have forced envy herself sometimes to acknowledge you are not without your share of merit. This is the utmost you can expect whilst living; but you will pay dearly for this condescension, and have nothing to look for but perpetual persecution. You will have libels imputed to you, which you have never so much as read; verses for which you entertain the
most

most sovereign contempt; and sentiments to which you are an utter stranger: you will be compelled to espouse a party, or else have all parties unite in a body against you.

There are in Paris a number of those little societies, in which some woman presides, who in the decline of her beauty begins to exhibit the first dawning of her wit. One or two of the men of letters are the first members of this little kingdom. Should you neglect getting yourself admitted in quality of a courtier, you are sure of being held as a declared enemy, and are accordingly allowed no quarter. In the mean while, in spite of all your merit, you grow old in the midst of slander and wretchedness; those places which are destined for men of letters, are given to those who can best cabal, and not to those who are only recommended by their talents: and some pedagogue, by means of his pupil's mother, shall obtain a place to which you dare not so much as lift up your eyes; and the parasite of some courtier carry an employ from you for which you are extremely well qualified.

Should chance lead you into one of those companies in which some one of the authors who have been damned by the public happens to be, or one of those half-learned, who have not even merit sufficient to be ranked among the middling authors, but who has a place, or who may have thrust himself into some public office; you will soon perceive by the superiority which he affects to have over you, that you are in the very lowest class of mankind.

After forty years labour, you resolve to seek, by means of intriguing, after what is never
C 2 given

given to merit alone, and you make interest, as others do, to be admitted into the French academy, and to be allowed to pronounce with a hesitating voice, at your reception, a compliment, which next day will be forgotten for ever. This French academy is the secret object of the vows of every man of letters; it is a mistress against whom they are perpetually making songs and epigrams, till they have obtained her favours, and whom they neglect the next moment after fruition.

It is no wonder they should be desirous of being admitted into a society in which there are always some persons of merit, and from whom they expect, though with little reason, to find protection. But you may perhaps ask me, why people say all the ill-natured things in their power against this body, till such time as they become members of it? and why the public, which shews sufficient respect to the Academy of Sciences, uses so little ceremony with the French Academy? The reason is, that the works of the French Academy are exposed to the view of the public, whereas those of the other are covered with a veil. Every Frenchman thinks he knows the language, and piques himself on his taste; but they rarely value themselves on being thought natural philosophers. The mathematics will always be a kind of mystery to the bulk of the nation, and consequently will always be an object of veneration. Algebraic equations afford no matter either for an epigram, for a song, or for envy; but people judge with the utmost severity those enormous collections of indifferent verses, harangues, and panegyrics, which are sometimes

as false as the eloquence with which they are accompanied. We are sorry to see the device of *Immortality* at the head of so many declamations, which promise nothing that is likely to last for ever, but that oblivion to which they are condemned.

It is most certain that the French Academy might serve to fix the taste of the nation, as will appear by reading their remarks on the *Cid*; the jealousy of cardinal Richlieu has, at least, had this good effect. A few works in this kind would be of very great service. We have looked for such these hundred years from the only body from whom they can proceed with any decorum or advantage. Complaints have been made that half the academicians consist of noblemen who never assist at their meetings, and that, among the remaining half, there are hardly to be found above nine or ten who give constant attendance. The academy is often neglected by its own members; and yet no sooner does one of the forty die, but new candidates appear; a vacant bishopric could not occasion more caballing; they ride post to Versailles; all the women are set to work as well as all the bustling people; every spring is put in motion; and often the only fruit of these negotiations is the making of enemies; the chief cause of those horrible couplets which have for ever undone the celebrated but unfortunate Rousseau, were owing to his failing of the place which he solicited in the Academy. Are you so fortunate as to carry the preference over all your rivals, your felicity presently dwindles to a mere phantom; do you meet with a disappointment, your affliction is then

30 On the INCONVENIENCES, &c.

real. One might write these verses on the tomb of most men of letters:

*Ci git au bord de l'Hippocrène,
Un mortel longtems abusé.
Pour vivre pauvre & méprisé,
Il se donna bien de la peine.*

Here lies, by the Castalian brook,
A victim to the love of fame,
A world of pains this poet took
To live in poverty and shame.

What then is the drift of this long sermon I have been making? Can it be to deter you from the pursuit of the road of literature? I will not so much oppose the course of destiny; all I mean by this is only to exhort you to patience.

A FRAG-

F R A G M E N T

O N T H E

Causes of the Corruption of STILE.

IT is a general complaint that eloquence is corrupted, though we have models in almost all the kinds. One of the grand defects of the present age, and which has most contributed to this decline, is the mixture of stiles. It would seem we authors do not enough imitate the painters, who make it a constant rule never to join the attitudes of Calot to the figures of Raphael. I have seen some histories, in other respects well enough written, and even good dogmatical pieces, composed in the stile of the most familiar conversation. Some one has formerly said, we ought to write as we speak; the meaning of which is certainly this, that we ought to write naturally. Irregularity, licentiousness, incorrectness, and even a hazarded stroke of wit, may be tolerated in a letter; because a letter, which is supposed to be written without study or design, is of course an easy and careless composition; but when we speak or write with an idea of respect, we are then obliged to confine ourselves within the limits of decorum. Now, I ask, whether there is any thing more deserving of respect than the public?

32 On the CORRUPTION of STILE.

Is it allowable to say, in a mathematical work, "that a geometrician, who would make sure of his salvation, ought to mount up to Heaven in a perpendicular line; that evanescent quantities fall to the ground from their ambition of ascending too high; that a seed that has been sown with the wrong end in the ground is sensible of the trick that has been played it, and therefore rises again in an upright posture; that were Saturn to perish, it would be his fifth and not his first satellite that would fill his place, because kings always keep their immediate heirs at a distance; that there is no vacuum in nature but in the pocket of a bankrupt; that Hercules was a natural philosopher, and that to resist a philosopher of his strength was a thing impossible?"

There are very excellent books infected with this blemish; the source of this so common a fault, proceeds, in my opinion, from that reproach of pedantry that has long been made to authors, and with abundance of justice: *In vitium ducit culpæ fuga*. It has been so often rung in people's ears, that they ought to write in the language of the best company, that the gravest authors are grown witty; and, in order to pass with their readers for one accustomed to see good company, they say things worthy of the very worst sort of company.

They have attempted to treat of the sciences, in the same tone as Voiture talked to mademoiselle Paulet about gallantry, without reflecting that Voiture himself has not hit the true taste of this light way of writing, in which he was thought to have excelled; for he often mistook
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the false for the delicate, as he did the affected stile for the natural. Pleasantry is never good in the serious, because it glances only on that side of objects on which it is never viewed by the public; it turns almost perpetually on false relations, or on equivocal meanings; from whence it comes that those who set up for professed wits have commonly judgements equally false and superficial.

I should think we ought as little to mix stiles in poetry as in prose. That stile which is called Marotic has lately corrupted our poetry a little, by that extravagant mingle of expressions, at the same time creeping and noble, obsolete and modern; ~~we~~ sometimes, in pieces of morality, hear the squeaking of Rabelais' whistle blended with the softness of Horace's flute.

Il faut parler Français: Boileau n'eut qu'un langage ::

*Son esprit était juste, & son stile était sage.
Sers-toi de ses leçons; laisse aux esprits mal-faits
L'art de moraliser du ton de Rabelais.*

We should speak plain sense: Boileau had but one language. His wit was just, his stile grave and decent; observe his rules, and leave to left-handed wits the unenvied art of moralizing in the gross stile of Rabelais.

I confess I was shocked to meet with the following expressions in a serious epistle.

*Des rimeurs disloqués, à qui le cerveau tinte,
Plus amers qu'aloës, & jus de coloquinte,
Vices portant méchef. Gens de tel acabit,
Chifaniers, Ostrogots, marouffes que Dieu fit.*

*De tous ces termes bas l'entassement facile
Dés honore à la fois le génie & le stile.*



To a certain UPPER CLERK.

June 20, 1733.

S I R,

SINCE you are in a situation which enables you to do some service to the belles lettres, let me entreat you not to clip so close the wings of our writers, nor reduce to the condition of barn-door fowls those who, by using their best efforts, might one day become eagles; a decent freedom elevates the mind, whilst a state of slavery renders it degenerate and abject. Had there been a literary inquisition at Rome, we had neither had a Horace, nor a Juvenal, nor even the philosophical works of Cicero. Had Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Locke, not been free, England had been without either poets or philosophers; there is a certain Turkish despotism in proscribing the press; and to confine it too much is equal to a prohibition. Be satisfied with laying defamatory libels under the severest restraint, because such productions as these are real crimes. But whilst men openly publish such monstrous collections of the most infamous ribaldry, and so many other pieces, equally deserving our horror and contempt; permit Bayle, at least, to make his appearance in France, and let not the works of a person

person who has done so much honour to our country be rated as contraband.

You may perhaps tell me, that the magistrates who manage the literary custom-house complain that there are too many books. This is much the same as if the provost of the merchants at Paris should say there were too many commodities at market. Let him buy that wants. An immense library is like the city of Paris, which contains very near eight hundred thousand souls : now, you do not associate with all this prodigious multitude ; you choose out some select company, agreeable to your taste and inclinations, and you change it whenever you grow tired of it. Books are used in much the same manner : We chuse out some, by way of friends, from the multitude. There will still be seven or eight hundred thousand books of controversy, and from fifteen to sixteen thousand romances, which you will never read ; with a world of loose periodical papers, which you may read once, and then throw into the fire. A man of taste reads only the excellent authors ; but a good statesman will tolerate both kinds.

The thoughts of men are become an important object in commerce. The booksellers in Holland gain a million yearly, because Frenchmen formerly had wit. A middling romance is, as I am perfectly well assured, among books, what a fool, that would be thought a man of imagination, is in the world : People laugh at him, but yet they put up with him. This romance gives bread to the author who has composed it, to the bookseller who vends it, toge-

ther with the type-founder, printer, book-binder, hawker, and, lastly, the retailer of execrable wine, with whom all those gentlemen lay out their money. This work will moreover serve for two or three hours amusement to a few women, with whom novelty is the most essential quality in books, as it is in every thing else. Thus, contemptible as it is, it has produced two things of vast importance, profit and pleasure.

Shews, moreover, merit still greater attention; I do not consider them as an employment which takes young people from debauchery; this notion is fit for such an one as an ignorant curate. There is time enough, both before and after shews, to enjoy the few moments which are commonly bestowed on transitory pleasures, immediately followed by disgust. Besides, men do not go to shews every day; and among the vast multitude of citizens, there are not four thousand persons who attend them constantly.

I consider tragedy and comedy as so many schools of virtue, reason, and decorum. Corneille, who may really be called an ancient Roman living in France, has founded a school wherein noble sentiments are taught; and Moliere an academy wherein are explained the duties of civil life. Those geniuses which they have formed, draw strangers from the remotest parts of Europe, who come to receive instructions amongst us, and who contribute to the opulence of Paris. Our poor are fed by the produce of these works, which have gained us an empire over those very nations who have a
natural

natural hatred to us. The whole being well considered, a man must be an enemy to his country to condemn our shews. A magistrate, in right of having bought at a high price the office of a judge, has the audaciousness to think, that it is indecent in him to go to see Cinna: such a person may have a great deal of gravity, but surely is possessed of a very small share of taste.

There will always be, in this polite nation of ours, minds which naturally have a tincture of the Goth and Vandal; but I can only acknowledge those who love and encourage the arts as true Frenchmen. This taste, it is true, begins to sink amongst us: we are, like the Sibarites, weary of the favours of our mistresses; we enjoy the vigils of these great men, whose labours serve for our amusement, as well as for that of ages yet unborn, just as we receive the productions of nature. They will tell us they are due to us; it is but an hundred years since we fed on acorns; yet those Triptolomus's, who have given us the finest wheat, are become indifferent to us; nothing awakens this spirit of indolence and indifference for great objects, which is an inseparable companion of our vivacity and eagerness for trifles.

We discover every year more industry and invention in our snuff-boxes, our tweezer-cases, and such trinkets, than the English have made use of to obtain the empire of the seas, to cause water to ascend by means of fire, and to calculate the aberration of light. The antient Romans raised wonders in architecture for their spectacles of wild beasts; yet have we not for an age past been able to build a tolerable room

to

to represent the master-pieces of the human mind. The hundredth part of our card-money would be sufficient to build places for our shows more pompous than the theatre of Pompey: but where is the man in Paris who is fired with the smallest spark of love for his country? We game, sup, and like scandal, compose wretched songs, and fall asleep in the hands of stupidity, in order to awake next day to renew the same circle of levity and indifference. You, Sir, who hold at least a small place, which gives you an opportunity of giving wholesome counsel, do you endeavour to rouse men from this barbarous lethargy, and be a benefactor, if you can, to the commonwealth of letters, who have been so great benefactors to France.

DIALOGUE

D I A L O G U E
B E T W E E N A
C L I E N T and his L A W Y E R.

C L I E N T.

WELL, Sir! with regard to the cause of those poor orphans!

L A W Y E R.

What do you mean? It is but eighteen years since their estate has been in litigation.

C L I E N T.

I don't complain of that trifling matter; I know the custom well enough; I respect it: but how, in the name of Heaven, comes it to pass, that you have been these three months soliciting a hearing, and have not yet obtained it?

L A W Y E R.

The reason is because you have not solicited an audience in person in behalf of your pupils: you ought to have waited on the judge several different times, to intreat him to try your cause.

C L I E N T.

It is their duty to do justice of their own accord, without waiting till it is asked them. He is a very great man that has it in his power to sit in judgment on men's lives and fortunes; but he is by no means so to desire that the miserable should wait in his anti-chamber. I do not go to our parson's levee to pray and beseech him to

40 DIALOGUE between a CLIENT

have the goodness to sing high mass : why ought I then to petition my judge to discharge the function of his office ? In short, after so many and such tedious delays, are we at length going to be so happy as to have our cause tried to-day ?

LAWYER.

Why, yes ; and there is great likelihood of your carrying a very material point in your process : you have a very decisive article in *Charondas* on your side.

CLIENT.

This same *Charondas* was, in all probability, some lord-chancellor in the time of one of the kings of the first race, who has passed a law in favour of orphans ?

LAWYER.

By no means : he is no more than a private person who has given his opinion in a great volume which no-body reads : but then your advocate quotes him ; the judges take it upon his credit ; so there's your cause gained in a trice.

CLIENT.

What ! do you tell me the opinion of this judge *Charondas* passes current for a law ?

LAWYER.

But there is one devilish bad circumstance attends us. Turnet and Brodeau are both against us.

CLIENT.

These, I suppose, are two other legislators, whose laws have much the same authority with those of that other hard-named gentleman.

LAW-

and his LAWYER.

41

LAWYER.

Yes, certainly; as it was impossible to explain the Roman law sufficiently in the present case, the world took different sides of the question.

CLIENT.

What the devil signifies it to bring in the Roman law in this affair. Do we live, in the present age, under Theodosius or Justinian?

LAWYER.

By no means; but our forefathers, you must know, had a prodigious passion for tilting and fox-hunting: they ran all, as if they were mad, to the Holy Land with their doxies. You will grant me, that men, in such a hurry of business, of consequence, could not be supposed to have time on their hands to frame a complete body of universal jurisprudence.

CLIENT.

Aye! aye! I understand you. For want of laws of your own, you are forced to beg of Charondas and Justinian to be so good as tell you how you should proceed when an inheritance is to be divided.

LAWYER.

There you are mistaken: we have more laws than all Europe besides; almost every city has a body of laws of its own.

CLIENT.

Your most obedient. Here's another miracle.

LAWYER.

Ah! had your wards been born at Guignes-la-Putain, instead of being natives of Melun near Corbeil!

CLI-

42 DIALOGUE between a CLIENT

C L I E N T.

Very well: what had happened then, for God's sake?

L A W Y E R.

You would have gained your cause, as sure as two and two make four; that's all: for at this same Guignes-la-Putain there is a custom which is wholly in your favour; but were you to go but two leagues beyond this, you would then be in a very different situation.

C L I E N T.

But pray are not Guignes and Melun both in France? And can any thing be more absurd or horrible, than to tell me, that what's right in one village is wrong in another? By what fatal barbarity does it happen, that people, born in the same country, do yet live under different laws?

L A W Y E R.

The reason is, that formerly the inhabitants of Guignes and those of Melun were not inhabitants of the same country: these two fine cities formed, in the golden days of yore, two distinct empires; and the august sovereign of Guignes, though a vassal to the king of France, gave laws to his own subjects. - Those laws depended on the good-will and pleasure of his *major domo*, who, it seems, could not read; so that they have been handed down, by a most venerable tradition, from father to son; so that the whole race of the barons de Guignes becoming extinct, to the irrecoverable loss of all mankind, the conceits of their first lacqueys still subsists, and is held for the fundamental law of the land. The case is exactly the same
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in every six leagues in the whole kingdom; so that you change laws every time you change horses; so you may judge what a taking we poor advocates are in, when we are to plead, for instance, for an inhabitant of Poictou against an inhabitant of Auvergne.

CLIENT.

But these same men of Poictou, Auvergne, with your Guignes gentry, are they not all dressed in the same manner? Is it a harder matter to use the same laws than it is to wear the same cloaths? And since it is evident the taylor and coblers understand one another from one end of the kingdom to the other, why cannot the judges learn of them, and follow so excellent an example?

LAWYER.

You desire a thing altogether as impossible as it would be to bring the nation to make use of one sort of weights and measures. Why would you have the laws every-where the same, when you see the point is different in all places? For my own part, after thinking till my head was like to split, all I have been able to conclude for the soul of me, is this: That as the measure of Paris is different from that at St. Denis, it follows, that men's judgments must also be different in both. The varieties of nature are infinite, and it would be wrong in us to endeavour to render uniform what she intends shall not be so.

CLIENT.

Yet, now I think on it, I have a strong notion the English have but one sort of weight and measures.

LAW.

44 DIALOGUE between a CLIENT, &c.

LAWYER.

The English! ay. Why the English are mere Barbarians: they have, it is true, but one kind of measure; but, to make amends, they have a score of different religions.

CLIENT.

There you mention something strange indeed! Is it possible that a nation, who live under the same laws, should not likewise live under the same religion?

LAWYER.

It is; which makes it plain they are abandoned to their own reprobate understandings.

CLIENT.

But may not it also prove, that they think laws made for regulating the external actions of men, and religion the internal? Possibly the English, and other nations, were of opinion, that laws related to the concerns of man with man, and that religion regarded man's relation to God. I am sure, I should never quarrel with an Anabaptist who should take it into his head to be christened at thirty years old; but I should be horridly offended with him, should he fail paying his bill of exchange. They who sin against God, ought to be punished in the other world; they who sin against man, ought to be chastised in this.

LAWYER.

I understand nothing of all this. I am just going to plead your cause.

CLIENT.

I wish to God you understood it better first.

DIALOGUE

D I A L O G U E

B E T W E E N

Madam de MAINTENON

A N D

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS*.

Madam MAINTENON.

'TIS true, I did request you to come to see me privately : perhaps you may think it was only to make a display of my grandeur ; by no means ; I really meant it that I might receive in you a real consolation——

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Consolation, madam ! I must acknowledge, that, having never been favoured with hearing of you since you were grown great, I concluded you must be perfectly happy.

Madam MAINTENON.

I have the good fortune to be thought so. There are people in the world who are satisfied

* Madame de Maintenon and mademoiselle Ninon de l'Enclos had lived long together. This celebrated young lady, who died in her eighty-eighth year, had seen our author, and had even left him a legacy by her will. The author has often heard the late abbe de Chateaufort say, that madam de Maintenon had used her utmost endeavours to engage Ninon to turn nun, and to come and comfort her at Versailles under the irksome load of grandeur and old age.

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with this ; though, to be plain with you, it is not at all my case ; I have always exceedingly regretted your company.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I understand you. In the midst of your grandeur you were sensible of the want of friendship ; and I, on the other hand, who am entirely engrossed by friendship, never had occasion to wish for grandeur ; but how then comes it to pass you forgot me so long ?

Madam MAINTENON.

You know the necessity I was under to seem at least to forget you. Believe me, amidst all the misfortunes attached to my elevation, I always reckoned this restraint the chief.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

As for my part, I neither forget my former pleasures, nor my old friends ; but if you are really unhappy, as you say you are, you impose prodigiously on the whole world, who believe you otherwise.

Madam MAINTENON.

I was the first person deceived in this manner myself. If, whilst we were at supper together, in company with Villarsaux and Nantouillet at our little house the Tournelles, when the mediocrity of our fortune was scarce worth thinking of, some-body had said, You will, before 'tis long, approach very near to the throne ; the most powerful monarch in the world will soon make you his sole confidant ; all favours will pass through your hands ; you will be regarded as a sovereign : if, said I, any one had made me such predictions, I should have answered,

answered, The accomplishment of this strange prognostication must certainly kill one with mere astonishment. The whole of it was actually accomplished; I felt some surprize in the first moments; but, in hoping for joy, I found myself entirely mistaken.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

A philosopher might possibly believe this; but the public will with great difficulty be brought to believe you were dissatisfied; and should they really think so, they would certainly blame you for it.

Madam MAINTENON.

The world must then be as much in the wrong as I was. This world of ours is a vast amphitheatre, where every one is placed on his bench by mere chance. They imagine the supreme degree of felicity to be on the uppermost benches. What an egregious mistake!

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I take this mistake to be necessary to human nature: they would never give themselves any trouble about getting higher, were they not led by an opinion, that happiness is placed above them. Both of us are acquainted with pleasures infinitely less deceiving or fanciful: but, for Heaven's sake, how did you contrive to be so exceeding wretched on your exalted seat?

Madam MAINTENON.

Alas! my dear Ninon! from the time I left off calling you any thing but Mademoiselle de l'Enclos, I from that moment began to be less happy. It was decreed I must be a prude. This is telling all in one word. My heart is empty; my mind under restraint; I make the first figure

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in France ; but it is really no more than a figure, a shadow ! I live only a kind of borrowed life. Ah ! did you but know what a burden it must be to a drooping soul, to animate another soul, or to amuse a mind no longer capable of amusement * !

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I easily guess the uneasiness of your situation. I fear insulting you, should I mention the reflection that Ninon is happier at Paris, in her little house, with the abbé de Chateauneuf, and some friends, than you at Versailles, in the company of the most respectable personage in all Europe, who lays all his power at your feet. I am afraid to shew you the superiority of my situation : I know it is wrong to discover too sensible a relish of our felicity in the presence of the unhappy. Endeavour, madam, to bear the load of your grandeur with patience ; try to forget that delightful obscurity in which we formerly lived together, in the same manner you have been obliged to forget your ancient friends. The sole remedy in your painful state, is to avoid reflection as much as possible, crying out with the poet,

*Félicité passée,
Qui ne peut revenir,
Tourment de ma pensée,
Que n'ai-je en te perdant, perdu le souvenir !*

Tormenting thought of former happiness, gone, never to return ! Why, when I was bereft of the joy, did I not lose the remembrance of it also !

* These are madam Maintenon's own words, *Amuser un esprit qui n'est plus amusable !*

Drink of the river Lethe, and above all comfort yourself with having before your eyes so many royal dames, whose time lies as heavy upon their hands as yours can do.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, my dear! what felicity can one find in being alone? I would fain make a proposal to you, but I am afraid to open myself.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Indeed, madam, to be plain with you, you have reason to be a little mistrustful; but take courage.

Madam MAINTENON.

I mean that you will barter, at least in appearance, your philosophy for prudery, and then you will become a truly respectable woman. You shall live with me at Versailles, you shall be more my friend than ever, and help me to support my present condition.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

I still have a great affection for you, madam, but I must freely own to you, I love myself still better; and can never consent to turn hypocrite, and render myself miserable for ever, because fortune has treated you scurvily.

Madam MAINTENON.

Ah, cruel Ninon! you have a heart more hard than even the very courtiers themselves. Can you then abandon me without the least remorse?

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

By no means: I am still but too sensible. You really melt me; and, to convince you I have the same regard for you as ever, I now make you the last offer in my power; quit

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Versailles, and come and live with me at the rües des Tournelles.

Madam MAINTENON.

You pierce my very heart. I cannot be happy near the throne, nor can I enjoy pleasure in a retired life. This is one of the fatal effects of living in a court.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

There is no remedy for an incurable disorder. I shall take the opinion of the philosophers who frequent my house concerning your malady; but I cannot promise you they will effect impossibilities.

Madam MAINTENON.

Good heavens! what a cruel situation! to behold myself on the very pinnacle of greatness, to be worshipped as a deity, and yet not to be able to taste of happiness!

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Hold, my dear friend, I fancy there is some mistake in this; you believe yourself unhappy merely on account of your greatness: but may not the misfortune proceed from another cause, that your eyes have no longer the same lustre, your appetite no longer so good, nor your relish for pleasures so lively as heretofore? You have lost your youth, beauty, and feelings; this, this, is your real misfortune. This is the reason why so many women turn devotees at fifty, and so fly from one chagrin into the arms of another.

Madam MAINTENON.

But, after all, you have more years over your head than I have, and you are neither unhappy nor a devotee.

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Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Let us understand each other. We ought not to imagine that at your age and mine we can enjoy complete happiness. It requires a soul glowing with the most exquisite sensations, and the five senses in their highest perfection, to taste this kind of felicity. But with a few friends, a little philosophy, and liberty, one may be as much at one's ease, as this age will admit of. The mind is never unhappy but when out of its sphere. So e'en take my advice, and come and live with me, and my philosophical friends.

MADAM MAINTENON.

I see two ministers of state coming this way. They are very different company from philosophers; so fare you well, my dear Ninon.

Mademoiselle de l'ENCLOS.

Adieu, illustrious unfortunate.

D I A L O G U E
BETWEEN
A PHILOSOPHER,
AND A
COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE FINANCES.

PHILOSOPHER.

DO you know that a minister of the finances is capable of doing a great deal of good, and consequently of being a much greater man than a marshal of France?

MINISTER.

I would readily believe that a philosopher would endeavour to soften the accusation of hard heartedness, with which the public generally load those in my office; but I could never have believed that he would have endeavoured to inspire me with vanity.

PHILOSOPHER.

Vanity is far from being such a vice as you may suppose it. Had not Lewis XIV. had a tincture of it, his reign would never have been so illustrious as it was. The great Colbert was not without his share of it; be it yours to surpass him. You are born in an age more favourable to this passion than his; and it is the business of every one to raise his views according to the times he lives in.

MINISTER.

I will allow that those who cultivate a fruitful

ful soil have greatly the advantage over those who first broke the land.

PHILOSOPHER.

Be persuaded that there is nothing so useful but you may easily accomplish. When Colbert came to the administration, he found, on one hand, the finances in all that disorder, which must have been the inevitable consequences of a civil war, and thirty years of rapine and licentiousness. On the other, he found the nation fickle, ignorant, and enslaved to prejudices of thirteen hundred years standing. There was not a man at the council board who knew what was meant by exchange, or had the least idea of trade, or the proportion between different species of coin. At present our knowledge is improved by mutual communication. The populace indeed still remain in the very depth of ignorance, or employed in the task of getting their daily subsistence; and I will venture to affirm that it is the business of the government to keep them in this condition. But the middling rank of people, which is very considerable, are become enlightened; they govern the great, who sometimes think, and the small, who never think at all. The same thing has happened in relation to the finances, since the time of the famous Colbert, as has happened in musick since that of Lulli. This great master could hardly meet with a person to play one of his symphonies, simple as they were. At present, the number of artists, capable of executing the most difficult pieces of musick, have increased in proportion as the art itself has improved. It is the same with philosophy, and the ministerial office.

Colbert did greater things than the duke of Sully, and you must do greater than Colbert.

At these words, the minister perceiving that the philosopher had a bundle of papers in his hand, desired to see them. They contained a collection of hints capable of furnishing some very useful reflections. The minister took them, and read as follows.

The wealth of a state consists in the number of its inhabitants and their labour.

Commerce serves to render one state more powerful than another, in that in a certain number of years it has necessarily a war with its neighbours; as in like manner as in a certain number of years, there is always some public calamity. Then, in the calamity of war, the richer nation, *ceteris paribus*, necessarily gains an advantage over the others, because it can purchase the assistance of a greater number of allies, and foreign troops. Without the calamity of war, the augmentation of the mass of gold, and silver would be useless: for provided there was sufficient of those metals for the purposes of circulation, and that the balance of trade was only equal, it is clear we should not be in want of any thing.

Supposing there are two milliards* in a nation. Then the price of all commodities and labour would be double of what they would be, if there was only one milliard. I am as rich with a yearly income of 50,000 livres, if I can buy a pound of meat for four sous, as with an

* A milliard is two thousand millions, but by this is meant so many millions of French livres, 24 of which go to our English pound sterling.

200,000, if the same quantity of meat will cost me eight sous, and so of the rest in proportion. The real wealth of a kingdom then consists, not in gold and silver, but in the plenty of all kinds of commodities, in industry, and in labour. It is not long since there was a Spanish regiment on the borders of the river la Plata, where the officers had all hilts of massy gold to their swords, and not a shirt to their backs, nor a morsel of bread to put in their mouths.

I will suppose that since the time of Hugh Capet, the quantity of money in the kingdom has not been increased: but that industry has been augmented to one in all arts. I maintain then that we are in reality an hundred times richer than we were in the time of Hugh Capet, for enjoyment makes riches. Now, I am possessed of an house, which is more airy, better built, and more compleatly laid out, than any in the time in which Hugh Capet lived. We have attained to a greater perfection in cultivating the vine, so that I drink better wine. The woollen manufactories is greatly improved, so that I wear better and finer cloth. The art of flattering the taste by the most delicate cookery, indulges me every day with more delicious fare than is to be met with at any royal banquet of Hugh Capet. If he was ill, and wanted to move from one house to another, it must be in a kind of cart or waggon; whereas I can roll at my ease in a convenient and pleasant vehicle, where I enjoy all the advantages of light, without being exposed to the inclemency of the weather. There certainly wanted no greater quantity of money

in the kingdom in order to suspend on leathern braces, a machine of painted wood : it required only industry, and this holds equally good in relation to all other things of this nature. The same quarries furnished stones to build houses with, in the time of Hugh Capet, as they do now, and there requires no more money to build a miserable dungeon, than to construct a pleasant and commodious dwelling-house. The same expence will plant a well contrived garden, which is required to cut ridiculous and grotesque figures, in an absurd imitation of different animals. Oaks were suffered formerly to rot in the forests; now they are cut into a variety of forms, that serve at once for use and ornament. Sand lay formerly in useless heaps on the surface of the earth, now it is applied to the purpose of making glass.

Now he, who enjoys all these advantages, is certainly rich. Industry has put us in possession of them; therefore it is not money that constitutes the riches of a kingdom, but ingenuity, that kind of it I mean that directs us in our labour.

Commerce produces the same effects with labour; it contributes to render life more agreeable. If I stand in need of any manufacture of the East Indies, or of a production of nature, which is to be found only at Ceylon or Ternate, I am poor while in want of these; but I become rich, when these my wants are satisfied by the means of commerce: I was not in want of gold or silver, but of coffee and cinnamon. But those, who at the hazard of their lives, go upwards of six thousand leagues to supply me with coffee for my breakfast in a morning,
are

are no more than the supernumerary labourers of the nation. The wealth of a kingdom, then, consists in the great number of labouring people.

Population and labour then are undoubtedly the true objects of attention in every wise government.

In our climates, the number of males born is greater than that of females, consequently we ought not to destroy our females. Now it is evident, we do destroy them in respect to society, by burying them alive in convents, where they are totally lost to the present generation, and extinguished to future. The money sunk in endowing convents would therefore be much better employed in encouraging matrimony. I cannot but compare the young females, who are suffered to wither and decay in our convents to the waste lands which we have still in France. They both stand alike in need of cultivation. There are several ways of obliging husbandmen to improve waste and neglected lands; but there is one infallible way of injuring a state, which is to suffer the continuance of two abuses, namely, that of immuring young women, and leaving the land to be over-run with weeds. Barrenness of every kind is either a vice in nature, or a violation of her laws.

The king, who is the nation's steward, gives pensions to the court ladies, in which he does right; for this money is circulated amongst different kind of trades-people, but how comes it there are no pensions allotted for the encouragement of agriculture? This money

would in like manner return into the kingdom again, and with still greater profit.

The tolerating beggars is an acknowledged defect in a government. There are two sorts of these, such who go on crutches from one end of the kingdom to the other, and, as it were, force money from all passers by, by their importunities and lamentable complaints, which they spend afterwards in drinking houses; the other sort are those, who clad in a particular dress, go from house to house, and lay the people under a religious contribution, in God's name, and then return, when the business of the day is over, to indulge themselves in their own houses, or at the tables of the great, where they live in ease and luxury. The first of these is less pernicious than the other, because they frequently furnish children to the state, and though some of these may chance to turn out thieves, yet there are many of them also, who, in time, make excellent masons and soldiers. But they are both of them evils, of which every one complains, and yet no one is at the trouble of endeavouring to remove them. It is very surprising, that in a kingdom, which has so many waste lands and colonies, a set of people should be suffered, who neither labour, nor contribute to population. Whence comes it, that there have been nations, who, though not possessed of near the quantity of gold and silver that we are, have notwithstanding immortalized their memory by labours that we dare not imitate? It is plain that their government was better than ours, inasmuch, as it gave encouragement to a greater number of labouring people.

Taxes

Taxes are necessary. The best manner of raising them, is that which most facilitates labour and commerce. Every arbitrary tax is an error. Nothing but alms can be arbitrary; but, in a well policed state, there should not be room left for alms-giving. The great Scha Abbas, who made so many useful establishments in Persia, did not found one hospital. Being asked the reason, he replied, "Because I intend there shall be no need of hospitals in my kingdom."

But what is a tax? It is a certain proportion of corn, cattle, or commodities, that the possessors of lands owe to those that have none. Money is only the type or representative of those commodities. Taxes then in reality are raised upon the rich only, for you cannot demand of a poor man a part of the bread he earns by the sweat of his brow; nor the milk, with which his wife nourishes his children at her breast. It is therefore not the poor, nor their labour, that ought to be taxed; but we should, whilst we find them employment, give them wages that they will one day be happy enough to be able to pay taxes.

In time of war, I suppose the nation pays fifty millions extraordinary yearly; of these fifty millions, twenty are carried out of the kingdom, and the remaining thirty employed in butchering mankind. I will suppose that in time of peace, five and twenty of these millions are paid off, and that none of this is carried abroad, and that as many people are employed in labouring for the good of the public, as were knocked on the head in fighting its battles. Works of all kinds are multiplied, the

fields are cultivated, and cities embellished; hence the people really grow rich by what they pay to the government. During the calamities of war; taxes are not intended to procure us the conveniencies of life, but to defend us in our possessions. The happiest people then are necessarily those who pay the most; and these are incontestably such who are the most laborious, and the most wealthy.

Paper money is with respect to specie, what that is to commodities; a representation, a pledge of barter. Money is of no further use than as it is more convenient to give a piece of gold or silver for a commodity than four or five pair of stockings. In like manner, it is more easy for the receiver of a province to remit two or three thousand pounds to the exchequer in a letter, than to send it, at a great expence by carriage; this shews the utility of banks and paper money. Paper money is in a government, in commerce, and in circulation, what cranes are in a quarry; they serve to raise weights, which a number of men could not stir by the strength of their arms. A Scotchman, who was, at the same time, a very useful and dangerous person in a state, was the first who established paper-credit in France; he was like a physician, who gives his sick patient a too powerful emetic, which causes violent convulsions and disorders; but because a good medicine is given in an over-dose, is that a reason to reject it altogether? From the ruins of his system, we have still remaining an India company, which gives jealousy to other nations, and may establish the greatness of our own; therefore this system, if confined within proper limits,

mits, would have been productive of more good, than it has caused evil.

The altering the value of the coin is making counterfeit money. The circulating a greater quantity of paper-money, than the stock and circulation of specie and commodities, can answer another way of making false money.

The prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver is another remnant of barbarism and indigence; it is at once refusing to pay one's debts, and destroying trade; it is refusing to pay, because if the nation is debtor she must most certainly settle the balance with her foreign creditor. It is destroying trade, because gold and silver are not only the price of merchandize, but merchandize themselves; the Spaniard has, like other nations, preserved this ancient law, which is only an ancient folly. The whole resource of a state is the constant violation of this law.

To load the commodities of one's own country with the payment of taxes, for going from one province to another; to make Champagne an enemy to Burgundy, and Guienne to Brittany, is another abuse equally shameful and ridiculous. It is the same as if I was to post some of my servants on the stair-case to stop and eat part of my dinner, as it comes to my table. Endeavours have been used to correct this error; but, to the shame of human understanding, we have not as yet been able to succeed.

There were several other hints among the philosopher's papers, which the minister greatly approved; and this was the first time that the notes of a philosopher were ever seen in the pocket-book of a minister of state.

A

D I A L O G U E

BETWEEN

MARCUS AURELIUS

AND A

RECOLLET FRIAR.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

NOW I think I begin to know whereabouts I am. That's certainly the Capitol, and that Basilica the temple. The person I behold there is undoubtedly the priest of Jupiter. Hark ye, friend; one word with you, if you please.

FRIAR.

Friend! very familiar, truly: you must certainly be a stranger in Rome, to accost in this manner brother Fulgentius the recollet, an inhabitant of the Capitol, confessor to the duchess de Popoli, and who speaks sometimes to the pope, with as much familiarity as if he were a mere mortal.

MARCUS

A DIALOGUE, &c. 63

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Brother Fulgentius in the Capitol! Matters are somewhat changed indeed. I don't understand one word you say. Is there no such place here as the temple of Jupiter?

FRIAR.

Get you gone about your business, honest friend; you seem to be out of your senses. Who are you, prithee, with your antique dress and your Jew's beard? Whence come you, and what do you want here?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

This is my ordinary apparel: I am come back to see Rome once more. My name is Marcus Aurelius.

FRIAR.

Marcus Aurelius! I think I remember to have heard of such a name. If I don't mistake, there was a Pagan emperor so called.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I am he. I longed to have another view of that Rome which I loved, and which was so fond of me; that Capitol in which I triumphed by my contempt of triumph; that land I formerly rendered so happy: but now I can hardly think it to be the same place. I have been to see the column that was erected to my honour, and have not been able to find the statue of the sage Antonine, my father. The face is quite altered from what it was.

FRIAR.

So it ought, Mr. Damned Soul! Sixtus the Fifth erected that column; but then he put on
it

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64 A. DIALOGUE, &c.

it a better man than you and your father to boot.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I was always of opinion it was no difficult matter to excel me; but I thought it no such easy affair to surpass my father. Perhaps my piety towards him has imposed upon my judgment. All men are liable to error. But why give me the epithet of Damned Soul?

FRIAR.

Bécause so you are. Was it not you (let me see, I don't mistake) that so often persecuted a set of folks, to whom you lay under very great obligations, and who procured you a shower of rain which enabled you to thrash your enemies?

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Alas! I was very far from persecuting any one. I thank Heaven, by a very happy conjuncture, a storm happened, just in the nick of time, to save my troops, who were dying of thirst; but I never heard before that I owed the favour of this tempest to the folks you mention, though, to tell you the truth, they were very good soldiers. I assure you, in the most solemn manner, I am not damned: I have done too much good to mankind, that the Divine Being should do me any evil. But, prithee tell me, where is the palace of the emperor my successor? Is it still on the Palatine hill? For really I hardly know my own country again.

FRIAR.

I believe it, truly, we have so improved
every

every thing. If you please, I will carry you to Monte Cavallo : you shall have the honour to kiss the great toe of St. Peter ; and you will, besides, receive a handsome present of indulgences, which, in my humble opinion, will be very seasonable ; for I don't doubt you stand in great need of them.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

First of all, I desire you would grant me your own ; and tell me ingenuously, is there an end of the emperors and empire of Rome ?

FRIAR.

No, no, by no means ; there is still an empire and an emperor ; but then he keeps his court at the distance of about four hundred leagues from hence, at a small city called Vienna, on the Danube. My advice is, that you go there to pay a visit to your successors ; because here you stand a great chance to visit the inquisition. I warn you that the reverend Dominican fathers are not at all disposed to jest in such matters, and that your Marcus Aurelius's, your Antonines, your Trajans, and your Titus's, and such gentry as cannot say their catechism, are treated by them after a very scurvy manner.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

The catechism ! the inquisition ! Dominicans ! Recollets ! a pope and cardinals ! and the Roman empire in a little city on the Danube ! I could never have dreamt of such things ; tho', I will allow, that in sixteen hundred years things will change strangely in this world of
ours.

ours. I could like, methinks, to see one of these Roman emperors, Marcoman, Quadus, Cimber, and Teuto.

FRIAR.

You shall not want that pleasure when you please, and a greater than that still. You would, in all likelihood, be surprised, were I to tell you that the Scythians hold one half of your empire, and we the other: that the sovereign of Rome is a priest like me: that brother Fulgentius may be that sovereign in his turn: that I shall disperse indulgences on the very spot where you were wont to be drawn in your car by vanquished sovereigns: and, lastly, that your successor on the Danube has not a city he can call his own; but that there is a certain priest that lets him have the use of his capital, when he has occasion for it.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

You tell me strange news, indeed. All these great changes could never have happened without great misfortunes. I own I still love the human race, and am heartily sorry for them.

FRIAR.

You are too good. These revolutions have really cost a deluge of blood, and an hundred provinces have been ravaged; but had it not been so, your servant, brother Fulgentius, had never slept at his ease in the Capitol.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Rome, that metropolis of the universe, is then most miserably fallen.

FRIAR.

FRIAR.

Fallen, I grant you; but as for miserably, there I must say you nay: on the contrary, peace and the fine arts flourish here eternally. The antient masters of the world are now become music-masters. Instead of sending colonies into England, we now send them eunuchs and fidlers. We have, it is true, none of your Scipios now, those destroyers of Carthage; but then we have none of your proscriptions neither. We have bartered glory for tranquility.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I tried what I could to become a philosopher in my life-time, but now I am sure I have become one indeed. I find tranquility is at the least an equivalent for glory; but, by what you tell me, I should be apt to suspect brother Fulgentius is no adept in philosophy.

FRIAR.

What do you mean? Not a philosopher! I am one with a vengeance. I once taught philosophy; nay, better still, I read lectures in theology.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And, pray, what may this theology of yours be, an't please you?

FRIAR.

Why, it is—it is that which has made me be here, and the emperor elsewhere. You seem to grudge me the honour I enjoy, and are out of humour at the trifling revolution that has happened to your empire.

MARCUS.

68 A DIALOGUE, &c.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

I adore the eternal decrees of Providence : I know man ought not to repine at fate : I admire the vicissitude of human affairs ; but since every thing is so liable to change, and since the Roman empire has experienced this wonderful mutability, let me hope the recollets may also experience it in their turn.

FRIAR.

I declare you anathematized : but hold, now I think on't, it is time to go to matins.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

And I will go and be reunited to the Being of Beings.

DIALOGUE

D I A L O G U E
 BETWEEN
 A BRACHMAN and a JESUIT,
 ON
 NECESSITY and FREEWILL,
 AND THE
 GENERAL CONCATENATION
 OF
 CAUSES and EFFECTS.

JESUIT.

IN all probability, you are indebted to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier for that long and happy life you have enjoyed an hundred and fourscore years ! Why, 'tis a life-time for a patriarch.

BRACHMAN.

My master Fonfouca lived till three hundred : it is the ordinary course of life among us Brachmans. I have a very great regard for Francis Xavier ; but all his prayers would never have put nature out of her destined order : had he really been able to prolong the life of a gnat but for one single instant beyond what the general concatenation of causes and events allows of, this globe of ours had worn a quite different
 ap-

appearance from that in which you now behold it.

JESUIT.

You have a strange opinion of future contingents: why, you must be entirely ignorant that man is free, and that our free-will disposes of every thing in this sublunary world at its mere fancy and pleasure. I can assure you the Jesuits alone have contributed not a little to some very considerable revolutions.

BRACHMAN.

I have no manner of question in regard to the learning and power of the reverend fathers the Jesuits: they are a very valuable part of human society; yet I cannot by any means believe them the sovereign arbiters of human transactions: every single person, every single being, whether Jesuit or Brachman, is one of the springs which act in the general movement of the universe; in which he is the slave, and not the master of destiny. Pray, to what cause do you think Gengis-kan owed the conquest of Asia? To the very moment in which his father one day happened to awake as he was in bed with his wife; to a word which a Tartar chanced to let fall some years before. I, for example, the very person you behold, am one of the chief causes of the deplorable death of Henry IV. for which, you may see, I am still much afflicted.

JESUIT.

Your reverence is pleased to be very merry upon the matter? You the cause of the death of Henry IV!

BRACH-

BRACHMAN.

Alas! it is too true. This happened in the nine hundred eighty-three thousandth year of the revolution of Saturn, which makes the fifteen hundred and fiftieth of your æra. I was then young and giddy headed. I thought proper, upon a time, to take a walk, which I began with moving my left foot first, on the coast of Malabar, from whence most evidently followed the death of Henry IV.

JESUIT.

How so, prithee? For, as to our society, who were accused with having had a large share in that affair, we had not the least knowledge of it.

BRACHMAN.

I'll tell ye how fate thought proper to order the matter. By moving my left foot, as I told you, I unluckily tumbled my friend Eriban, the Persian merchant, into the water, and he was drowned. My friend, it seems, had a very handsome wife, that run away with an Armenian merchant: this lady had a daughter, who married a Greek; the daughter of this Greek settled in France, and married the father of Ravailac. Now, had not every tittle of this happened exactly as it did, you are very sensible the affairs of the houses of France and Austria would have turned out in a very different manner. The system of Europe would have been entirely changed. The wars between Turkey and the German empire would have had quite another issue; which issue would have had an effect on Persia, as well as Persia on the East-Indies; so you see it is plain to a demonstration,

stration, that the whole depended on my left foot, which was connected with all the other events of the universe, past, present, and to come.

JESUIT.

I must have this affair laid before some of our fathers, who are theologians.

BRACHMAN.

In the mean time, I will tell you, father, that the maid-servant of the grandfather of the founder of the *Feuillants* (for you must know I have dipped into your histories) was likewise one principal cause of the death of Henry IV. and of all the accidents which it produced.

JESUIT.

This servant-maid must then have been a domineering quean!

BRACHMAN.

Oh fy! no such thing. She was a mere idiot, by whom her master had a child. Madame de la Barriere, poor soul, died of grief at it. She who succeeded her was, as your chronicles tell, the grandmother of the blessed John de la Barriere, who founded the order of *Feuillants*. Ravaillac was a monk of this order. With them he sucked in a certain doctrine very fashionable in those days, as you well enough know. This doctrine taught him to believe that the most meritorious thing he could possibly do, was to assassinate the best king in the whole world. What followed is known to every body.

JESUIT.

In spite of your left foot, and the wench of the grandfather of the founder of the *Feuillants*,
I shall

I shall ever be of opinion that the horrible action committed by Ravailac was a future contingent, which might very well not have happened: for, after all, man is certainly a free agent.

BRACHMAN.

I do not know what you mean by a free agent. I can affix no certain idea to these words. To be free, is to do whatever we think proper, and not to will whatever we please. All I know of the matter is, that Ravailac voluntarily committed the crime, of which he was destined by fate to be the instrument. This crime was no more than a link of the great chain of destiny.

JESUIT.

You may say what you will, but the affairs of this world are far from having any such dependence as you are pleased to think. What signifies, for example, this useless conversation of ours, here on the shores of the East-Indies.

BRACHMAN.

What you and I say in conversation is doubtless sufficiently insignificant; but, for all that, were you not here, the machine of the universe would be extremely changed from what it is.

JESUIT.

There your Brachmannish reverence is pleased to advance a huge paradox truly.

BRACHMAN.

Your Ignatian fathership may believe me or no, as you like it. But assuredly, we should
E. never

never had this conversation together, had you not come into the East-Indies. You had never made this voyage, had not your St. Ignatius de Loyola been wounded at the siege of Pampelona, or had not the king of Portugal persisted in discovering the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. Now, prithee, did not the king of Portugal, with the help of the compass, entirely change the face of this world of ours? But it was first of all necessary that a certain Neapolitan should make this discovery of the compass; now tell me, if you have the face, that every thing is not wholly subservient to one constant and uniform tenour of action; which by indissoluble, but invisible, concatenation, unites all that lives, or acts, or dies, or suffers on the surface of our globe?

JESUIT.

What then would become of our future contingents?

BRACHMAN.

What care I what become of them? but yet the order established by the hand of an eternal and almighty God must certainly subsist for ever.

JESUIT.

Were one to listen to you, we ought not to pray to God at all.

BRACHMAN.

It is our duty to adore him. But pray what mean ye by praying to God?

JESUIT.

What all the world means by it, to be sure: that.

that he would grant our petitions, and favour us in all our wants.

BRACHMAN.

I understand you. You mean, that a gardiner might obtain clear sunshine weather, at a time which God has ordained from all eternity to produce rains; and that a pilot should have an easterly wind, when an westerly wind ought to refresh the earth; as well as the seas? My good father, to pray as we ought is to submit one's self wholly to providence. So good evening to you. Destiny requires I should now visit my Brachminefs.

JESUIT.

And my free-will urges me to give a lesson to a young scholar.

The END of VOL. XVII.